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Editorial

Quo vadis, America?

Faults and Inconsistencies of U.S.A. policy towards the enslaved Peoples of the Russian Empire

The Irony of Fate

When Secretary of State Acheson recently made the historic statement that in reality bolshevism is only a continuation of Russia's century-old policy of conquest, thus revealing plainly the cause of the present crisis in world affairs, we hoped that a new era

American policy had begun towards the peoples who had had the misfortune to fall a victim at some time or other to the same Russian imperialism. But what a bitter disappointment! These significant words from the mouth of the responsible leader of American foreign policy received no more attention than an ordinary notice in the newspaper, and the change expected in this policy as far as it concerned peoples languishing under the yoke of Moscow's tyranny has not taken place. The State Department remains as before under the pernicious influence of those Russian imperialists in exile who strive at all costs to get from Washington a guarantee that the Russian imperium will continue, if behind a facade of "federal democracy".

Thus, for instance, the so-called *American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia*, now under Admiral Kirk's leadership, is still in the hands of people like Eugene Lyons, who continue their attempts to bluff the American public by pretending that it would be possible, in the event of war, to win the Russian people for a mass movement of resistance against Moscow, but that it would be necessary to promise it the continued existence

of its imperium and to conduct the war against Moscow solely as one against bolshevism. In a decisive hour American policy is thus misled, and loses a unique chance for the sake of illusory advantages, a chance of mobilising in the coming conflict the huge potential of more than 90 million people of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow who represent the West's safest and most natural ally. Still worse! By yoking American policy to the inviolability of the Russian imperium and by ignoring the claims of all these non-Russian peoples to freedom and independence, the sacred, national feelings of these masses of people are deeply wounded. They will even be driven right into the arms of Stalin, who is in any case trying to win them, if with hypocritical promises of national independence, and to stir them up against the "imperialist, reactionary" West and even to inspire them with Soviet patriotism.

Amerikans misused by Kerensky & Co.

Kerensky's influence in the State Department and the policy pursued by the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia will ultimately lead to American soldiers being made a cat's paw of in a future war by an unaltered Russian imperialism, if of a new brand. The sons of the freedom-loving American people, therefore, the descendants of Washington and Lincoln, the world's great symbols of liberty, will have to fight and die so that our peoples may be burdened with another yoke instead of that of bolshevism. Russian exiles throughout the world have always attempted to suppress protests against the subjugation of non-Russian peoples by Russian tyranny. They have always wanted to convince the world that all evil in the Russian imperium is the work of the government at the moment and not of the despotic nation that keeps other peoples in slavery. Paradoxically enough, this Russian propaganda finds support in the United States of all countries, the land of liberty, where political persecutes from all nations have found asylum for years. Thus Americans to-

day allow themselves unconsciously to be misused by Kerensky and his like to champion slavery in the East. This is the role played by American institutions, called "private", but in reality half-official, under men like George F. Kennan or Admiral Kirk, bodies that try to whitewash the red sign of the bolshevist dungeon of nations and to replace its letters "U.S.S.R." by those of a so-called "Federation."

Propaganda that has misfired

Whilst the Kremlin is making determined efforts not to lose face with the many different nations in the U.S.S.R. and only dares to address them as "peoples of the Soviet Union", even granting them delegates of their own in the U.N., the official voice of America continues to talk with the accents of old Russian imperialism. Even in broadcasts intended to be propaganda for our peoples, the latter are always addressed as either "Russian peoples", "peoples of Russia", or simply as "inhabitants of the Soviet Union", without regard for the effect on all non-Russian peoples who, as nationally conscious peoples, cannot welcome such forms of address. As long as American propaganda broadcasts use their present language for the "Russian peoples", the rulers in the Kremlin would scarcely have any reason to forbid listening in to these broadcasts, or to prevent their transmission.

If American propaganda broadcasts to our peoples are to have the success they promise, they must first of all outdo the lying but cunning propaganda of Moscow bolsheviks. But fine words about freedom and independence are not enough. So if America today wishes to dissipate the scepticism and mistrust of the sorely tried non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., and win them as reliable allies, it must recognize their political independence not in words alone; it must provide concrete guarantees that it takes such a policy and plans for the future seriously.

"Voice of America" is not enough

One of the essential guarantees is genuine cooperation with our peoples and their true representatives even now,

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in the cold war against Russia. For instance, it is radically wrong that members of our peoples should be allowed to address their enslaved fellow-countrymen at home only through the "Voice of America". Let the "Voice of America" be America's voice in which Washington's views and intentions as regards the problems of the subjugated peoples are interpreted to them. But the speakers and representatives of our peoples must have the possibility of addressing their fellow-countrymen directly and in a language uninfluenced alike by prevailing tendencies in America's policy towards the Soviet Union and by the political barometer in Moscow.

Just as, during the last war, there was a "Voice of Free France" as an ally of the West, there ought now to be a voice of Georgia, of Ukraine, of Byelorussia, of Turkistan, of Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, etc. Our peoples now living under tyranny and engaged in a desperate fight of resistance, want first and foremost to hear *our* voice, uncensored, and as it actually is. It is only when our peoples hear that we are waging war in the ether as full partners and allies of the West, enjoying equal rights with others, and acting in the real interests of our peoples, that they will be convinced that the West, and above all America, is seriously concerned with the fate of the subjugated peoples and their freedom in the future. But as long as members of our peoples are forced to beg humbly for permission to lament the fate of their people in one or part of a broadcast, and to submit their script for a Russian or Czech imperialist to censure, all wireless propaganda will be in vain and the dollars it costs, useless.

That is why the A.B.N. is not pressing for admission to the "Voice of America". We want to be able to speak freely to our peoples as independent and equal allies of the West. If the West cannot make up its mind to provide us with the necessary technical help yet, we can wait, for we have nothing to lose, except our fetters. It is doubtful whether the West, which has much to lose and perhaps fetters to gain, will be able to wait as long.

The Power of the Idea of Liberty

"The peoples are the thoughts of God", says the philosopher. Every people, small or great, has an equal right to liberty, life and happiness. All peoples are equally pleasing and valuable in the sight of God. Why does freedom-loving America think that it is entitled to interfere with this or that people's way of life and determine its relations to its neighbours and even with what peoples it must live in one community? Would it not be better for America as the leading power in the world to help these peoples shake off

their alien yoke and erect states of their own within their traditional ethnic frontiers, in accordance with freedom-loving America to stand up for the principle that every people has an inalienable right to the land of its fathers and that all violations of this principle by forced mass-deportations of populations and whole tribes be made good by the reestablishment of the natural order as desired by God?

Only when these fundamental conditions are fulfilled will our peoples be able and willing to find the way to a continental community and thereafter to a world organization. If the peoples sit round the table of such an organization as free and equal members, thorny problems and differences will be easier to solve. Then, if geopolitical, economic or other considerations should induce any peoples to form any kind of communities, then only as the result of their own free will. But no one may force such communities on peoples against their will and interest; nor may they be prevented from forming communities in their own interest and by their own free decision.

But why do Great Powers keep finding their own new formulas for our alleged "liberation"? First, they created for us a "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"; then they gave us a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"; tomorrow they will perhaps present us with an organization, entitled, say, "The Anti-Soviet Union". Enough of those recipes! We want to have a chance to build our temples of liberty according to *our* own creed, and to, hold the prayers of our countries for freedom in *our* own language! And once we have established our own free states, then the Great Powers should sit down with us at the same table, to discuss world problems.

Today all of us — you as well as we — strive for the same goal. Our first aim is *to remove the Russian rule of despotism and to help the victims of Russian imperialism to their freedom*. It is only when this goal has been reached that the world will be able to breathe freely; all other problems will solve themselves. That is the order of solution for all the questions with which our century is faced. They cannot be solved by presuming to determine the state of the world for a thousand years in advance and to attack a mass of problems indiscriminately and at once.

The world cannot be made happy merely by the establishment of extensive states, still less by the formation of one world-state out of continents seething with millions of enslaved peoples, but only by the realization of true national freedom. The power of the idea of liberty is greatest, the power symbolized by the statue that guards the entrance to New York har-

bour, and its torch lightens the world's darkness.

Questionable "liberation policy"

Hitler invented General Vlassov's "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", he, too, fondly dreaming that it would awaken resistance in Stalin's rear. But the movement was a farce and a bitter disappointment for the Germans. Certain officious American circles who seem to have learnt nothing from history and the experience of the Second World War, want to launch America's "liberation policy" with the experiment that already proved wanting in fighting the Soviet Union. They, in their turn, created a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" and replaced Vlassov by Kerensky. Nay, more! After Kerensky failed miserably, after it was obvious that the whole movement had no ideals to inspire the masses to resist, after the Committee was turned down by all non-Russian peoples in the U.S.R. and their real representatives, some American circles are now trying to make up for the lack of ideals with dollars! The policy of these American circles towards the subjugated peoples and their exiled representatives was marked by corruption and the protection of treason. Instead of cooperating with the genuine representatives of our peoples and supporting their existing movements of resistance, these circles in America negotiate with mercenary quislings and cultivate national treason.

When Russian bolshevists seek renegades among our peoples to carry out their plans, they at least cloak treason in the idea of a world revolution that will bring salvation to all peoples. They give the traitors the weapons of slogans about socialism, communism, etc. Americans simply give them dollars as the price of supporting Russian imperialism. This is a painful statement for us to make, but our love of truth leaves us no alternative.

A Severe Verdict

The situation becomes positively tragic for us when, in addition, American courts condemn our champions of freedom to spend long years in prison merely for reacting spontaneously to such treacherous provocations and giving vent to their deeply offended national feelings. Recently, for instance, an American court condemned three Ukrainian patriots to a total imprisonment of 21 years, only because they could not help chastising a Ukrainian traitor who had sold himself to Russian imperialism for American money. One of the men condemned was for years a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and had arrived in the West only two days before the incident. Although it was proved that

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Triumphal March of our Ideas

Yaroslav Stetzko, A.B.N.-President, speaks in the New World

The President of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), arrived in Canada from England on March 26, this year. The object of his visit is twofold, to get into personal touch with the emigrants from the nations subjected by Moscow, who are embracing the A.B.N. ideas in masses, and besides, to make these ideas, problems and aims, clear to the public abroad, at last from an authentic side.

President Stetzko's visit to Canada aroused much interest in the newspaper world and general public. Leading Canadian papers, as well as the émigré press published interviews, photographs and outlines of his life. He was pointed out as the personification of the stubborn, unbroken resistance in the struggle for liberation being carried on in his Ukrainian home-land and by all other A.B.N. peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

There was a great rally April 13, in Massy Hall, Toronto, at which President Stetzko spoke before 2,500 people and appealed to the world to collaborate with the A.B.N. The "Toronto Daily Star" had two exhaustive articles and quoted verbatim from his speech:

"A weapon much stronger and more effective than the atom bomb, is the idea of the national liberation of nations under Russian domination" . . .

"A.B.N. is determined to fight for the sovereignty of each member nation in its belief that only in this way can the Russian threat be eliminated."

In all the Toronto papers e. g. "The Globe and Mail", as well as all the leading Canadian papers, the speech was received with interest and sympathy. After his speech, Mr. Stetzko was asked for several interviews and to speak on the wireless. Invitations to speak in other towns, Ottawa, Fort William, Winnipeg etc. reached him, which he hopes

accept in the course of his stay. Wherever it might be, Montreal, Toronto—everywhere, Mr. Stetzko was warmly received by the Canadian public as well as by the different organizations of Ukrainian and other subjugated nations. Several radio stations reported on the A.B.N., quoting slogans and articles from our "A.B.N. Correspondence".

"MacClean's Magazine" of May 1, 1952 published a five page illustrated article about the A.B.N. and the heroic underground fight behind the Iron Curtain, just when Mr. Stetzko was in Canada on his much discussed journey of enlightenment. The report bases on an interview the editor of this magazine had with Mr. Stetzko. During the interview he was informed of the conditions under which the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was still carrying on the heroic conflict, the stubborn resistance of all the peoples in the A.B.N., as well as their political ideas and aims. The above-mentioned article is illustrated with interesting photographs of armed U.P.A. detachments underground, A.B.N. rallies etc.

At the public rally in Massy Hall, To-

ronto, on which a Toronto paper, "Homin Ukrainy", (Ukrainian Echo) reports under the heading, "We ask for Nothing, we will only warn the West of the Menace", the audience of 2,500 unanimously adopted a resolution, which was printed in the newspapers and of which we give some extracts:

"The combination of the two elements, historical Russian imperialism and its present tool, international communism, forms the foundation of the present Soviet-Russian political theory and practice, aimed at the domination of a whole and undivided world.

It is a dangerous illusion to believe that any reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is possible. Any assumption that a peaceful co-existence of the two power blocs within this world is possible is a misrepresentation of the firm facts of the present political life and future development. Considering the continuous Russian aggressiveness and the idea of a peaceful co-existence, based on any spheres of influence or the balance of power, is a dangerous illusion which might result only in a full defeat and surrender of the peace-loving partner.

Bolshevism with all its theory and practice lived and still lives to-day psychologically in an atmosphere of war. This atmosphere strikes out any possibility of agreement and co-existence. All peaceful declarations and propositions made by Moscow are in reality propaganda moves to cover its preparations for decisive action and to demoralize the democratic world in order to facilitate the way to achieve their purpose.

Since a true reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is impossible, the only way left to the free world to secure peace and normal conditions is to remove and destroy the only source of to-day's crisis, Russian imperialism and its tools.

To secure victory two things are necessary. The first one is the maintenance of the

physical and moral strength of the free world, and the second is to win the sympathy and understanding of oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain by supporting their national movement for freedom, their political underground organizations and insurgent armies and fighting groups within the U.S.S.R. and their satellite countries, and by recognizing all fighting groups and still underground armies behind the Iron Curtain as regular fighting forces in accordance with the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907.

It is necessary to combat not only communism but also Russian Imperialism which is the actual moving force behind the screen of communism, social justice etc. The Russian Empire always was and still is a prison of nations which must be disbanded for the sake of world peace. The necessity of the partition of the Soviet Empire into independent national states on ethnic principles must be recognized. Russia must be forced back to its ethnic boundaries. This would deprive Russia of huge natural resources and manpower which would make her unable for future aggressions against the democratic countries. This is the best and the only warrant of the preservation of everlasting peace in the future.

It is necessary to create an atmosphere in which the soldiers of the Soviet Army will prefer to fight on the side of freedom. The majority of them are mobilized from the non-Russian people who are strongly anti-Russian and would utilize the possibility to turn their arms against their Russian oppressors which already happened once during the the last war.

There is every reason to assume that the journey of the President of the A.B.N. in Canada will leave a lasting impression both on the émigrés from the countries behind the Iron Curtain and the whole of Canada. While it means a powerful impulse for the people of our subjugated countries to fight on, giving them confidence in the overthrow of Moscow's tyranny, this campaign of enlightenment reveals a new aspect to the outside world for the study and solution of the present world crisis. Thus A.B.N. ideas go their slow but sure way to victory.

Impressive Rally in New York

**General Farkas de Kisbarnak, Chairman of the A.B.N. Military Commission
speaks before an Audience of 4,000**

Just before going to press the news reached us, that a rally had taken place in Manhattan Centre, in New York's largest hall, on May 4. The rally was arranged by the American Friends of the A.B.N. and directed by the Slovak representative, Mr. Sciranka, an editor. The following countries were represented: Aserbajan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, National China, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Slovakia, Turkistan, Ukraine.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. was represented by the chief of a Hungarian national delegation and Chairman of the A.B.N. Military Commission, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, who held a much

applauded military speech. He spoke of the potential importance of peoples subjugated by Moscow, in the fight against Russian bolshevist tyranny and warned the West against missing the opportunity of preparing a second front with the help of these subjugated people, against bolshevism, if victory is to be secured.

Representative Ralph W. Givinn of Westchester, and Representative O. K. Armstrong, of Missouri, as well as many other representatives of public life and the press were among the American guests. Representative Armstrong even addressed the meeting. Messages and telegrams were received from Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican candidate for the Presidency, Governor John



Side Lights:

Incitement Against A.B.N.

There is no denying that the political importance of the A.B.N. is growing both behind the Iron Curtain and in the West. Its adherents and also its opposers are increasing in number. Prominent persons in Great Britain, America, Italy and Germany, even whole organizations and societies, declare they are in sympathy with our struggle and aims.

At first our enemies tried to make light of us. For years, about from 1945 to 1947, they never deigned to mention us, believing that we should thus be smothered.

These times are long past. Anyone reading the Russian anti-communist papers will bear us out when we say that there is hardly a copy of those papers which does attack the A.B.N., and with malicious intent.

We are, above all, accused of chauvinism of "zoological nationalism". They accuse us of not wanting a union with Moscow, an unheard of thing in the age of unions on a grand scale.

No consideration at all is given to the fact that there is little or no room for chauvinism where a people is subjugated. These writers are heedless enough to call their own policy of oppression, magnanimity and the intention of taking the lives others "grand adjustment for co-operation among the peoples in the Russian democratic empire". They have no scruples in glossing over the fact that though we are living at a time of close collaboration among nations on a super-national basis, each remains a sovereign state, on an equal footing with the others.

The Russians offer the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, Turkistanians "generous" cultural autonomy in a centralized Russian empire. We thank them kindly for their offer, but prefer not to accept. We are too much aware of our role in the world even to discuss such a proposal. We want to be free from Russian tutelage, free from Russian obtrusiveness in forcing us to do their will.

That is all we ask. If such a natural desire is chauvinism then it would be difficult to say what the Russian attempt at enslaving our people should be called. General Fuller, in his pamphlet "Russia is not Invincible", says "Lenin took the basic maxim of Western civilization — the truth shall make you free — and inverted it. Thus in the Bolshevik vocabulary every word is perverted; a lie is called the truth, truth is denounced as a lie. Police ter-

Davis Lodge of Connecticut, and many, many others. The greetings from these prominent men were read to the enthusiastic audience.

Afterwards there were two press conferences for American newspapers and press agencies, held by General Farkas. The rally was given much space in the American papers.

We shall publish further details of this memorable rally in New York in the next number of the Correspondence as well as reports about the information campaign of the A.B.N. in U.S.A.

ror is called democracy, serfdom is called freedom, conquest is called liberation. Subjection is called self-determination, and the political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party is called the proletariat, in the interest of which all individual freedom and natural rights are suppressed."

It seems as if the astounding ability to twist everything round is not a monopoly of the bolshevist alone, but an attribute of the Russian imperialists altogether.

Moreover, why should the non-Russian peoples join just the Russians in a grand alliance and share a common fate? Is it not conceivable that they might cling together, or join other peoples in central and southern Europe? Might they not enter the European Union without having to take the round-about way over Moscow?

There are sufficient possibilities, and varied enough, to suit the spirit of the times. We refuse most decidedly to have just the Russian version of this spirit thrust upon us.

In order to give expression to their free will, nations must first be free, only then can they decide what they will do in the question of alliances on a grand scale, not, however, vice versa!

Admiral Kirk's First Political Pronouncement

A political declaration was recently issued in the form of a pamphlet by the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". It is the first political announcement since the resignation of the former president, Eugene Lyons, who was succeeded by Admiral Kirk. As our readers know, we have not shared the political views of the Committee hitherto, and have therefore read the declaration with the greatest interest to ascertain whether any considerable change in policy has taken place under the new leadership.

Our attention was, of course, first turned to that part of the pamphlet dealing with the nationality problems in the Soviet Union. The American Committee, as we know, took the standpoint that the revolution in the Soviet Union was only to be under the motto of a fight against the bolshevist regime, while the solution of the nationality problem was to be shelved, as far as possible. The peoples of the Soviet Union were to decide after the day was won whether they wished to live with the Russians in one empire, or whether they preferred their own national States. Their decision was to be settled by a plebiscite.

That program was unacceptable for the non-Russian peoples, as they upheld the conception that the anti-bolshevist revolution should decidedly not be waged with social and political captions, but won by actuating national problems. They base their arguments on the intense urge of the non-Russian peoples for independence, and estimate it so highly that they can never disregard it. They reject the suggestion of a plebiscite because through all the centuries of their history they have proved to be independent people with the determination to govern themselves.

This new declaration by the American Committee does not go into the matter with the necessary clarity. They state,

it is true, that the Committee is founded on the principles of democracy, and the right of self-determination, but avoid stating in so many words whether that right is now unreservedly acknowledged, or whether the previous conception still holds good that a plebiscite is to be held later to validate that right. The tone of the whole declaration points rather to the fact that Admiral Kirk has decided for the policy of his predecessor and has taken on, thereby, a burdensome mortgage from the Committee's past. If this interpretation is correct then, much as it is to be regretted, there can be no co-operation between the real representatives of the non-Russian peoples and the American Committee in the future.

We are far from taking Admiral Kirk's decision lightly, for we well know what far-reaching effects these principles of the American Committee, which may be regarded as the expression of semi-official American Russian policy, may have. Principles are here laid down which may be decisive for the success or non-success of the revolution within the Soviet Union and the outcome of the conflict between the West and the Moscow despots.

We have often pointed out what a serious danger the line taken by U.S.A. may become in turning the conflict against the West. We shall not cease from repeating this warning as long as there is time.

R. I.

The First of May

In the course of the last decades, May 1st has become one of the most impressive international holidays. In every country millions of people march out to demonstrate their wish for social justice. At bottom, this day displays the untiring efforts made by man for a better distribution of this world's material goods and the ideal of equality before the law. These efforts are an ineradicable part of the history of mankind. Man has experimented unceasingly, sought new forms and state systems and methods of statesmanship, in the attempt to reach the ideal.

In this lies the deeper sense of the mass demonstrations on May Day free countries. It gives the working man or woman always the chance of bettering his or her living conditions by his or her own initiative.

All that is quite different in the Russian sphere of influence, for there, every attempt at improving the worker's position is prohibited. In communist-controlled countries the struggle for the further improvement in social conditions is regarded as concluded. Communism is officially considered the last step in possible social justice. Any attempt at something new or different is looked upon as a crime and punished accordingly.

The most despotic dictatorship, however, cannot curb the human spirit. Underground and in exile, mighty currents are working, ready to sacrifice all in order to make the way free for social justice in those countries ruled by Bolshevism.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to give some reports of the free trade union movement of workers behind the Iron Curtain.

1945 marked the commencement of the movement. It was in that year, that

the Ukrainian, Slovak and Polish workers in France joined the Christian Trade Unions in that country in their national sections. Their example was followed by the exile workers in Belgium, England and other places. By 1951 the movement had grown so much that March 31, and April 1st 1951, under the patronage of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (C.I.S.C.), the first conference of the Free Christian Trade Unions of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and the Balkan States was held.

At the conference there were delegates from France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland, 81 all told, representing 13 nations. The exile trade unionists of S. America, Australia, Canada and U.S.A. were represented by European members. The French ministries, Labour and Health, the International Labour Office and the Vatican Emigration Office, sent delegates. F. Krakowski (Poland) and the Secretary-General, Ivan Popovich (Ukraine) were chosen presidents of Free Exile Trade Unions. That the Exile Trade Union Organization was accepted as a member of the Association of International Christian Trade Unions, domiciled at Utrecht, in November 1951, was the result of the conference.

In the proclamation which the International Federation of Christian Workers in Exile issued on May Day 1952 it states, "We raise a lively protest against the enslavement of workers in countries behind the Iron Curtain and appeal fervently to all peoples in the free world for the sake of solidarity and the sacred principles of individual freedom to support us. Help us to change the terrible social, economic and political conditions in our countries. Demand from the present despots in the U.S.S.R. that they introduce the principles laid down in the Declaration of Human Rights, without delay. It is a question, above all, of releasing all deported workers, permission for free trade unions to function, and for those labour laws which are, valid in free countries and recognized by the International Labour Organization.

Croatia's National Holiday

Every year on April 10th the Croatian exiles celebrate their national holiday, as on that day in 1941 the "bastille" called "Yugoslavia" fell together like a house of cards and gave place for the reinstatement of the independent Croatian State.

The Croatian Association in Germany celebrated the day on April 14, 1952 in Munich, where Dr. S. Buc and Dr. Kukolja, a priest, spoke before a packed house of the meaning of the day. Both speakers stressed the determination of their people to reject a "Yugoslavia" of any form whatsoever for all time to come, and to fight for an independent Croatian Republic until it was achieved. "At the first opportunity", Dr. Buc said, "the Croat people will rise and show its determination even more clearly, if possible, than in 1941, and gain its State independence".

Mass Murders in Vinnitsia

Eye Witness Report by Ihor Zhurlyv

Vinnitsia was merely a system

Two heinous crimes committed by the bolshevists in the last World War were discovered and proved almost at the same time. In the forest of Katyn the bodies of several thousand Polish officers were exhumed and in the Ukrainian town of Vinnitsia more than 11,000 Ukrainians were found buried in mass graves, who had been shot without trial between 1937 and 1939 by order of Moscow. The number of the victims

documents about the Vinnitsia crime when reporting to the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the American Senate about Russian bolshevist methods of genocide. A year later the Ukrainian Youth Association in New York published a pamphlet in Ukrainian dealing with this subject. On March 30, 1952 three thousand Ukrainians in Newark (U.S.A.) held a mass demonstration to protest against Russian bolshevism and imperialism. On this occasion Frank E. McKinney Chairman of the Democratic



Bodies of victims exhumed at Vinnitsia

of bolshevist terrorism in Vinnitsia exceeds those of Katyn; the important fact, however, is that the murder of these 11,000 Ukrainians is only an example for the mass execution then and later of millions in Ukrainian towns, as well as in Byelorussia, Cosackia, the Caucasus, Turkistan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia.

Leaders of the German Reich at that time were naturally interested in showing the world the true character of the rulers in the Kremlin. Though the Ukrainian population told them of similar mass graves in other towns of Ukraine, they confined themselves to Vinnitsia, but this was probably owing to war conditions.

Why was Vinnitsia given second place after Katyn?

During the war the world was more shocked by the Soviet crime of Katyn than by the discovery of mass graves at Vinnitsia: General Anders' Polish Corps was fighting on the side of the Western Allies, and German propaganda wanted to make use of Katyn in order to undermine the morale of the Polish soldiers. The Western Allies had no Ukrainian corps. Had there been not only a Polish but also a Ukrainian exile government in Western Europe, the world would have been better informed both about the mass-murders at Vinnitsia and similar horrors.

Since, Ukrainians in exile have done their best to make up for this neglect on the part of the Western World. In May 1950 Prof. L. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress of American Committee, submitted

Party in the United States, in addressing the meeting, said: "We know about the mass graves of Vinnitsia" . . .

What I saw with my own eyes

I offer my testimony in the inquiry on the bolshevist crime at Vinnitsia. On hearing of the exhumation in 1943, I immediately went to the place. I had very good reason, for in March 1938 my father had been arrested in Odessa by the N.K.V.D. and I had heard no more of him since; even before 1938 several of my relatives and friends had been arrested and disappeared without leaving a trace. I went to Vinnitsia hoping to find out what had happened to my relatives.

The evidence of the following citizens of Vinnitsia — H. Hulevych, Opanas Skrepka, Maria Ponomarchuk, Fedir Staronyzha, Vasyl Koslovsky, Trokhym Amosov, etc. — was later officially recorded, stating that in March 1938 the big market garden in Litynska Street was surrounded by a fence 3 meters high. At night trucks drove into the garden. The plot was guarded by members of the N.K.V.D. until the Germans entered the town. Other witnesses — Hulevych, Klymenko Jurij, Petro Bockhan, Eugeniya Prolincka — stated that in Autumn 1937 huge graves had been dug in Vinnitsia cemetery, that trucks drove into the cemetery at night, that loads were thrown into the graves that were immediately covered with earth. N.K.V.D. guards were present here, too.

Similar happenings were observed in the Town Park in Spring 1939 by other citizens.

Mass graves of Ukrainians who had been shot were found in all the places indicated.

Mass graves under a pleasure park

Thirty-seven mass-graves were found in the garden in Litynska Street. There were 100—130 bodies in most of them, in two there were 250 and 280. The total number of corpses discovered here amounted to about 4000, in the cemetery some 3000 and in the Park about 4000. All the graves were of the same size — 2 meters wide, 3 meters long and 3—4 deep. The distance between them was generally the same, so that excavations revealed to the survivors a huge subterranean world laid out on a geometrical plan and peopled by the dead.

The bolshevists erected over the graves in the Park a platform for dancing and a bandstand and a merry-go-round. The young Ukrainians never dreamed that they were dancing on the graves of their fathers and brothers. The official name of the park was, "The Municipal Park of Culture and Recreation".

An international commission of important European authorities for forensic medicine and pathological anatomy worked in Vinnitsia for two days, July 13 and 14, 1943. Among them were: Dr. Senon, Ghent, Belgium; Dr. Mikhailov, Sofia, Bulgaria; Dr. Pesonen, Helsinki, Finland; Dr. Duvoir, Paris; Dr. Kazzaniga, Milan, Italy; Dr. Yurak, Zagreb, Croatia; Dr. Poorten, Amsterdam, Holland; Dr. Birkle, Bucharest, Rumania; Dr. Chegkwist, Stockholm, Sweden; Dr. Kresek, Preßburg, Slovakia; Dr. Orsos, Budapest, Hungary.

The commission worked on the scene and openly, so that everyone interested might watch. I myself watched the Commission at work. The medical men themselves selected the bodies they wished to examine. Many of them had broken jaws and shattered skulls. From the stage of decomposition, and other signs, the Commission decided that the shooting in the market garden must have taken place in 1938. Here are some extracts signed by the Commission:

Scenes of Horror

"Eleven examinations of corpses were conducted by members of the Commission personally, and in twenty-four cases an inquest was held. The male corpses were without exception clothed and nearly all had their hands tied behind them. The three female bodies, taken from the grave in our presence, were completely naked and not fettered. Many of the dead had two or three different shot-wounds. In one case, to judge from the lump of clay in the esophagus and the pear-shaped bulges in the throat, the victim must have swallowed earth while still alive."

The relatives of the victims demanded that the bodies should be exhibited. In spite of the almost unbearable stench, many thousands, especially women, came to inspect the bodies. The faces of the dead were unrecognizable, but 450 were identified by clothing, monograms, letters and papers found in pockets. Indescribable scenes occurred.

I spoke to several women who had recognized relatives. They all declared that their husbands, brothers and fathers had been arrested for political reasons in 1937/38. A few months after their arrest, N.K.V.D. men appeared to confiscate their clothing. In 1938 families were informed by the authorities that the prisoners had been condemned to "ten years hard labour in remote areas and were not allowed to write letters".

The experience of Vinnitsia was a frightful shock for me. While my father was under arrest in Odessa in March 1938, the N.K.V.D. people searched the house for arms and anti-bolshevist literature. Nor had I been able

An Open Letter's Accusal**The Gold Medal of Disgrace**

Last year the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, Dr. Jewlet Jonson, the President of the "International Democratic Federation of Women", Mrs Eugenie Cotton, and the President of the "International Peace Council", M. Frédéric Joliot-Curie, received the so-called International Stalin Prize for their services in strengthening the cause of peace. The former political prisoner of the Soviet convict colony Kolyma, Mykhailo Mlakov, who escaped from this hell upon earth and who has written a novel in Ukrainian about his experiences there, called "For What?", published in Argentina, has directed an open letter on the occasion of the above award to the three prize-winners. A remarkable letter of which we give extracts. (Ed.)

Dear Madam,

Dears Sirs,

From Russian newspapers I have learned that you received the so-called "International Stalin Award", for strengthening peace among the nations, in the Kremlin in summer 1951. This award consists of a diploma and a gold medal, bearing the head of Stalin . . . According to Russian press reports you were delighted with this prize. Gold medal in hand, you emphasized in your speech of thanks the importance of the fight for peace and truth and against war. War brings horrible suffering, the annihilation of thousands of lives; it destroys the happiness of families and makes orphans of the children. You closed your speech with the words: "Long live the leader of all progressive mankind, the great champion of welfare for the whole of mankind, J. V. Stalin." On reading all this the question arose in my mind which I am now taking the liberty of asking you publicly:

Are you, or are you not, aware of the great deception that is being practised and spread all over the world by the man you call the leader of progressive mankind, greatest champion

to learn anything about my father's fate. N.K.V.D.-men came some months later to me, too, to confiscate my father's clothes. And I, too, was finally officially informed that my father had been condemned to 10 years imprisonment in a remote camp without the right to correspond with us." And the same thing had happened to many of my father's friends and acquaintances.

Uneasy premonition or horrible certainty?

The gloomy premonition darkened to horrible certainty and has lain like a heavy weight upon my soul ever since. I gave up all hope of ever seeing my father again. But from beyond the grave our murdered fathers and brothers call to us:

In Vinnitsia, a town of 80,000 inhabitants, 11,000 people were murdered in the course of 2 years. How many may it have been in Odessa, a town of half a million inhabitants, or in the whole of Ukraine with its 40 millions? How many in the other republics of the Soviet Union?

When will investigations into the mass murders at Vinnitsia begin? A Vinnitsia committee must be formed! The world must be enlightened about all the other peoples enslaved by Moscow.

Editor's note:

Reports, information, documents and other evidence about Vinnitsia, or about any other cases of bolshevist mass-murders should be addressed to our office.

of peace, truth and the welfare of all?

May I draw your attention to a fact which proves how much Stalin cares for "the welfare of human beings"? You actually have the proof in your hands, in those gold medals, for they, or rather the material they are made of, are witness to Stalin's tyranny. If you look carefully at your medals you will notice dark spots on them . . . and I, as one of the many hundreds of still surviving, or already succumbed, Kolyma slaves can explain these spots—they are made by our tears, our blood, our deaths. They represent the misery, the tears shed by our parents, our brothers and sisters, wives and children tyrannised by Stalin's henchmen merely because they were our relations.

There you have Stalin's "truth". I have written a novel showing the circumstances under which political prisoners extract this gold in Kolyma, giving it the title "For What?", which has appeared in Argentina in the Ukrainian language. Concisely put, these are the circumstances.

Under the pressure of N.K.V.D.—M.V.D. interrogation methods in the prisons, innocent victims are obliged to confess political crimes which they have not committed. They are condemned to long terms of imprisonment in absentia and thousands of them are dragged to the forced labour camps of Kolyma. Conditions there: Warders placed over the political prisoners beside the N.K.V.D.—M.V.D. are criminals, murderers, robbers and thieves.

Political prisoners are looked upon as entirely without the law and exposed to every kind of chicanery, punishment and ill-treatment, which is excused by the necessity of fulfilling the norm required for the extraction of gold (socialistic planned economy).

The working day is supposed to last twelve hours, but is extended to fifteen, sixteen or seventeen hours. Without a day of rest prisoners work the year round, in the open without regard to climatic conditions, rain, snow and sharp frost (up to 70° C.).

The norm to be fulfilled is far beyond the physical strength of a prisoner. The quality and quantity of the food supplied depends on the fulfilment of the norm. Those who do not fill it satisfactorily have to starve. The living conditions are horrible, clothing absolutely insufficient and owing to these circumstances mortality is high and mutilation, and even suicide are prevalent.

I know that you will not believe me, but there is a way. Go to Kolyma your

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

INSTRUCTIONS ALONE, INADEQUATE

The Soviet Republic Aserbaijan, important for its oil and also for cattle-breeding, is giving the Moscow central offices a good deal of trouble, as the local party offices have proved incapable of making their people feel at home with Soviet working methods.

April 24, 1952 the Moscow "Pravda" published a long article by T. Yakubov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Aserbaijan, from which we take the following extracts.

"It must be confessed that not all of our party functionaries have mastered the bolshevist method of work supervision. Many of them lack energy and perseverance in realizing the instructions of the party and government in the task allotted them.

Cattle-breeding is one of the most important agricultural branches in the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabachskaya. In the course of the past year the question of fulfilling the plan for cattle-breeding in the kolkhoze was discussed no less than 18 times at bureau meetings and the plenary meeting of regional committee. And with what result? In no breed of cattle was the plan fulfilled.

The explanation is that the bureau of the regional committee of the party believes too much in the power of its instructions and gives no thought to their execution.

The fact that the party functionaries do not know how to concentrate on the most important and decisive kind of work there is, is one of the wide-spread

self and see it all with your own eyes. Ask Stalin for a pass to Kolyma, otherwise you will publicly give back your gold medals.

Please look at the slaves there. They go about, drag themselves, in the most impossible rags, rags such as you have never seen in your life. They are all branded with the mark of Stalin's forced labour, the mark of slaves who work unceasingly, a fact which distinguishes them from the inmates of other camps. Look at their faces, hands and feet deformed, distorted and frozen, swollen from lack of food.

These creatures, so unlike human beings, get about on sticks or crawling, driven by their guards and by the dogs which play an important role in this "peaceful socialistic economy". At a word from their masters these dogs knock down and bite cruelly any one who lags behind his group, while the guards scream "nye atstwatj!" (get on with you!) ... Don't forget the cemeteries lying close to the main camp and the "Kommandirokwas".

The chief cemetery of the gold mine "Odinokiy" lies left of the camp entrance, and stretches about a quarter

flaws in the work of local party organizations. It may happen that a party committee has grasped the solution of a problem correctly but then stopped half way; a thing that has often occurred in the Asibekovsky District Committee in Baku.

COSSACKIA

MOSCOW NOT SATISFIED

In the budget for 1952 which has just been accepted by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian S.F.S.R., only 6% is provided for the Cossack areas whose population is 12% of the inhabitants of the Russian S.F.S.R. This sum does not even approach what has been provided for the two towns of Moscow and Leningrad.

The VIII plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Komsomol in the Russian S.F.S.R. which ended April 12, ascertained defects in Komsomol organizations in the Cossack area in matters of ideology and organization. The plenary required of them that they should keep the minimum of the prescribed working days, attend to working discipline and combat the laziness of Komsomol members. The Komsomol paper, "Komsomolskaya Pravda", demands the co-operation of these organizations in raising the amount and quality of work, the reduction of the prime cost of production and economy in the consumption of raw materials, fuel and electricity.

In an open letter to Stalin the workers and technicians in the oil industry of the Cossack area bind themselves to fulfil the plan completely. At the same time, they promise an increase of 1.2% in oil production and a reduction of the

of a mile across the slope of the "Sopka" (hill). There, among others, Khrystenko is buried, professor of the Ukrainian language at the University of Charkiw. On the little board stuck in the grave stands the number 19/21. I do not know what it means and it is dangerous to ask. Doubtless it indicates the contents of this mound, i. e. the number of bodies lying in it, for it is Soviet practice to make a mound over collective graves, here too...

The whole cynicism of Stalin's demagogic utterance "Of all the treasures in the world, man is the most precious" is exposed here before you, in all its nakedness.

I feel sure that it will be Kolyma which will heal you of your political blindness, that just this wild country will tear the Stalin veil from your eyes... And then you will call Stalin by the only name he deserves: the red tyrant of the present.

Having convinced yourselves of Stalin's fraud and his crime against humanity by seeing with your own eyes what it means, I am sure you will have the courage to throw his golden medals openly at his feet...!

cost price of 0.6%. That is not much of a promise.

In reviewing the quality of the political work, the Stavropol district Committee discovered a very low standard. They complain that the leading role of the communist party is as inadequately explained as "the reactionary character of American imperialism". ("Komsomolskaya Pravda", 16. 4. 52.)

ESTHONIA

RESISTANCE AGAINST RUSSIFICATION

The Moscow "Pravda" of April 14, 1952 reports on a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia among other things that:

"Members discovered defects in the political work among the masses. The necessity of raising the standard of lectures and talks was emphasized and demanded, so that the remnants of bourgeois nationalism might be the better combated.

Comrades taking part in the discussion criticized the work of the department for propaganda and enlightenment because the District Committee of the Party was inadequately supported by the Estonian Central Committee in the work of building up their propaganda and because the cultural care of the workers in the shale water basin and fishermen and colchose labourers on the island of Saarem was given too little attention."

For months the public institutions of the non-Russian republics, including their party organizations, have been hauled over the coals by the central authorities in Moscow because their work breathed the spirit of "bourgeois nationalism". That these reprimands are so systematic indicates that there must have been some serious incidents, which in the eyes of Moscow appear to be "ideological deviations" while in the hearts of those concerned they are merely the natural expression of the people against alien domination. The fact that no such "ideological defects" or "distortions" are discovered in the work of the Central Committees of the Russian Communist Party is a significant indication that anti-bolshevist resistance only exists where national oppression is added to social.

EASTERN GERMANY

FRESH TERRORISM FROM THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE

(I.W.E.) In the period from 1st to 31st of March 189 persons were arrested in Dresden by the Soviet M.G.B., among them 12 youngsters. They were accused of anti-communist activity or "crimes" against economic life.

ANTI-COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATIONS in LEIPZIG

(I.W.E.) During the Easter holidays anti-communist demonstrations took place in all parts of the town. At Leipzig-Leutsch commandos of the People's Police were called out to remove

slogans which had been put on the walls of houses during the night. Thousands of anti-communist leaflets were distributed at the stadium where international sports were going on.

THE ARREST OF RED ARMY MEN IN SCHWERIN

(I.W.E.) On the night of April 11th the barracks of the Soviet garrison at Schwerin were suddenly occupied by a special force of the M.V.D. The investigations lasted till early morning, 45 members of the garrison, officers and men, were arrested and taken away to an unknown destination. The N.K.V.D. action was in connection with the anti-communist placards in Russian which had appeared in the streets of late. The cinema requisitioned for Soviet troops had been closed for a few days by order of the N.V.D. because anti-Soviet leaflets had been found there, shortly before the above event.

WORKERS ATTACK PEOPLE'S POLICE

(I.W.E.) On April 26, a skirmish occurred at the station of Oberschema between workers of the Wismuth Company (Uran Mining Company) and a force of the People's Police. 5 policemen were injured. A squad of mobile police arrested 6 workmen. The riot began when the police were about to search the men.

LITHUANIA

RESISTANCE ON THE NATIONAL HOLIDAY

As in other years, the bolsheviks kept a sharp watch on the 16th of February, the Lithuanian national holiday, but in spite of that leaflets were scattered, not only in Wilna as usual at the famous Rasai cemetery where so many historical personages lie buried, and the castle of former rulers of the country, but in Kauen, Schaulen and other towns to remind the inhabitants of the meaning of the day. These leaflets were directed, too, against the occupation authorities and contained many a warning. Where and whenever possible the Voice of America, the Vatican radio, Radio Paris and other foreign senders were listened to, although extreme personal danger was entailed thereby.

CAUCASUS

EVEN THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE TOO LENIENT

The subjugation of the Caucasus peoples in the past century cost Russian imperialists a great deal of blood. By their countless uprisings, these peoples and among them the Ossetins, have shown the world that they refuse to be ruled by Russia and will have a national life of their own. Though Moscow attempts to-day to hush up the fact that the presence of its statthalter in the Caucasus is still regarded as vexatious compulsion, the Soviet press offers proof

enough that the national spirit is still alive in the Caucasus.

The Moscow Pravda of April 21, 1952, has an especially clear hint of the difficulties facing the Russian-communist policy in the Caucasus Republics.

"A few days ago there was a plenary meeting of the communist party of the North Ossetin area to discuss the lecture given by the secretary of the regional committee, comrade Kulov, on "The Position and Measures taken for the Improvement of the Ideological Work in the Republic."

The speaker and others taking part in the debate, declared that the regional committee had suffered serious errors to appear in its supervision of the ideological work.

It was maintained at the plenary meeting that town and district committees for political training showed little interest in their work and were not using the proper measures to raise the standard of instruction...

In books and pamphlets which had appeared in the last few years in the field of history, linguistics, and literature as well as in some works of literature and art, serious mistakes of an ideological nature and a wrong picture of bourgeois national life had crept in.

In the works by W. Abajew "The Origin and Cultural Past of Ossetin as Shown by the Development of the Language", B. Skiskij's "History of the Ossetin People", in the tales by M. Totojew, W. Galzew and others the patriarchal-feudal period in the history of Ossetin is idealized.

The North Ossetin Institute for History, Linguistics, and Literature has failed to solve the task of research in the study of Ossetin's history, language and literature. There are many ideological misconceptions in books issued by the institute... Although serious literature can boast of a certain advance, it must be stressed that Ossetin writers have little to say of the Soviet way of life in their works, or the development of the new man, the builder of communism or of the economic and cultural achievements in the republic. They propagate the idea of internationalism, of friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, too ineffectually.

POLAND

MOSCOW'S DANAE GIFT TO THE POLES

All the denials and counter declarations made, by the Soviet press in the Katyn question have not been able to prevent the old anti-Russian feeling the Poles have always cherished from becoming sharper. The comments made by the official Soviet papers have made no impression on the Poles.

Moscow thus has no alternative but to seek other means of cajoling them. The Soviet government has decided to erect a Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, at its own expense, to be finished in 1955. A congress hall for 3,700, a theatre for 800, two cinemas for each 480 and a concert hall for 500 persons are planned. Ten floors (5-15)

are to be provided for the Society for Spreading Science and the Institute for the Training of Scientists; 15 further floors are intended for the Polish Academy of Science. The Polish Youth Organization will have rooms put at their disposal in one wing of the building.

Thus Moscow will pay in money for the blood of the Polish officers who were shot—that is one side of the matter, on the other, this step of Moscow's will contribute essentially to getting Poland's political and cultural life more firmly into Russian hands, as the political, scientific and cultural organizations are obliged to move into the palace owned by Moscow and will therefore feel bound to their host.

RUMANIA

LIQUIDATION OF THE MIDDLE-CLASSES

The new acts of terrorism by the Russian bolshevist despots in Rumania are in a fair way to exterminate the middle classes entirely. State Militia and secret police began in March with the eviction of the "enemies of class and State" from all large towns.

SLOVAKIA

PARTISAN ACTION AGAINST ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

It has now come to our knowledge that in December 1951, detachments of the Slovakian White Partisans in the Michalovce, Humenne and Sabinov areas (east Slovakia), carried out courageous sorties against their oppressors. They raided a number of villages in the district and liquidated the leading and most dangerous communists. After the raid they withdrew to the mountains.

In this connection the incorrect information spread by some Czechoslovakian broadcasts that former communist partisans are now taking a leading part with anti-communist partisans must be refuted. On the contrary, former red partisans are placing their experience in plundering and murdering, gained in 1944, at the disposal of the communist army and police, for putting down Slovak partisans. While the red partisans fight for Moscow and communism, the Slovakian White Partisans fight for the freedom and independence of Slovakia.

TURKISTAN

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS OPPOSES MARXISM-LENINISM

Under the heading "Some Questions Concerning the Ideological Work in Kazakhstan", the "Pravda" of April 10, 1952, writes of the difficulties the professional men in the Kasakh S.S.R. are encountering with the "party line". The secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party there, himself says, "The Party organization has closed its eyes to a number of serious errors in its ideological work. Not only in history where most serious errors have

been allowed, but also in literature and art.

Some historians, literary critics and writers have left the Marx-Lenin point of view in their writings on Kazakhstan's history and adopted that of the bourgeois nationalists. They have not been correct or scientific in their elucidation of the progressive character of Kazakhstan's voluntary union with Russia. This false conception derives chiefly from the glorification of the feudal-monarchic movement of Kenessar Kassymov in the forties and fifties of the last century. Kenessar never defended the interests of the Kasakh people. He followed one aim and that was to separate Kazakhstan from Russia, and with that object in view he kept in close contact with the foreign enemies of the Kasakh people.

Instead of giving this feudal monarchic movement a correct interpretation, some historians have regarded the proceedings from the bourgeois national viewpoint and in contradiction to the historical truth have represented them as a national liberation movement.

Some authors and literary critics have given licence to serious ideological distortions in their work. Instead of a thorough analysis of the class character of a number of Kasakh legends and songs, told and sung by royal poets, they have idealized them. In one or two of their books even Soviet life has been misrepresented, while life in the feudal period (that is the time before Kazakhstan came under Russian domination. Ed.), has been glorified. It must be added, too, that the compilers of a number of text books on Kasakh literary history and language have taken advantage of the short-sightedness of the Kasakh S.S.R. Ministry for Education, and propagated alien ideas among the people.

In the time since the fifth congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan important ideological work has been achieved. The Institute for History, Archaeology and Ethnographology at the Science Academy of the Kasakh S.S.R. is preparing the third edition of the history of the Kasakh S.S.R. At the discussion over the first volume, historians from Moscow and Leningrad took part as well as those of the Republic itself... The discussion concerning the character of the national movements in Kazakhstan aroused great interest... It showed that considerable differences of opinion existed among the historians of the Republic as to the interpretation of these movements and that a deeper study of many of the questions was called for. ("Pravda.")

We may assume from the last paragraph that Russian historians will now be put in to work over the history of Kazakhstan to guarantee the ideological line prescribed by Moscow.

UKRAINE

BETTER WORKING DISCIPLINE REQUIRED

The Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" published an alarming report, April 17, 1952 from the town of Khar-kiv, showing what little enthusiasm the Ukrainian youth has for the "building up of communism". Even the young

Bolshevist "Church Conference"

According to reports in the Soviet press, the head of the "Russian Orthodox Church", Patriarch Alexey, has asked the churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union to attend a conference to discuss, in common with representatives of foreign churches abroad who will be invited, measures for the defence of peace. The following churches and religious bodies within the Soviet Union have already consented: the Georgian Orthodox Church, the Armenian Church, the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the All Soviet Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists, the All Soviet Council of the Seventh Day Adventists, the Russian Church Old Order, the administrative body of the Musselmans in the European part of the Soviet Union and Siberia, the administrative body of the Musselmans of Turkistan, the administrative body of the Musselmans of countries beyond the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbajian), the administrative body of the Musselmans of North Caucasus, the Jewish Religious Communities, the administrative body of the Buddhists in the Soviet Union etc.

The conference which is planned for the first half of May, is to be under the motto which is the subject of the main

Ukrainian communists who belong to the Komsomol (Young C. League) are accused of sabotage. Among other things the paper mentions that "33 young workmen, without any reason, failed to report for work 2½ months at the Khar-kiv plant "Light of the Miners". Many of the young workers, also Komsomol members, did their work as if they were half asleep, and produced defective instead of quality goods. For that reason the Komsomol organization of the plant decided to call a meeting of the young workers to discuss the question of working discipline".

The meeting resolved, according to the same report, that the "moral responsibility of every young worker for his comrades' behaviour, must be intensified".

PURGATORIAL CRITICISM

According to reports in the Soviet newspapers, an all-Ukrainian discussion between leading representatives of all branches of art took place in Kyiv from April 3, to 5, 1952. The president of the Committee for Art in the cabinet of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, D. D. Kopyzja, held a lecture on "Conditions and Measures for Improving the Work of the Institutions and Collectives, on Art in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic with the Object of Fulfilling the Resolutions Passed by Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that of Ukraine, in Questions of Ideology".

What this circumstantial title conceals is exposed in a long article in the Kyiv newspaper "Radjanska Ucraina" April 9, 1952, which is devoted to the above meeting and emphasizes the "penetration of inimical bourgeois national ideology in literature and art."

lecture, The Church should fight jointly with the People for Peace". The speaker for this lecture has not yet been named.

The appeal issued by the two Soviet bishops, Archbishop Flavian and Bishop Yossif, immediately upon the announcement of the plan, points to the character the conference will have, for they declare in their appeal, "the American monster reviles everything that is sacred in the soul of man. The monster has risen against the whole of mankind, its breath pollutes the air, it threatens the world with bacteria of plague, cholera and typhoid, it arouses justified fury in every true Christian."

These words may be a fair indication of what is to be expected of the Conference of the Soviet "Church representatives". It is an open question whether representatives of Churches abroad will still be willing to take part in it.

Two Aims — Two Ways

For the success of the anti-bolshevist struggle it is necessary to know the goals and aspirations of the people enslaved by bolshevism. Yet some American groups try to achieve the co-operation of the non-Russian peoples with the Russian emigrants. Until now all these experiments were without success. The reason for this are the different conceptions, goals and character of these two groups.

The Russian emigrants stand on the point of view that the U.S.S.R. of to-day is the same Russia of yesterday, but under other rulers, disagreeable for them. Their principal goal is to change the bolshevist government of to-day into a pseudo-democratic government of tomorrow. All other problems they consider only as "international affairs of the Russian people". The solution for all questions is that they postpone them to the time after the collapse of the bolshevist government and the establishment of a new government of a great and powerful Russia. To such internal problems the Russian emigrants count also the question of the self-determination of all the non-Russian nations which already a long time ago expressed their will to have their own states. Many of these peoples proclaimed their independent states after the revolution of February, 1917, which were occupied after a long struggle in the years 1920 to 1921 by bolshevist Russia.

Some of the Russian emigrants accept this wish of some non-Russian peoples, but they have their own, specific Russian interpretation of self-determination, making it dependent on the permission of the new government in Moscow. How this will be, all the non-Russian peoples know well, because there will be no difference between the former tsarist, democratic or bolshevistic practice. All they know is, that the Russian emigrants are just looking for cheap helpers to fight only for the change from the bolshevist government to a new and strong centralistic government. Even the tyranny of Stalin certifies the various nations in the Soviet Union through republics existing only on paper. But this the Russian emigrants cannot understand. →

Turkestan's Accusation**An Appeal by the Whole of Islam**

The President of the National Turkestanian Unit Committee, Veli Kayum Khan, who is also the Vice-President of A.B.N. Council of Nations has sent the memorandum given below, containing an urgent appeal to all religious and political leaders of the Islamic peoples, to achieve an international investigation by the U.N. into the unspeakable terrorism the people of Turkistan are being subjected to, and to give their support to the resistance they are offering against religious oppression, economic exploitation and political thralldom. (Ed.)

1. The 25 million Turkestanian — Islamic people have been oppressed for 34 years by Russian Bolshevik Imperialist terror. Their country has been sealed off from the outside world and the inhabitants deprived of all human rights.
2. In this Islamic country there is no National Government, nor can they freely elect their own representatives. The five "Republics" into which Turkistan has been split up by Soviet Russia are controlled from Moscow and all major posts are held by Russians. Their Governments are not independent but are merely the instruments by which Moscow carries out its decrees.
3. In Turkistan there is no free trade or industry and private ownership of land or property is forbidden. There is no freedom of press or speech and strikes are forbidden as are independent merchants or farmers. The people are enslaved and must work in state factories or on state farms.
4. The most powerful propaganda is directed against the Islamic religion. Mosques are closed or have been destroyed and any form of religious activity is forbidden.
5. For propaganda purposes, a "Red Mufti" has been proclaimed and a limited number of "State Mosques" have been opened in order to give the Islamic world the impression of "religious freedom". Those people, who go to pray are registered by

Contrary to this clear restoration and imperialistic conception, the non-Russian peoples introduce their own platform: Russia has not existed for 35 years. There is only a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics among which Russia is one. Many free democratic republics were included by force in this Union. But the Russians are an instrument of the rulers in the Kremlin as they were an instrument of the tsars of Petersburg. Thus they are partly guilty of all the cruelties to and oppression of the non-Russian peoples.

Nevertheless the non-Russian peoples do not struggle against the Russian people, but against the Soviet regime in the Kremlin. The non-Russian peoples struggle for the destruction of the prison of nations which is the U.S.S.R., for the liberation of the enslaved peoples and for their return to the family of the free peoples of the world. The non-Russian peoples are basing their fight on the right of self-determination proclaimed by the late President of the United States, Mr. W. Wilson, and on the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

agents of the "Organisation of the Godless", which is supported by the Communist Party and the State, and these are sent to punishment camps or deported.

6. In the schools all from of religious instruction is banned. In the same way our Arab script has been forbidden and, in its place, Russian script introduced.
7. The Russian Imperialists have murdered over five million Turkestanians during their rule of terror, amongst them religious leaders, nationalists and all classes of the people, all of whom have been arbitrarily declared "Peoples enemies".
8. Our people replied to these oppressions by rising in arms, but these Nationalist risings were broken by military force with much bloodshed.
9. Our countrymen have neither sufficient clothing nor satisfactory housing. Their food is insufficient.
10. The Russians have not only robbed us of our possessions but also try to destroy our culture, customs and beliefs. Specially trained propagandists make speeches against religion.

*

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee has again been asked, in the name of God and Islamic Brotherhood, to direct the following request to Their Majesties the Kings, Religious Leaders, Politicians and Organisations of the Islamic Lands:

1. That all do their utmost to help the Turkestanian people in order that this Russian Imperialist Terror be stopped and that the Russians leave our country.
2. That the Islamic countries should form a commission for the study of Turkistan which could with its own eyes satisfy itself as to the true conditions prevailing there. This Commission must demand permission from Russia for free circulation in all areas of Turkistan.

Such a Commission should be completely non-political in order to examine the prevailing conditions impartially. It should be supported by U.N. and after its return should publish its report to the world.

*

If in fact the freedom and advanced social conditions proclaimed by the Russians does really exist in Turkistan then they can and must allow such a commission to make an inspection. Should they, however, from the fear that their lying propaganda in the Islamic lands will be seen through,

forbid its entry, then the Commission should take the following steps:

1. It must brand Soviet Russia as a regime of Imperialism and Terror. This should be announced by press and radio and at conferences and meetings.
2. The Commission should press its Governments to break off diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Russia. All goods coming from Soviet Russia should be boycotted as being produced by the hands of slaves.
3. Soviet propagandists coming from all parts of the Russian empire should be forbidden entry into Islamic countries.
4. The Commission should present the tragedy of Turkistan before U.N. and should call for assistance from all the free countries of the world.

*

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee will send its accusation to U.N. and other world organisations and is ready to prove its allegation. The many thousands of Turkestanians who have fled from their homeland and are living in a state of destitution and poverty should be given all possible help from these quarters.

24th March 1952

National Turkestanian Unity Committee

Foster-Brothers of the Bolsheviks

The first thing that strikes one on reading the Soviet Russian and Russian exile papers is the similarity of their themes. One of them never fails to appear in their columns, — the nationalism of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the danger caused thereby of Russia being cut up into sovereign states i. e. its natural divisions.

For the Soviet it is a duty always to attack and revile the "bourgeois nationalists" and their endorsers abroad, the "Anglo-American imperialists". No falsification of history is therefore too absurd, if it conduces to arousing hatred and aversion for such "terrible enemies".

The two page long article in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" (6. 2. 52) was a substantial contribution to the campaign of hate. In it, a number of Soviet historians maintained that the "United States was the organizer and initiator of intervention against Soviet Russia". One learned that the U.S.A., by this means, intended turning the Baltic States, Ukraine, Turkistan, Cossackia, Caucasus, and Siberia into U.S. colonies. They wanted, too, to divide even the ethnic territory of the Russian people into a "number of separate areas, each of which to live from its own economy and none independent enough to create a strong state of its own".

The reason for this systematic agitation on the part of the Soviet press is clear; the non-Russian people's movement for independence is to be discredited and the hopes of these peoples that they may be freed from Russian oppression by the U.S.A. disappointed; what is the good of hoping if one alien domination is to be replaced by another?

The same almost panicky fear of the non-Russian peoples' leaning towards independence is reflected in the press

→

THE VOICE OF

OUR PEOPLES

The Caucasus

In its April Number, The Caucasus, a magazine published in Munich, printed a protest by exile Azerbajians living in Turkey, against the participation of unauthorized delegates at the Wiesbaden conference of Keren-sky's Liberation Council.

"We have learned that Mr. A. Fatalibeyli is still supporting the Wiesbaden treason in spite of the fact that everywhere decided protests have been raised against the participation of some adventurers at the Wiesbaden conference. This fact is confirmed by his work with the magazine "Swobodnyj Kawkas" which is spreading the ideas of the Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia.

It has become known to us that A. Fatalibeyli has been circulating the rumour that he speaks in the name of the "new emigrants".

We, Azerbajian volunteers, who in World War II took part in the struggle for national liberation declare that there is nothing in common between us and Fatalibeyli-Duginskij, as we certify by our signatures. Kindly publish this letter in your magazine.

March 1952.

Turkey.

The protest bears the following signatures: Dr. Salachly; Selim Seldchuk, engineer; A. Risa Turan, student; Latif Elsewer, teacher; Fejsula Klytch Ali, lawyer; M. Chakki Tirkukul, teacher; A. Gajdar Aros, lawyer; Ssuleiman Tekiner, teacher; Dr. Memet Kengerli; Chussejn Aksu, lawyer; Nabi Turanli, teacher; Dr. Fejas Kassimoglu; Dr. Sultan Chadschioglu; Dr. Achmet Jashchar; Gajdar Ismajlli, teacher; A. Oset Babaoglu, engineer; Enwer Roman, economist; Dschemil Taker, teacher.

Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart

(Ukraine Past and Present)

The above named magazine (No. 1/52) writing of the attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the National Socialist measures against the Jews in World War II, in an article headed "The Tragedy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church", quotes a letter from a Jewish Rabbi, Dr. Herzog, Palestine.

"When the Germans allowed a pogrom against the Jews to break out in Rohatyn West Ukraine, the Metropolitan Sheptytsky sent a letter to Himmler protesting in no unmeasured terms against the massacre of innocent and helpless people. This act of the Metropolitan aroused great excitement, for it was an act of extreme courage at a time when no one in Europe dared to take the part of the Jews openly against the mad cruelty of the Gestapo. The whole Ukrai-

of the exiles. There, too, is no scruple about falsifying history to suit their purpose, although they do not go as far as the Soviet Russians, still it is the aim of those exiles also, to preserve undiminished the domination once gained by force over alien countries. No thought is given to the fact that they are thus playing into the hands of Soviet policy. It is by this that the chauvinist and imperialist circles of the Russian exiles prove themselves foster-brothers of the Russian bolsheviks.

W. G.

man population then followed in helping the persecuted Jews in every possible way, often concealing them at the risk of their own lives, for any such thing was forbidden on pain of death. It may be added that the Ukrainians themselves were suffering a good deal from Gestapo terrorization."

Kosachiy Vyestnik

(The Cossack Courier)

The leading article of the chief paper of the Cossack exiles, of April 24, 1952, deals with the ever growing

attacks made by Russian exiles as well as the Soviets against the Cossack liberation movement.

"It must be noticed that the methods employed in this press campaign is as like that of the Soviets as two peas. We know why the Russians are resisting the Cossack liberation so stubbornly. They do not want to give the Cossacks their freedom in a future Russia. Since their subjugation the Cossacks represent an important military factor for Russia and are used, against their will, to expand and hold together the Russian imperium . . . Besides, Cossackia, owing to its geopolitical and military political situation, is of special importance, more especially so since the building of the Volga-Don-Canal."

Vanguard of the West

In the March 29, 1952, number, the "Manchester Guardian Weekly" published an open letter from the well-known Spanish diplomat, scholar and writer, Salvador de Madariaga, to the British Labour member of Parliament, Aneurin Bevan, from which we give an extract concerning the fate of the subjected peoples of the East. This open letter coincides with a discussion being carried on between the British philosopher, Bertrand Russell and the American magazine "The New Leader", on the subject of the problem of western defence and the rôle of U.S.A. in the conflict with the Soviet Union. In his open letter the Spanish publicist, who is at present a visiting professor at Oxford University, writes.

Often your utterances and those of your friends sound as if you were ready to hand over, for good and all, the peoples of half of Europe to Moscow, provided the standard of living of the British working classes remains unimpaired. Is that your principle?

"What", you might argue, "war? Since we can do nothing to save them, let them go." There are a number of answers to that. Life and death issues cannot be left to drift on the easy stream of empiricism. Do you or do you not accept in your spirit that the men of Eastern Europe should remain for ever in slavery and their nations be reduced to colonies of Soviet economic imperialism? God forbid that

struggle should develop into a hot war; but a spiritual war there must be while the Eastern Europeans are oppressed, since we cannot but be with them against their oppressors and not with their oppressors against them. That is if, as you said at Durham, you stand on principles. There is a tremendous power in standing by what is right. There is nothing but corruption in letting go what is right just because it is expedient.

As for war, why it is on. A war is not merely a string of battles. It is a conflict of will. To-day there is war between the communist will and the liberal democratic will. This war is hot in several Asiatic spots, cold in the West, but hot also in the East of Europe. The peoples of half of Europe are carrying on a war, partly active and underground, partly passive and open, imposed on them by Moscow. Every day hundreds, thousands of Eastern Europeans are sent to concentration camps to rot or to the firing squad to die. They are our first line of defence. It is in part because these shock troops of the West are dying for us in the East that the Iron Curtain does not coincide with the French Atlantic coast, and that we are still allowed to live "in this comfortable part of the world," to quote your own words. Is your principle to turn your back on them?

Your principle could then be put thus: "I am going to maintain my standard of living as long as the Eastern Europeans maintain their standard of dying." What would then be the difference between you and the old-fashioned heartless capitalist you so lustily flagellate?

The capitalist waxed fat at the expense of the hungry Asiatic; you wax free and prosperous at the expense of the hungry Eastern European slave."

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Editorial

Quo vadis, America?

(Continued from our last issue)

Profit and Loss

Americans are regarded as the best businessmen in the world. It is not for nothing that they have a great reputation as sober realists and keen accountants. We are struck all the more by the absence of practical considerations, even in the interest of Americans themselves, in American policy towards the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Let it is a very simple calculation: the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union considerably exceed the number of Russians. Whoever, therefore, wishes to make allies in the enemy camp, in the event of war with Moscow, and to form a second front in the rear of the Soviet Russian army, ought, for purely arithmetical reasons, to make efforts to secure the support of the numerically stronger non-Russians within the U.S.S.R. rather than to attempt vainly to win sympathy from the Russians. On the contrary, however, the half-official, and even the official policy of America is always trying to win the support of the Russian people by repeatedly proclaiming the indivisibility of the Russian imperium. This inevitably alienates the 100 odd million non-Russians who have for centuries been trying to get free from the yoke of Muscovite Russia, and simply pushes them back into the hostile camp.

Part from its purely numerical miscalculation, this policy also starts from false premises that can never come true: all who know from history and experience the mentality and the innate belief in their mission of the Russians cannot doubt that the Russian people

in general, in spite of much discontent with the bolshevist regime, is fascinated by Stalin's conception of world conquest and favourably disposed towards the Soviet imperium of today. This is all the more true as Russians feel themselves to be the real master people in this imperium, their chauvinism being strengthened by Moscow's glorification of the Russian character. Stalin has done more for the Russian thirst for power and for

their political ambition by the unparalleled growth of the Soviet imperium than the West could ever promise, far less give, them. In the event of a struggle therefore, to overthrow the power of Soviet Russia, the masses of the Russian people would instinctively support Moscow and wage a „patriotic war“ just as fanatically as during the last war. This was and is the reason why it is useless to expect any serious resistance



The Triumphal Advance of our Ideas

President Y. Stetzko's Publicity Campaign

A.B.N. at the Pacific

After the mass demonstration in Toronto, when Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., announced our programme and appealed to the public in Canada to support our aims as the best method of overcoming the present world crisis, he addressed a number of meetings in other Canadian towns where emigrés from behind the Iron Curtain have settled. He spoke in Ottawa, Fort William, Winnipeg, Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver and Saskatoon.

According to the report that has reached us, there was an enthusiastic demonstration in Edmonton on May 25, attended by 1,500 people. President Stetzko received a great ovation and his address was warmly received. The hall was decorated with the national flags of our peoples and the emblems of the A.B.N. and its fighting organizations. The demonstration was filmed and President Stetzko's speech recorded on a sound track.

At Vancouver, President Stetzko spoke before a crowded gathering, in the Hastings Auditorium, June 1, 1952. The meeting at which for the first time the ideas of the A.B.N. were proclaimed on the shores of the Pacific, became an impressive anti-communist demonstration, with our slogans, and has left a lasting impression.

The Slovak, Latvian and Lithuanian emigré groups were represented in large numbers. Each of these groups gave an address of welcome to President Stetzko in the name of its people. The Slovak representative, speaking for the Canadian Slovak League of New Westminster, assured

his hearers of the Slovaks readiness to fight. They had been the first to become companions in arms with the Ukrainians at home, and to-day were standing undaunted, shoulder to shoulder with the A.B.N. in the fight for national freedom and independence. All the Slovak emigrants on the American continent, — a third of the total Slovak population, — agree with the A.B.N. ideas and they are confident that the justified cause of the Slovak people will meet with sympathy in America too, and, with western support, will be realized. The Latvian representative appealed to the Canadian public for sympathy and understanding for the cause of the subjected peoples in the Baltics and elsewhere, who today are the victims of a genocide that is beyond the belief of any one in the West. In the name of the Lithuanians of British Columbia, their representative swore allegiance to the common cause of the A.B.N. and branded brutal bolshevist world aggression. He expressed the warmest thanks to President Stetzko and called his visit an important event which would give the emigrants there a fresh impetus.

After the meeting, a branch organization of the A.B.N. was founded in Vancouver in the committee of which representatives of all the national groups present will take part.

President Stetzko's visit was favourably reported in the press. "The Vancouver Province" of June 2, wrote of him as being a leader of his people in their fight; that he had endured torture under Polish,

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Quo vadis, America?

by Russians to the present bolshevist regime on the territory of the Russian people similar to the struggles and armies of resistance, such as the U.P.A. in Ukraine, the Basmachi in Turkestan the White Partisans in Slovakia and the underground organizations in all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. With the exception, therefore, of a small and insignificant group of Russian imperialists in exile, whose „democratic“ policy and „ideological“ opposition to bolshevism demands the continued existence of the despotic Russian imperium, the West cannot, and never could make the Russian people its ally, no matter what its promises may be. Even the most generous promises would come far short of the power and political ambition Stalin has already procured for Russians. That, then, is the one side of the question.

Let us suppose, now that America as the leading world power should reject the dogma of the infallibility, the indivisibility of the Russian imperium, and proclaim the national sovereignty and independence of all non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., the hostility of the Russians towards any one threatening the power of the present Soviet state would scarcely become greater than it is already. The West would risk practically nothing in taking such measures, but it would secure a great chance of gaining much, if not everything: even now, and far more when war actually breaks out, the West would gain the sympathies of whole nations whose population is more than 100 millions; it would instantly gain masses of supporters, who would become devoted and energetic allies in the struggle against Moscow, which is not only hated by these people as the metropolis of the bolshevist regime, but even more as the symbol of alien Russian tyranny.

This, then, is the choice before the Americans. It is up to them to solve the present world crisis, and at the same time to give proof of their reputation as good businessmen.

Helping Communists into the Saddle

The historian of the future will be puzzled by the fact that, during this critical period when bolshevism is threatening the world, when all the powers of the free world should be concentrated on counteracting Moscow's Fifth Columns in the West, above all in America, supporters and collaborators of commun-

ism in the subjugated countries behind the Iron Curtain, should be held in honour, while the irreconcilable opponents of Russian bolshevist tyranny, the spokesmen of the struggle of liberation today who have always put up a bitter fight against communism, should still be in quarantine.

Kerensky's "historical deed" of 1917 turned out in reality to be preparation for Lenin and his revolution. He played the same role as various left-radical collaborators with Moscow in what are now satellite states, men who collaborated with communists in order to prepare the way for Soviet rule in Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechia, Poland and elsewhere. After serving as a democratic facade till the communists seized power, they were turned out with the usual lack of ceremony once their successors were firmly seated in the saddle, and had to seek refuge abroad. They now try to play the part of anti-communists and democrats and even appear as the legitimate spokesmen of the liberation movement among their peoples, which may be quite comprehensible. But what astonishes us is that they are received in the West, and above all in America, as if they had saved their peoples from bolshevism! Certain American circles seem to ignore the fact that these men have sat side by side with communists on ministerial benches, that they have signed innumerable sentences of death on anti-communist champions of freedom without turning a hair, and have stained their hands with the blood of their people's best sons.

Such exiled politicians are received in the best society in America and draw millions of dollars from various funds, while genuine anti-bolshevist champions of our peoples, who had to spend years in bolshevist and nazi concentration camps in consequence of their stand against both Stalin and Hitler, are calumniated as "fascists", and forbidden to pay even a short visit to the United States. Public opinion in the West seems to have forgotten all the recent mass murders which their present protégés committed in company with bolsheviks in Sofia, Budapest, Prague and Bratislava. Emigrés from our circles who venture to call these to mind are called "totalitarian" and "chauvinist", while accessories to these unheard-of crimes against humanity enjoy the confidence of Western ministers.

Is it not madness to believe that anybody who served Stalin yesterday, help-

ing to hang his fellow-countrymen, should now be able to represent the anti-bolshevist struggle of his country and gather his subjugated people round him? Does anybody seriously believe that our peoples can forgive these "democrats" their crimes of yesterday just because they have now offered their services to the West? Has the West so little confidence in the representatives of genuine liberty and in its own values that it prefers to make use of the flotsam and jetsam of bolshevism? Is the opinion that communism can be successfully combated with the help of communist leftist agrarians and left-radical marxists, but not with the help of men who have been inspired with the love of freedom since their very birth?

Sign of the Times

We are convinced of the contrary. In order to conquer bolshevism, it is not necessary to avail oneself of the services of its counterpart; we must rather muster the full force of our own ideas which are diametrically opposed to it. These ideas are more alive than ever in the Western world today and it is America's task to develop them. They are inexhaustible treasures of Western culture, known as Christianity, respect for the individual and the nation, for freedom and social justice. It is these ideas and America must press into service if she wishes to destroy bolshevism. The decisive weapon in the struggle is the idea of national and religious liberty.

This principle of national and religious liberty is gaining ground in all countries outside of the Soviet sphere of power. Even Moscow, paradoxical though it seems, is attempting to make use of them in order to propagate its tyrannical regime. We are all the more astonished that there should be antiquated politicians in the West who cannot realize the great power and significance of these ideas. India, Pakistan and many countries in the Arab world are granted national independence and religious liberty, while the bolshevist type of socialism that degrades men to become slaves, is repudiated everywhere. All over the world we see the ideas of national liberty, the freedom of religious observance and social justice advancing. The maxim of the A.B.N. "Freedom for



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Bolshevism is only a variation of the Russian's messiahship. Stalin's world hegemony is but an expression of Russian insatiable thirst for power. Bolshevik world aggression cannot therefore be overcome by coming to terms with its Russian creator, but only with the help of their victims.

Triumphal Advance of our Ideas



President Y. Stetzko on the platform at Edmonton

bolshevist and Nazi domination and had finally escaped from N.K.V.D. terrorism, that he had come to the West to give warning of the Russian bolshevist danger, indifference to which would lead to catastrophe. The opportunity to make allies of the subjugated peoples should not be missed, in order to secure a victory over Moscow.

"The Vancouver Sun" on June 3, published an interview with Mr. Stetzko, whose position as the representative of millions of subjugated European peoples in their struggle against oppression, is specially pointed out. The central point of the interview was the statement that the longing of the subjugated peoples for liberation from Russian-bolshevist dominion and their readiness to fight for national independence

was a weapon which was far more effective against Stalin than the atomic bomb.

During his tour, President Stetzko has had an opportunity to meet influential Canadian and British officials and was able to confirm, that interest in the cause of the A.B.N. is growing. Everywhere he was courteously received by Canadian officials and the press published favourable reports of his campaign, thanks to which the Canadian public has been made familiar with our contribution to the solution of the world problem. Emigrés from all the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and many Ukrainian organizations in particular, received fresh impetus from President Stetzko's tour and support the A.B.N. more strongly than ever.

nations, freedom for individuals, has become the slogan of our age.

But the West, strangely enough, has not drawn the necessary conclusions. Attempts are still being made to operate the antiquated constructions of national oppression which lead to the continued existence of dungeons of nations, such as the U.S.S.R., the C.S.R. or Tito's state realm.

Champions of liberty from the ranks of our emigrés who have taken a bold stand against imperialism are blackmailed in the West; co-operation with them is avoided. In their place, men are chosen who allow themselves to be bribed by the West today just as they were willing to sell their services to Moscow yesterday. But no attention is paid to those forces both behind the Iron Curtain and in exile, who continue the struggle under most difficult circumstances, and who have preferred to starve rather than betray their ideas.

The West will never be able to make headway against bolshevism until it returns to its own tested principles, until it ceases to cooperate with agents of bolshevism, until it secures the help of

the genuine champions of our people's liberty. That is why Americans should not seek to work with Kerensky's imperialists or with any other collaborators of communists from the satellite countries, but with the representatives of the ideas of national liberty and social justice. America, with its great traditions, should not let itself be abused, but should be particularly fervent in its denunciation of all dungeons of nations, so that peoples may once more establish their national states on their ethnic territories in freedom and justice. This alone would do justice to America's great sons, Washington and Lincoln, and to historical American traditions of liberty and progress.

We are firmly convinced that the responsible leaders of American policy will yet find the only way that is worthy of the history of the United States. We derive this hope from a number of influential pronouncements in the West which indicate that there is increasing support for a just solution of our problems. They are also the problems of the entire free world and of America's own future.

General Farkas, Spokesman for the A.B.N. in the U.S.A.

After the address he gave to 4000 people at the impressive demonstration organized by "American Friends of A.B.N." in New York on May 4, General Francis Farkas de Kisbarnak, president of the Military Commission of the A.B.N., continued his lecture tour through the States. His programme of meetings organized by the same organization or by local Hungarian groups was:

May 15 in Richmond, May 16 in Pittsburgh, May 18 in Cleveland, May 20 in Buffalo, May 24 in Brunswick, May 27 in New York again. His lectures made a deep impression, not only on emigrés but also on the general American public. They were reported at length by American papers which also published interviews with General Farkas, and photographs.

We mention some of the many cuttings which our office received: The "Richmond News Leader" of May 16 published under the title of "Resistance Movement An Efficient Weapon Against Communism", two columns on the demonstration that had taken place, together with an interview with General Farkas branding bolshevist genocide and emphasizing the potential of the subjugated peoples in the struggle against Moscow. General Farkas stressed that the forces of resistance united in the A.B.N. are now active behind the Iron Curtain where they carry out armed fights and acts of sabotage. The "Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph" of 17. 5. 1952 gave a report of the meeting held there, entitled "The Reds Murdered 30 Millions". In an interview with this paper General Farkas said that the millions oppressed by the Soviet Union are like an atomic bomb waiting for the ignition spark in order to explode. He pleaded for more intense psychological warfare, and the necessity of employing personalities in the war in the ether who enjoy their people's confidence.

During his lecture tour in the U.S.A., much attention was paid to General Farkas as the representative of the A.B.N., and a prominent leader of national Hungary, and a distinguished soldier.

Escaped

The well known Slovak academician and national poet, Prof. Subik M. D. whose pseudonym is Andrei Zarnov, succeeded recently in escaping with his family from Slovakia to the West. During the war Prof. Subik represented the Slovak Republic at the international medical commission which investigated the Katyn case. The commission, even at that time, decided that without doubt the mass murder had been committed by the Bolsheviks. After investigations on the spot, Prof. Subik was convinced as to the authors of the crimes. From then on he was persecuted by the "People's Democratic" regime. The professor, besides being an eminent scientist, is the greatest living Slovak poet.

Side Lights:

Soviet Union a Problem for Journalists

What it means that a third of the world is living almost hermetically sealed off under bolshevism, became clearly evident at the Paris meeting of the "International Press Institute", in May, when reporting on the Soviet Union was discussed, thereby revealing the difficulty in describing life in the Soviet world. It was pointed out, for instance, that the exact figure for the population of the U.S.S.R. has not been made public, that on the other hand, from more or less chance observations, such as Stalin's absence at some public event, too much is made. The decisive question as to how far reporting can be preserved from subjective elements, or in how far responsibility can be taken for it, without arbitrarily distorting the facts, was scarcely touched upon and in consequence not answered.

There were, however, some good, concrete suggestions: the chief editor of the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" recommended sending as many correspondents as possible to the Soviet Union and changing them frequently in order to form a group of experts, capable of working up Soviet material in the office. The chief editor of the Berlin "Tagespiegel" pointed out that Berlin was in a specially favoured position for observation, offering the means of contact with people from the East, as well as an insight into the press of the Satellite States. Another member spoke of the scientific and special publications in the Soviet Union, saying that they are often more revealing than the daily press. By all, the lack of people who really know Russia was stressed.

"Experts on Russia" cannot be turned out like ready-made clothes, nor by a few months' training as a correspondent in Moscow, Warsaw, Sofia or Bucharest. Without wishing to belittle the difficulties facing a correspondent in the free countries when reporting on the Soviet world, it still seems to us that editors have hitherto neglected an important factor which might alleviate their worries: among the millions of refugees who have streamed into the West from the Soviet world, during and after the war, and who are still trickling through, there are hundreds of qualified journalists bringing a knowledge of their home-countries, languages, doctrinaire Marxism and the possibility of realizing it, in a familiar area, all points which cannot be attained in any quick courses. Among these refugees there are thousands of experts in practically every field of economic, political, social and cultural life. A description of the Soviet world from such a source would be the story of those who are now carrying on the work they managed to escape from. It would be wrong to presume without further ado that emigré mentality coloured the outlook of all of these people. The responsible ones among them are conscious of the importance of their interpreter role between their home-land and the free world. Deliberate falsification or spe-

culation would harm their own people first of all.

This potent factor is practically intact. Many of these journalists and experts are doing other jobs, some are struggling to keep their own free press above water; papers that are given much too little attention by the editors in the countries in which they are appearing. Many a report and commentary in these emigré papers contains the evidence of solid and proficient knowledge. (P. S.)

Loan to "Further Peace"

The first half of May this year the Soviet press announced that the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. had resolved to issue a new state loan of 50 milliard roubles, declaring at the same time that this amount would be oversubscribed. No one is likely to doubt that this will be the case. The subtle methods used by the Kremlin to squeeze out and rob the citizens, who are treated worse than slaves, is too well known. To guarantee the loan everyone will have to sacrifice at least one month's wages which the Soviet press has already declared as the minimum.

According to official statements the loan is intended exclusively for peaceful purposes i. e. the construction of a power station in Kuybyshev and Stalingrad, on the Volga, at Kakhovka on the Dniper, further for extending the main canal of Turkistan, the Ukrainian canal and the North Crimean canal. It is not necessary to be an expert to see what peaceful purposes these buildings will be used for, in the end. It is known that the Soviet Union is behind in many important branches of industry, such as steel, coal, oil production, in comparison to the West. It is most backward in the field of electro-energy, without which the atomic bomb cannot be produced, then too electro-energy is needed for the production of some special alloys for aeroplanes and modern weapons, as well as for nitrogen compounds for explosives. The irrigation of South Ukraine and the Crimea can serve for the increase of the cotton crop not, however, for the textile industry, but again for the production of explosives.

The strategic purpose of the constructions proposed is unmistakable. The Don-Volga canal would connect the Black Sea on the land way to the White Sea, the Baltic and others, which will make the construction of submarines in the interior of Russia where the atom and fine mechanics plants are concentrated feasible. In case of war it would be easy to take submarines wherever they are needed along these waterways. (W. A. Z.)

Camouflaged War Budget

In connection with the new State loan in the U.S.S.R. the Soviet press published an article by the Minister of Finance, Zverev, in which it is pointed out that the thirty milliard roubles which the loan is supposed to bring in, are badly needed in addition to the 476.9 milliards of the budget. Zverev then discusses the budget items once more, to convince the naive that it is a "budget for peace and peaceful reconstruction". He describes it in such a way that it seems as if 305.2 milliard roubles, i. e. almost $\frac{2}{3}$ of the expenses of this huge budget, were for peaceful purposes, 180.4 milliards "for developing political economy and 124.8 milliard roubles for social and cultural purposes.

On one hand the finance minister declares that the outlay for which the 305.2 milliards are provided is only for the single so-called Soviet Republics, and for that, education, health service, social insurance, housing and local industry fall to the competence of each Republic. All matters of defence and war industry to be financed from Moscow direct. In the same breath however, it is said in the article, that the local budgets of the single Republics only 98.8 milliards are provided i. e. not $\frac{2}{3}$, but only 20.7 per cent of the whole State budget.

Anyone who has watched Soviet economic and financial life carefully will have noticed that in the last 10 to 15 years the plans for school buildings, hospitals, workmens dwellings etc. have seldom been fulfilled more than 25%, at most 50%. The Soviet press seeks to cover this up by accusing the local authorities of all sorts of shortcomings so that no one might arrive at the conclusion that in reality Moscow has used the funds in question for military purposes.

If this year, the local budgets are said to have reached 50%, the truth will lie somewhere about 10%, no more, of the total budget of the U.S.S.R. that has been used for peaceful purposes.

No subterfuge on the part of Zverev can hide the fact that this year we shall have Stalin's largest war budget, finance a war of aggression. (W. A. Z.)

Plain Speaking is Necessary

That which began as a "police action" in Korea more than year ago, has since become a military front in the cold war, a front which still limits itself to a small part of the world front. In addition, French troops are fighting in Indo-China, British in Burma and Malaya, and National-Chinese in the southern part of Red China, all against opponents who are directed from the same Moscow centre-point. →

Bolshevization and Russification are Siamese twins. If anyone sets out hand in hand with Russians to fight bolshevism, he is sure to lose.

Without prejudice to the mutual exchange of notes and diplomatic discussions with the political delegations of the western world over the possibility of co-existence or compromise, world-bolshevism is unequivocally proving its readiness also to leave the debating rooms and to carry on the debates on the battlefields to which it seems inclined.

Whoever does not realise that we are already at war is either a fool, or pursues an ostrich-like policy, and his attitude can, in proportion to the radius of his sphere of influence, bring a race or even a continent in peril of destruction.

In that huge area east of the line Stettin—Trieste, some hundreds of millions of people are combatting by every means of passive resistance or active opposition which they have at their disposal against their annihilation as human beings, as sociological classes and even as races. On the periphery of the Soviet sphere of influence are arising nuclei of defence, to prevent its spreading further — the decisive settlement with world-bolshevism has begun.

That is not to say anything against treating with the enemy. This has some purpose, if it is carried out with some prospect of success, that in this way the freedom of mankind can be guaranteed. Success is the deciding factor. Discussions as an end in themselves — "so long as negotiations are going on, there'll be no shooting" — are dangerous, if one partner employs the pauses in constructing weapons before the conference building.

The complaisance and appeasement policy of the West have made possible the world-endangering expansion of Bolshevism, not its own strength. Adherence to these principles, therefore, can in the light of the present situation, no longer be vindicated. This was proved, in little, by the new U. N. Commander-in-Chief in Korea, Gen. Clark, when he withdrew the concessions which had been obtained under duress by the agitators in Koje P. O. W. camp, and denoted the American officers responsible. That, generally speaking, was what was meant by the Spanish leader, Franco, when, in his opening speech to the Spanish Parliament, he condemned the policy of concession and appeasement as insufficient: "This policy, in which we will take no part, casts aspersions on the western nations' sense of responsibility."

He considers that the result of this policy is the oppression of the east-European peoples by Bolshevism — with which Spain will never come to terms — and that it is a necessity for the future to give back freedom to these peoples. Its shows the militant anti-communism of the Spanish people, when Franco refers to the necessity of combatting communism with military force. He who has experienced devastating events in his own house knows how little concession and appeasement are able to perform and how necessary is plain speaking. Wherever the latter has been done, Bolshevism has always left the arena.

(P. S.)

European Integration and the Freedom of the Peoples in the East

By Dr. Stefan Panov

It has become an established fact that the Third Reich lost the war mainly because the German Government failed to burst the Soviet dungeon of peoples. Had the Germans, at the very commencement of the war, promised the oppressed nations of the U.S.S.R. their political independence, the German-Soviet war would have become a civil war in the whole territory of the Soviet Union and have swept away the red dictatorship.

In spite of this historical lesson authoritative circles in the West seem inclined to repeat Hitler's fatal mistake. If the West would issue an official declaration that all the peoples subjected by Moscow, including those which came under Russian domination before 1917, should have full national sovereignty, mighty centrifugal powers could be set in motion which would shake the very foundation of the Stalin dictatorship. Strange to say, however, the West refrains from playing the strongest trump card it holds in the cold war.

The Russian emigrants who still adhere to the long outlived Russian Empire, make western statesmen believe that a declaration of that sort — which is actually in harmony with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and with all the ideals for which western democracy is fighting, — would arouse the resistance of the greatest people in the East, and drive them into the arms of Stalin. That the West is dependent on the collaboration of the Russian people, if the Stalin regime is to be overthrown.

Their thesis is biased. It runs contrary to the ideals of the free world and historical development.

Integration and Freedom of the Peoples

The main argument brought forward in the West, by adherents of Russian imperialism, against the liberation of subjected peoples is that the world today is tending towards vast conglomerations of states. For economic and political reasons national frontiers are being done away with and nations collected into federal states. The parole of modern times is United States of Europe. The demand that all the peoples of the Soviet Union should be granted national independence stands in contradiction to that trend.

The A.B.N.'s cry for national freedom and the bursting of the Soviet dungeon of nations is therefore an obsolete and reactionary solution which is not in keeping with the times.

Is this reproach justified? It is right, as far as goes, that about the middle of the 20th century the idea of integration began to gain ground in the whole world. Its climax will be establishment of a world parliament and a world government embracing all peoples. The United States of

Europe will sooner or later be realized and will include Russia as far as the Urals.

The first condition for this integration is however the liberation of all nations beforehand, so that they may become equal members with equal rights of such a federation. In the framework of a supernational formation absolute equality must prevail. It would mean putting the cart before the horse to found the United States of Europe before all the member-nations had gained their full freedom and sovereignty, otherwise the federation would be no advance but a step back; it would not be in accordance with the general trend, but work against it.

Integration and Differentiation

There is another point which may not be forgotten. Simultaneously with the trend towards integration, a process of differentiation may be observed and no power is able to check it. The tendency towards national differentiation is as much a sign of the times as integration and is actually no contradiction.

In opposition to the levelling influences of modern civilisation, the races are recalling more and more their peculiar qualities, their national culture and way of life, — the most precious treasures of a civilized people. A future world of the United States of Europe, Asia and Africa and finally a world government, will aspire to a closer collaboration between nations in the sphere of politics, economics and cultural affairs. But with regard to culture every nation in future will cherish and develop its own. There will be no place in the world of the future for imperialism or chauvinism. On the other hand Utopists who believe that with national egoism, national differences should also disappear, in order to give place to monotonous uniformity disregard the laws of Nature. Levelling in the intellectual sphere is a false development and as such to be combatted, not furthered. The role of national culture will be greater and more important in the future.

According to the Stalin conception, all national culture must disappear and give place to a uniform proletarian "world culture". National languages must be eliminated in favour of a world language, a "progress" which is neither desirable nor possible. The languages of the races are organisms, they are their most valuable possession and the basis for creative development. "Just as every bullet has its centre of gravity, every people has a centre of bliss" (Herder) A people can only be happy when it is able to form its own life in its own way. A national way of life includes the language, the arts etc.

We see how much attention and care the nations whose culture is of a high standard, e. g. the English, Scandinavian etc. have



No Conception

For three days exile journalists from countries behind the Iron Curtain, who belong to the Federation of Free Journalists of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and Balkan States, met and debated in Berlin. Although it had been declared at a press conference held before the meeting, that the Federation was a professional association and followed no special political trend, the meeting had not at all the character of a professional gathering. Berlin had not been chosen merely by chance, nor were the journalists who had left their homes for political reasons and who represented the free press of their native countries abroad, able to evade political questions. The guests too, among whom were the president of the National Committee for Free Europe, representatives of the American Federation of Labour and British and American members of parliament, gave the whole affair a political background.

More than all that, however, the messages sent out to the East and West justify the question as to the political views held by these journalists in exile, especially so, since the chairman of the Federation, Mr. Boleslaw Wierzbanski, (Poland) said in his opening speech that they wanted to show the subjected people the "picture of a better future" which is doubtless identical with the "vision of a united Central and Eastern Europe" and which according to the speaker would result from the collaboration of emigrant professional journalists.

Instead of drawing the promised picture, however, they drifted away, time and again, with the assurance that they had no views as to the future of Europe, nor for the methods to be used for its liberation. Among the German publicists this fact was most especially regretted. It seems to have been for-

devoted to their national culture in the last decades in order to preserve it from the modern tendency to level everything. This trend to national differentiation which is by no means against modern integration, but supplements it and makes sense of it, has become very evident of late.

National Independence — the Elementary Right of a Nation

When the negro tribes of Africa, striving for national independence, meet with recognition and approval, can old civilized peoples, such as the Ukrainians, or Georgians be restrained from seeking release from Russian tutelage?

The champions of Russian imperialism point out that countries like Ukraine or Turkistan, from an economic standpoint cannot be separated. An independent Ukraine, an independent Georgia will naturally keep up close economic relations with Russia, but first of all these peoples must be free and build up their economic connections with other countries as equal partners.

gotten that the German public, above all the population of Berlin, who had been specially invited to attend the public discussions, have a lively interest in the closer designation of this "vision".

On the other hand those from eastern Europe who took part at the international meeting of the German Association of Young Journalists which met April 20th to 26th, at Münster, were disappointed to find that their German colleagues possessed but very indifferent ideas about the new Europe.

The latter meeting which was under the efficient direction of Professor Walter Hagemann (Münster) and given added importance by the presence of Prof. Bashnitz (Amsterdam), Prof. Dovifat (Berlin), Dr. Stern-Rubarth (author of "Europe, Great Power or Provincialism") and Dr. Unger of the European Union, had as its theme "The Contribution of Journalism to the Integration of Europe". The questions which most interested visitors from

eastern European countries, i. e. how far East Europe reaches and how the problems of the national States of the peoples subjugated by bolshevism were to be solved, remained unanswered.

It is true, Prof. Dovifat touched the subject of the East European problem in his speech, "The European Question as seen from Berlin and the Soviet Zone of Occupation", but in a most one-sided manner, giving great prominence to the "greatness" of the Russian people and the "value" of its soul, in an unhappy interpretation of Prof. Stepun's idea: by which Prof. Dovifat brought upon himself the rebuff of incompetence and political prejudice.

With the exception of Prof. Bashnitz, all the speakers were convinced that America's East European policy was right, and they laid stress upon America's consciousness of her mission. The fatal confusion of the terms Russia and East Europe, ran like a red thread through the whole conference. For the German participants there was really no excuse for not knowing the real state of things. (P. S.)

The Victory of Communist Propaganda

As we all know, communist seizure of power in each of the Satellite States began in the same way: at first intentions were camouflaged by "democratic" government coalitions. As soon as these were firmly in the saddle, the communist members commenced getting rid of their partners, gaining domination step by step, until finally the countries were turned into Soviet-Russian colonies. In most cases the process met with stubborn resistance, even from the ranks of the communists themselves, as the fate of the great ones, such as Kostoff in Bulgaria, Slansky in Czechia, Gomulka in Poland, Rakosi in Budapest, Peter Croza and Anna Pauker in Bucharest makes evident. Nevertheless the stadholders in those countries seek to give the impression, at least to the outside world, that their governments are still in the hands of some democratic coalition, while in reality that has long since been liquidated.

It is therefore more than strange that on the occasion of the congress of the so-called "Fatherland Front" in Bulgaria when the name of the present government clique was only retained as a bluff for the public at home and abroad, to make people believe that some sort of coalition of democratic, patriotic and political circles, still exist behind the scenes, and that just the Associated Press should become a victim to that bluff. The Agency sent out the following report:

"The 'Fatherland Front' is a coalition of the Communist Party, the Peasant, the Social Democratic and the Zveno parties."

Thus mendacious communist propaganda has every reason to be proud

of its success. After this report, Sofia and Moscow can congratulate each other on a complete victory all along the line. A world-renowned western news agency has served the public with something communists themselves, even average ones, do not even believe.

Anyone at all acquainted with conditions in Bulgaria knows full well that since 1946, when Nikola Petkoff of the Peasants' Party was thrown out of the government and then sent to prison and the gallows; the leader of the Social Democrat Party, Kosta Lulcheff landed in prison and the Zveno leader and war minister, Walcheff was removed from office and banished abroad, the so-called coalition government has ceased to exist, or has become a thin mask for a typically totalitarian communist, one-party system. It is well known too, that following on that fictitious "coalition", only the flotsam and jetsam of the former parties were left as figurines, and they announced the dissolution of their own party organizations in order to enter the homogenous "Fatherland Front" whose fealty was to Moscow.

Finally, every child knows that the real Peasants' Party of the influential leader Getscheff never belonged to the Fatherland Front coalition, but merely a left radical group, known as the Plane group, which had for years collaborated with the communists was in it.

And yet western news agencies hand out to the governing Stalin clique in Sofia, — which is not even backed by the Bulgarian communist Party, — the testimony of a democratic coalition on a broad basis. (B.)

"Socialistic Democracy"

In the new constitution which is being drawn up by the Belgrade government, Yugoslavia is to have a new democratic structure: the authority of the government is to be vested in committees made up of members of the national assembly; administration to be in the hands of state secretaries who are in each case experts in their branch, but who are under the supervision of the competent committee; the national assembly is to be divided into two houses; the already existing federal council, and a council of "producers" i. e. representatives of industrial and agricultural collective enterprises, — a strange mixture of Soviet and co-operative elements.

The State is, for the first time, to have a president. The president is to hold the offices of chairman of the presidential body and of parliament, and act as commander-in-chief of the forces. It is to be presumed that Marshal Tito will not give up the command of the army and will therefore become president of the Republic. That means strengthening of his personal position and with it the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Until now parliamentary leadership was in the hands of a third party. At present Dr. Ivan Ribar holds that position.

The psychological-political preparation for the reform followed the Soviet pattern: In answer to a letter in the "Borba", in which a deputy, Davidovic, stated that the system of representative government was obsolete and no longer in accordance with "our socialistic democracy" and therefore should be changed, Moshe Pijade, the theorist of "Titoism", said on March 30, 1952, in the same paper, that parliament, — Yugoslavia has a federal constitution, — had become petrified in the form of 1946 "as if the wave of socialistic democracy had not touched it at all." Pijade laid special emphasis on the qualifications of the deputies, but added "the system of our parliaments make them houses of silence". He then goes on to say. "Why that is so I should defer not to discuss."

This statement is not difficult to understand, it rests on the fact that the Belgrade regime, also in the new "democratic structure", intends to maintain the unlimited monopoly of the communist party, the arbitrary system of the political police, the oppression of civil rights and liberty, including the work of the churches. Having arisen through the terrorization of all other parties by one party, the C.P.Y., the regime cannot exist without its support. It would simply fall to pieces.

The introduction of sham democratic reforms are as little deceptive as the "Law for the Preservation of Civil Rights" which has come into force in the meantime and which is intended to make it possible to appeal against decisions by financial and labour authorities and peasant organizations, in questions of compulsory delivery quotas, for the executive lies exclusively in the hands of approved communist party members.

(P. S.)

A Bulgarian Protest

Referring to an article appearing in the American newspaper in Germany, the "Neue Zeitung", the Presidency of the National Bulgarian Front have placed their protest at our disposal, from which we publish the following:

"In a series of articles entitled "Yugoslavia's Cominform Neighbours" now appearing in the "Neue Zeitung", the issue of May 1st/2nd (No. 103) gave a report on Bulgaria containing misrepresentations which are an injustice to the Bulgarian people and a travesty of their history.

The statement, above all, that the Bulgarians are so conscious of their "Slav adherence" and so russophile that in World War I they had to be incarcerated and shot, literally in thousands" for refusing to fight against the Russians. That this atrocity story is a fabrication is proved by the war records of the time. It is a generally known fact, that the elite of the Russian regiments which forced their way into Dobrudsha in 1917 with the objective of freeing the way into Bulgaria were thrown back, in spite of their superior numbers, and so completely defeated by General Koleff's cavalry that the remainder were hardly able to get across the Danube in their panicky flight. It is just this Bulgarian "blitz" victory over the Russians that is held in military academies as exemplary. Furthermore, the Bulgarian army crossed the Danube itself and harried the Russian and Rumanian troops as far as Bucharest, fighting the decisive battle on the banks of the Seret.

The author's allegation, too, that in the last war, owing to the Bulgarians' pro-Russian sympathies, neither King Boris nor the Prince Regent Cyril dared to send troops to the Soviet front. The real reason why Bulgaria clung so determinedly to its neutrality towards Russia was to avoid giving Russia any casus belli whatever for an advance on the Balkans, a fact which fitted in with the plans of the Western Powers and was, no doubt, agreed upon in unofficial parleys. The Yalta decisions and the early, mysterious death of King Boris put an end to that cautious policy. In any case it was certainly not "love of the Russians" which spoiled the Bulgarians for war, or even that the country, as the weak point in the Balkans, gave way for the Russian invasion as might be concluded from the article.

It cannot be denied that Bulgaria's alleged affection for "mother Russia" is often a priori accepted by many in the West and has again and again been the cause of that unjustifiable suspicion cherished towards Bulgaria, for which the country in its recent history has had, more than once to pay dearly. That it is only an arbitrary prejudice, that to-day borders on malice, may be seen by the following facts.

1) Despite all comprehensible feeling of gratitude towards the Russian "liberators", the Bulgarian people in the eighties and nineties of the last century, when it became evident that Pe-

tersburg was aiming at making Bulgaria a Russian Danubian province (gouvernement), made a decided break with all political sympathy with Russia. This determined attitude was given expression when Russian tutelage and annexationist tendency was shaken off by the great Bulgarian statesman, Stepan Stamboloff, backed by the army and the people. That historical act met with the full approval of the whole western world, and others too.

2) Moscow's powerful advance after the world war, undertaken on the suppression of pro-Russian feeling, and carried out by mass assassinations and civil war, was stopped by the Bulgarians with their own forces, in spite of the radical tendency arising through the war.

3) That the country was conquered in September 1944 by Soviet Russia was due alone to the tragic war and world situation then prevailing, which allowed the Red Army free access into the country through a violent revolutionary regime, in the illusory idea that they could master the fate of Bulgaria with the crumbling axis between Moscow and the western powers.

4) In spite of their Slavic language and Cyrillic alphabet, which are counted as their most precious cultural possessions, there remains deeply rooted in the people an atavistic reminiscence of their Turanian origin.

Aside from all the theories as to genesis and origin of the present Bulgaria, there is that specific element in the blood and consciousness of the people, a peculiarity which separates them from the so-called "Slavic races" and it is just this element that Moscow is trying to eliminate from the history books and literature, from school and from the knowledge of the coming generation, because it is a thorn in the flesh for russification and a bulwark for the national idea.

Under these circumstance it is more than paradoxical to call the Bulgarians consciously Slavic and to endow them with an exaggerated love of Russia, the last sad remnants of which have been wiped out."

Workers Resistance Against Collective Contracts

Resistance is growing in a number of plants in the Chemnitz district (Eastern Germany) against collective contracts for the plant, by which a considerable worsening in working conditions and a new increase in the workers nor at the same wages as before, is envisaged. The draft of a new collective contract for the Elite-Diamant Bicycle Works at Chemnitz has been unanimously rejected by all the sections in the plant. The workers pointed out in the discussion that followed, that the conditions laid down in the draft contract were below the standard of those prevailing at the time when the works were an S.A.G. plant. The Elite-Diamant works was recently given back to the Soviet Zone government.

(I.W.E.)

The Croatians Reply

By Major General Hinko Skaricic-Alabanda

When, after the overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the end of 1918, the Croatian people, against their will, were forced into the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, — later Yugoslavia — they entered the hardest period of their history.

With that act one of the oldest peoples in Europe, a people which for centuries had bravely defended western civilization and Christianity against Ottoman invasion, was delivered over to a handful of megalomaniacs, seized by Serbian monomania, and with whom the Serbian people had little in common. These fanatics set out to found a greater Serbia in order to realize Peter I's will, i. e. the conquest of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, the domination over the Mediterranean and the sea route Gibraltar—Suez. By prescribing this partial aim to Russian imperialism they hoped to gain power themselves and with Russia's assistance to keep it. The Croats with their natural leaning to the west, stood in the way and had to be got rid of.

From 1918 on, the people were systematically oppressed. The name Croat alone was sufficient. As an "enemy of the people", arrest, torture, death followed. A new craze arose that the Yugoslav nation was to serve as the "fifth column" in the greater Serbian imperialism, just as communism served Russian imperialism as a fifth column.

With Croatia's declaration of independence on April 4, 1941, a period of peaceful inter-state life might have begun. But the Serbian "Charshia" saw their plans thwarted and turned to terrorism. Their Cetniks crossed the Drina and invaded Croatia, committing horrible atrocities on Catholics and Mussulmans, all of which has not come to light yet. It is no exaggeration to say that one million Croatians were literally slaughtered, mutilated, tortured, burnt to death or drowned. The Croatians fought desperately to defend their right to existence. They did not fight against the West, their 20 divisions fought against the Serbian Cetniks and Tito's communist partisans, Stalin's pioneers. They did not capitulate but submitted to the decree by the Western Powers that Tito's communist government was to be recognized as a Western Ally.

Since then Tito has reigned over the Yugoslav fiction, upheld by Serbo-Communism, the new form of Serbian "Charshia".

After 1945 that clique with the old method, tried to bring the Croats into discredit as murderers and plunderers in 1941 and 1945. On one side to wash their hands in innocence, on the other in the hope that their statements would be believed in West and act as an introduction for the seizure of power, should one day the regime in Yugoslavia be liquidated.

That must be known if one is to understand the step the present members of the Serbian "Charshia", Adam Pribicevic, Vladim-

mir Belajcic and Branko Miljus have taken: they submitted a memorandum to the fifth General Meeting of the U.N., accusing the Croatian people of the crimes committed by the Serbs in 1941—1945, and demanding the trial of 192 Croats, whose names are listed, for genocide.

The first chairman of the Croatian National Committee, Dr. Branislav Jelic, whose name is also on the list, although he has lived abroad since 1928, has sent a memorandum to the president of the 6th General Meeting of the U.N. in which he replies exhaustively and matter-of-factly to the accusation raised against the Croat-

ian people and the persons named in the list. In his memorandum he gives a short outline of Croatian history and the Croat-Serbo relations in the periods 1918, 1918—1941, 1941—1945, and after 1945 and invalidates all points of the Serbian allegations. Besides which, he demands an investigation by the U.N. into the events, in order to show the world where the truth is and that the Croatian people need have no fear of it.

The investigations will have a further result: the clear recognition of the mistakes made by Western policy in Yugoslavia since 1918 and still tolerated. Self-determination cannot be suppressed in the long run, either by bolshevists or national-communist government methods. Tito's "democratic" communism is as much a fiction as Serbian Yugoslavism.

How Stalin is Helped to Conquer the World

*Remarks on a Pamphlet:
"How to help Stalin win the World", New York*

The above-named pamphlet issued by Friends of Fighters for Russian Freedom, is an example of amateurish reporting, — its sub-title "Who is the Enemy — 'Russia' or Communism?", — handles the subject of combatting the menace of communism.

In the preface it is said that by supporting "race fanatics", by the cry for a crusade to destroy and Balkanize the country, i. e. by cutting Russia up, the way will be paved for Stalin to conquer the world. All of which only goes to show that the aim and object of the above brochure is to discredit the non-Russian peoples in exile and their fighters at home, in their struggle for freedom and independence, in the eyes of the Americans, whose love of spacious thinking is thus cleverly appealed to.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that the pamphlet attacks the Ukrainian Congress Committee and anti-bolshevik organisations, such as the A.B.N. their magazines "The Ukrainian Quarterly", "Ukrainian Observer", (formerly "Ukrainian Information Service"), and the "A.B.N. Correspondence". Nor does the said pamphlet refrain from clumsy distortions and lies. For instance, Yaraslav Stetsko and Stepan Bandera are described as war criminals and good friends of Hitler. Alfred Berzins, Vasyl (in origin Vladimir?, Ed.) Glaskow and others are said to be Nazi collaborators, while General Vlassov, who set up an army of liberation is represented as a Hitler victim.

The reason for this attack rests without doubt on the author's discovery that the Americans have been much struck by anti-Russian propaganda in the above — named organizations and that they are finding considerable support in Congress, as well as in the American press.

In order to cast aspersions on Ukraine's longing for independence Ukrainian history has to be falsified; Kyiv is represented as the "centre of Russian civilization", the events of Pereyaslav January 8, 1654) are interpreted as the voluntary union with the Russian Empire, and the Ukrainian people's struggle for national freedom and independence is made light of as the "desire for self-administration and cultural autonomy". Thus Russian expansion in Ukraine is turned into justified "pioneer work" and the sanguinary conquest of the Caucasus and Turkistan into a peaceful colonial policy. The parallels with Soviet-Russian historical writings are conspicuous, for in them Soviet attacks against nationalism among the non-Russian peoples are treated as trifles, hardly worth mentioning, and measures against cosmopolitanism are placed on the same footing.

In the face of such misrepresentations by Russia provocateurs and by bolshevist agents, the question may be asked "are political circles in U.S.A. not sufficiently well-informed to realize that it is just travesties of this kind that 'help Stalin to win the world'?"

(Y. Z. P.)

The U.S.S.R. is merely a facade for Russian tyranny over a hundred million enslaved non-Russians. The West's allies against Moscow are not Russian slave-drivers and profiteers, but only the enslaved peoples who wish to break the yoke of tyranny.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

OIL TROUBLES

The "Pravda" of May 15, 1952 gives some space to certain undesirable conditions in Aserbaijan's oil production which have led to a falling off in output, and for which the local party organizations are made responsible.

"The oil production of the "Molotov-neftj" is diminishing. In November it was "suddenly" discovered that there was a check in the preparation of fresh cadres and that the training courses to improve the qualification of master-workers had ceased as long ago as last July; that there was no further technical training for workers and technical personnel. The Bureau of the District Committee of the Communist Party concluded in its resolution that that all come about because the party cells in the oil refineries, the district-committees of the oil workers union and the local trade unions organization displayed no interest in the conditions prevailing in technical training; that they asked nothing from the managers in the economic department to make the fulfilment of the plan to train qualified cadres possible. And what did the District Committee of the Party itself do. Why did they not carry out the instructions given at the district conference of the party, which laid down that the training of cadres must be improved and the quality raised?

The "Molotoneftj" Trust, it is true, exceeded the quota for oil and oil gas, but did not avail itself of all the possibilities for increasing the output. At the end of last year the quality of the oil production began to sink and this year the process has continued. The conference of the active members of the party organizations of the district gave a bolshevist answer, to the effect that of late party organizing and party politics had been neglected by the district committee, its departments and cells, that there was little spontaneity and verve in their work."

The article contains the interesting admission that in "bolshevist eyes" the activists of the party, inspired, we may presume, by activists of the Soviet Russian party, have little influence on the local Aserbaijan party formations.

BULGARIA

"THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S VICTORY"

The "Pravda" published an article under the above headline on May 23, 1952, saying,

"Thanks to what the Bulgarian peasant has learned from the Soviet collectivized peasant there is am bumper harvest this year. Even in 1951, the ever-increasing socialist collective farm delivered 70% of the total harvest."

"Under these circumstances the necessity arose of normalizing the circulation of money, as it no longer kept pace with the upward rush of the country's economics and the success brought about by reconstruction.

"Owing to the recent currency reform there will now be as much money in circulation as is necessary for economy.

"The currency reform was so, that 100 old lew (Bulgarian coin) were exchanged for 1 new lew.

"With the currency reform food rationing ceased in Bulgaria."

The "Pravda" reveals to its readers in the article that in agrarian Bulgaria, working along Soviet methods, rationing still existed in 1952, while the whole world knows that West Germany, for instance, devastated by war and over-populated as it is, gave up rationing food and other things long ago, without any Soviet system.

We learn too, that rationing could only cease after the population had sacrificed 100 old lew for 1 new one, i. e. after the purchase power of the old was exhausted.

Whether that is to be called a victory seems extremely problematical.

EASTERN GERMANY

SOLDIERS SENT BACK TO THE U.S.S.R. AS PRISONERS

28 soldiers and officers of the Soviet army, as we have just learned, were entrained at the goods yards of Schwerin and sent back to the Soviet Union, closely guarded. The soldiers had been arrested in April at their barracks in Schwerin, by the M.V.D. It is alleged that they had anti-Stalin leaflets in their possession from a resistance group in the army. (I.W.E.)

DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL GOODS

The little baroque palace of Reinhardtsgrimme, dating from the 17th century, in the eastern Erzgebirge, now being used as an agricultural school, is to be torn down. The valuable frescos, painted by old Dutch masters, which decorate the halls of the palace have often been objected to owing to their "unsuitableness in this age" and were to be painted over. (I.W.E.)

DILAPIDATED PIONEER PALACES

The committee set up by the town council of Erfurt to inspect the F.D.J. (Freie Deutsche Jugend) halls and pioneer palaces describe nine of the eleven as "perfectly filthy and in a disgraceful condition. The committee reports that the F.D.J. houses must be renovated at once if they are to be used for these young people... The committee found pictures of Stalin, Pieck, Ulbricht and Grotewohl "still packed as they had been delivered last February, lying on the shelves." (I.W.E.)

ARREST OF SOVIET OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS

140 officers and soldiers belonging to the army of occupation in the garrisons at Wünsdorf, Rangsdorf and Zossen were arrested in April by the Security Service, according to evidence given by escaped German employees who worked in those barracks. The prisoners were accused of fraternizing with German civilians and thus making it possible for anti-Soviet leaflets to be brought into their quarters. (I.W.E.)

WORKERS IN THE SOVIET ZONE DEFEND THEMSELVES

The refusal of the Soviet general manager, Filimonov to pay out the premiums due the beginning of this year for the last quarter of 1951, at least in April, was met by a storm of protest. It was only when the workers threatened the German manager with a strike and he, following the parole of the Carbid Works, "Out with the premiums or we out the fires", gave weight to the threat, so that the Soviet and German management were compelled to pay up. (I.W.E.)

GEORGIA

"EXTRAORDINARY SILENCE"

Youth work in the Georgian S.S.R. is causing the communist headquarters in Moscow a good deal of trouble, especially as the party agencies in the Republic pay little attention to Moscow, i. e. Russian, censure, and do not discuss the warnings they receive with any kind of "self-criticism" in public.

In an article "The Extraordinary Silence" which appeared on May 10th, 1952, the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" complains that the Komsomol (Young Communist League) of Georgia at Tbilisi, the capital, is "directing the cells of the organization badly, and that the educational work is being neglected". The newspaper asserts that that is not confined to the capital, but is the case in all the other towns and districts of the Republic.

"The bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Georgia has not yet freed itself from old errors, nor does it react to the criticisms directed towards it, a conclusion which is confirmed by the following facts: Almost five months ago, on the 15th of December the "Komsomolskaya Pravda", in an article entitled "A Piece of Work that is merely for Show", pointed out and deprecated the failings in the activity of the Palace of the Pioneers at Tbilisi. The bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Georgia made no attempt to discuss the same, and did nothing whatever to redress the shortcomings. This only goes to show that the Central Committee has not taken the criticisms made by the press to heart and has hushed them up."

HUNGARY

ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

The Hungarian government, after long investigations, received a severe reprimand from the Economic Council of the Cominform. It is accused of sabotaging the five year plan set up by the Soviets, and of falsifying economic statistics. The heavy industry is blamed for exceeding the consumption of raw materials prescribed by Soviet experts. At the same time the Hungarian government was ordered to take sharper measures against acts of sabotage committed by the employees and workers in industrial concerns. For agriculture, too, energetic steps are announced as imminent. The whole land population, men and women up to the age of 65, and even children, are to be put to work in agriculture.

PROOF OF A PROPER ATTITUDE

The paper of the Communist Party in Hungary, "Szabad Nép", writes April 25, 1952:

Class consciousness has become more evident among our party members in the course of the last few years. Their sense of duty, too, is more apparent, as may be seen by the regularity and promptness with which they pay their dues. It may be said that the settlement of members, fees as they fall due, is a standard by which the work of the party in question can be measured" ..

In the next sentence, however, the paper explains how this increase in "class-conscious sense of duty" is attained: numerous places in the provinces have set a bad example. In February, for instance, at Ibrány only 28.7% and at Kotáj only 30.1% of the party members paid their contributions. The reason given by the paper is, that in these villages of the Komitats Szabolcs there is no net of "confidential advisers", which merely proves the continuous watch kept over party members in order to secure discipline.

SLOVAKIA

NO ENTHUSIASM

Although communist agitators went from house to house canvassing for the first of May, the demonstrations were but sparsely attended. School children and factory hands who had been ordered to appear, formed the majority of those present. The indifferent applause for the speakers and the lack of enthusiasm was noticed by all.

At Bratislava there was a communist demonstration on April 15, the day of the "liberation" by the Red Army. When the chief speaker, comrade P. David, saw that his words aroused no enthusiasm he asked: "At the time of the Slovak Republic I was witness to much enthusiasm on this square. Were you better off then than you are today? Why this silence?"

ERECTION OF THE H.U.K.O. CONCERN MAKES SLOW PROGRESS

In eastern Slovakia a huge concern, H.U.K.O., is being built up and the work carried out, in the main, by convict labour, as absenteeism has taken on such proportions. The president of the Communist provincial government, Duris, was himself at pains to raise the morale of the workers and endeavoured to convince them that they were working in their own interest and not for the Soviet Union, as enemy propaganda alleged. He failed however to influence them and the government was forced to bring in several thousand Chinese and a hundred Italian communists.

FOOD SHORTAGE

The prevailing food shortage in Slovakia is becoming more than critical. The shops cannot even supply the rations which are short enough as it is. There are not enough potatoes. Proceedings against persons who hoard foodstuffs or purveyors of inferior products, are intended to draw the attention of the population from the real cause of the shortage which is the stringent exports to the Soviet Union. People are thus reminded afresh of the time of plenty when Slovakia was independent.

TURKISTAN

"POLITICALLY BACKWARD"

The "Pravda" of May 4, 1952, reports on the last plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiz S.S.R., one of the five republics into which Turkistan has been divided for political reasons:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiz S.S.R. has not seized the right methods for making the backward areas politically ripe, nor for strengthening trained workers. It takes too little notice of the political and professional schooling of the workers."

At the plenary meeting, the false methods made use of in educating the young workmen were strongly censured. Some of regional and district committees of the party seemed to be afraid of engaging new men, especially from among the young ones, for the various posts. The shortcomings in the political training of the cadres are also sharply criticized. Many of the leading men neglected to improve the level of their theoretical knowledge. Cadre education was suffering from the ideological errors contained in the text-books and works by native writers, in books on Kirghizstan's history."

From this formal criticism by the "Pravda" correspondent in the Kirghiz capital Frunze, the demand stands out prominently to entrust leading functions to new men, young men. The wish is evident to take young men belonging to the generation brought up in Stalin's ideology for political leadership, those who will therefore be more likely to take a strong stand against "deviationism", above all of a national trend, than their immediate predecessors whose way of thinking is rooted in Turkistan's national past.

UKRAINE

MUSCOVITE REPRISALS

The Kremlin's confidential man in Ukraine, Leonid H. Melnikov, a Russian, now secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (a position never given to a Ukrainian), has penalized many kolkhozes and party heads of late.

The reason, according to Soviet press notices, being the destruction of the sugar beet seed by insects, which the central committee of the communist party Ukraine declares is due to "the carelessness of party and agricultural offices".

The regional and executive committees of the party at Kyiv were blamed for "not inspiring the necessary intensity into the work of the party and agricultural offices". The top level leaders were warned that they would be "called to account if the position were not improved in the shortest time."

The work of the highest party offices in Vynnytsia, Poltava and Kirovograd, were stated to be "entirely unsatisfactory". The representatives of the Ukrainian agricultural ministry and the main administration offices of the sugar factories were reprimanded and their superiors warned.

In a resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was stressed that all the kolkhoze in the Republic had every possible means at their disposal to attain a good beet crop and the failure of part of that important seed only due to gross negligence.

Rudenko, public prosecutor in Ukraine, was ordered to regard "every instance of destruction in sugar beet as injury to the whole Soviet State, and to discover the guilty ones and punish them accordingly".

After this order was issued there was a meeting at Ismail of all the secretaries of the regional committee and the district leaders of Ukraine, upon which many hundred communists were punished by Melnikov.

"Soviet patriotism" is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism. Assurances that the Russian imperium is indivisible cannot destroy new Soviet patriotism, but it may paralyse the willingness to fight of 100 millions of nationally conscious non-Russians.

THE VOICE OF

OUR PEOPLES

Slovenska Republika

The Slovak Republic Will become a Fact . . .

From an article by Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, in the "Slovenska Republika" No. 2-3, 1952, we have taken the following extract.

"We see that today, too, short-sightedness reigns. We see that everything is being done to repeat the injustice to Slovakia. The group of those seeking to renew Czechoslovakia is strong and financially backed. No consideration is given to the fact that they are not representatives of the Slovak people, but of Czech interests in Slovakia, nor that they are pursuing aims rejected by the Slovak people. No attention at all is paid to the fact that it is a question of former and present Moscow agents who helped to build up the Iron Curtain. Why is that so? Because so many people and responsible politicians in the West are deliberately misled . . . There is no doubt that many Anglo-Americans sincerely desire to realize the principle of democracy and self-determination, but there are others among them who are ready to support the Czech ambitions of domination.

All Slovaks, abroad or at home, most consistently follow the aim they have set themselves — independence . . . Where that is concerned we must be ruthless and allow no compromise. For us it is perfectly clear that no other solution will secure a decent living standard for Slovakia . . .

We must make it clear to everyone that in Slovakia the fight against communism is necessarily combined with the fight against Czech domination. Without Moscow's aid Czechoslovakia could not have come into existence (1945), just as the communist regime in Slovakia cannot be maintained without the help of Prague . . .

If we refuse to compromise in this principle question then, without doubt, we shall achieve our object. The Slovak Republic will be realised . . . Let us act as becomes a self-reliant people. One should not beg but act, not beg but fight."

Daniza

The well-known Croatian publicist, Professor Bonifacije wrote an article for the oldest Croatian newspaper appearing in America, "Daniza" ("Morning Star"), entitled "Croatistic in the World", in which he deals with the all-Slavic ideology and the confusion caused thereby, the victims of which, in the past were the Croatian intellectuals:

"To stress our importance, — according to the well-known saying of the Montenegrins: "With the Russians we are 150 millions", — the founders of our historical science sailed gaily into the Slavic fog. What that meant is only now made clear to the Croats. It will be a long time before the other peoples see with the same clearness, and it is our duty to make known to the world where Croatistics lead to, in order to overcome the chaos which our people helped to produce . . . We

are a people with a lively imagination, so that it is no wonder that those early historians tuned their song to the idea of the all-Slav thesis, which was to be our salvation . . .

The devastating war between Serbs and Croats is, at bottom, only the result of that poetical and propagandist phrase of brotherly love, unity and "the rotten occident" from which only our big brother, resp. mother Russia, would save us. To-day it is Tito and Stalin . . .

Austria threw slavistics as a sop to the Slav professors and the best Slav thinkers for a whole century gave themselves up to philological treatises

and the discovery of all-Slavic fragments . . . At the all-Slavic Congress in Prague everyone spoke German . . . Slavic was carried to Moscow, Petersburg and Belgrade where it soon became the maid of all work for political combinations. Up to the time of Anton Starcevic and Anton Radic, the Croats had no expert on the subject, but only aymen. The Croatian, Jagic, is the last who is proficient in every field of slavistics, but he does not realize that he is merely a Russian and Serbian agent. Dr. Anton Radic was the first to put a stop to that "knightly train", showing with scientific arguments what it was all about . . . From Moscow, Petersburg and Belgrade slavistics wandered to Paris and London and now the first "Yugoslav chair" is being instituted at Columbia University, New York . . ."

Communist Espionage in the West

Editor's Note: The following deposition of an agent of the Tito communist secret police bears the mark of truth. It was made before the Croatian National Committee and thence forwarded to the editorial staff. The name of the witness must remain undisclosed.

At the end of the war I fell into British hands and was later handed over to the Tito partisans at Bleiburg (Slovenia). I was then taken to my native town to face my trial. The charges consisted exclusively of false statements, made with the purpose of compromising me in the eyes of my fellow-townsmen, who knew me as a political opponent, and of passing upon me the severest possible sentence. This sentence was fifteen years imprisonment, which I was to serve at Srem.

One day in 1949, there came to me an acquaintance who was serving as major with the secret police (O.Z.N.A.) and made me the following offer: "I am come to help you to regain your freedom. You know you have no prospect of being released before the expiration of your sentence. If you are wise, therefore, you will not refuse a few conditions. I will give you three days to reflect."

The conditions were: "You will in the interests of socialistic Yugoslavia, go on a mission to Italy. There you are to mingle with the Yugoslav refugees in their camps. You will give out that you were sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment on account of your stupid Croatian patriotism. In the camps you are to ascertain what people are there, why they have fled the country, how and by which paths, alone or by the help of intermediaries, with what people in Yugoslavia they are maintaining contact, from which side they receive financial support, what aims they are pursuing and who are their most active elements. Furthermore, you must disrupt their political work, e. g. undermine their trust in each other and in their leaders. Keep us informed as to all your activities."

Since the conditions of my confinement were indescribably intolerable, and I had no hope of escaping from this hell in any

other way, I decided to accept the offer and in this way to gain my liberty. On my release I was sent to a "Spy School at Novi Sad. The School was in Dunavska Ulica (Dunavska Street) No. 29, and was run by a colonel. Our bedrooms were in the same building, so that we were constantly under surveillance. The names of the O.Z.N.A. members who supervised us were unknown to us. There were 14 of us in a room, in an adjacent room there were three women or girls who were being trained in the same manner. Our treatment was unobjectionable and the food good. The lectures lasted from 8—11.30 a. m. and from 6—9 p. m., the syllabus covering the following fields:

- 1) Instruction in the reporting of the activities of the emigré groups.
- 2) The fomenting of intrigue within the single emigré groups in order to shake the confidence of members in each other.
- 3) Instruction in the tactics of approaching a certain person (here was given the name of a distinguished expatriated Croatian, important for the O.Z.N.A.).
- 4) Guidance in the method of reporting on single individuals, if possible in the form of a biography: under what name they are living, why they fled, accomplices in their flight, place of crossing the frontier, connections with Yugoslavia, activities in exile, connections abroad, origin and form of their instructions, and, if possible, insight into and supervision of their correspondence.

5) Instructions concerning contact with the Yugoslav Embassy in Rome, i. e. the U.D.B.A. chief in Rome, D. Pajevic, from whom, in my case, I was to receive orders.

6) At any given moment I should receive the order to liquidate the Croatian personage in question.

The course lasted from October 15, 1949 to March 13, 1950. I was then taken via Lubljana to a villa near the Italian frontier, where the U.D.B.A. was established. There I was closely kept until March 31, when I was taken by night in a car to the border itself in order that I might submerge myself as a refugee in a camp.

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The Russians and Ourselves

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. takes up the Argument

The effect our ideas have had on world opinion has called forth a campaign of misrepresentation and libel concerning our aims, and the more our conception of the dismemberment of the Russian imperium, which is now menacing the world, and the restoration of the national independence of the peoples enslaved within it, is recognized by the West as a decisive factor in solving the present world crisis, the more violently we are attacked by people who have an interest in doing so. The prime movers in this campaign are to be found among influential circles of Russian emigré imperialists whose chief object is no longer the defeat of bolshevism but rather, it seems, the preservation of the great despotic Russian empire, at any price.

The campaign against us is carried on in a flood of pamphlets, newspaper articles, memorandums and secret reports sent to western chancelleries, in all of which the A.B.N. is presented as a party of anti-Russian extremists obsessed by hatred, as chauvinists and separatists. To crown all, it is declared that our fight is likely to crush all resistance offered by the Russian people to Stalin's regime and drive them into his arms, thus jeopardizing any war against bolshevism.

In face of this, the Central Committee of the A.B.N. has no other course than to publish the following statement:

1. There is not a single proof of any aggressive or enimical feeling towards the Russian people as such, either in the historical past or in the ideology and activity of the national liberation movement of the A.B.N. The conflicts in the past and in the present between us and Russia have arisen solely and alone from Russian imperialistic policy and not from any enmity or hate of the Russians themselves. Our attitude and our struggle are not now and never were

led by "anti-Russianism" but only by our inalienable right to national and cultural self-preservation.

It cannot be laid at our door that we ever allowed ourselves to be influenced by hate or malice, on the contrary, it was the Russian thirst for power and alleged Messiahship that more than once

made our peoples the objects of sanguinary wars of conquest and tyrannical genocidal systems of government, just as to-day. That is why we call upon the whole world to go shoulder to shoulder with us, not against the Russian people and its sacred right to existence and free development as a state, but simply against that aggressive Russian imperialism which threatens the world to-day, with loss of freedom, justice and all that is sacred to man.

2. Taught by experience we have recognized bolshevism with its slogan of "proletarian world revolution" as another type of the old messiahship that inspired Russian imperialism. The fight against Stalin cannot therefore be separated from the fight against Russia's policy of conquest and accompanying thirst for power. Bolshevism cannot be combatted while Russian imperialists are pandered to and allowed to have their way. It is a contradiction to wish to do away with the Soviet world menace and at the same time preserve the Russian empire. Whoever seeks to guarantee peace and security to the world must of necessity turn against the former and work for the restoration of the freedom of all peoples, including the Russian people.

The Russian people must inevitably remain on the other side of the barricade

Editorial

Never Again!

An Historical Review

If there is one motto to which all the Slav people behind the Iron Curtain agree, it is this: Never again to listen to naive and irresponsible political quacks who, influenced by the pan-Slavian idea, plead for close relations with the "elder Russian brother" or for confidence in "mother Russia", by which, consciously or unconsciously, they open the door to Russian-bolshevist genocide.

After all the bitter, sanguinary experience with Russian-bolshevist rule, the enslaved peoples — some sooner, some only after the last war, — are done, once and for all, with every kind of ruinous russophile impulse. They hate nothing worse to-day, than the dead myth of all-Slavic solidarity which was so brutally abused by its Russian originators that it was turned into quite the opposite. Just this deeply founded aversion among our peoples to the efforts of Moscow to appeal to all-Slavic sentiments, in order to misuse them further and let them die for its imperialist aims, is an historical factor which may not be overlooked by responsible statesmen in the western world, if the right way is to be found out of this present world crisis.

It is all the more shocking when reputed western politicians make statements on the world's problems that give evidence of an incredibly false conception of the east-west conflict, and when they identify Russian-bolshevist aggression with a presumed expansion of the alleged "all-Slav-Bloc" of nations. The foreign minister of a great western country, for instance, thought it proper to assure his hearers that "no coalition of Slav states would ever be able defeat the free world." Even were that a thoughtless lapse, we cannot let it go unchallenged. On the contrary we feel we must take this opportunity to declare categorically and publicly, that there is no such thing as a bloc of Slavic peoples ready to rally round Russia and threaten the free world. They simply do not exist. There is, however, an eastern bloc of enslaved countries and peoples, held together by

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Never Again!

the fetters of force, and harnessed in the service of Russian imperialism. It is up to the West, and western policy, to see that these fetters are not tightened, but loosened, and at once, so that in case of war they will fall to the ground and our hand-cuffed peoples become reliable allies of the free world against Russia.

Striking Consequences

It should be known by now that pan-Slavism has long ceased to exist as a criterion of realist-political alliances in Europe, and that the all-Slavic idea only limps on the crutches of Russian imperialism and Moscow's policy of russification. Anyone with an idea of conditions behind the Iron Curtain, must realize that it is just the non-Russian Slavic peoples, — Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgarians and Cossacks, — that have not only drawn away from every sort of pan-Slavism but are irreconcilable enemies of Moscow's assimilation policy, camouflaged as all-Slavism. There can therefore be no question whatever of a "coalition of Slavic peoples" willing to take up the fight for Stalin's policy against the free western world, if the fight against world aggression and bolshevism is not started on a wrong track.

The West, however, must not stop there. If the West wishes to gain the friendship of our peoples and win their real co-operation by way of their political emigrants, all practical consequences must be weighed. The West must see the recent political past and present with our eyes, get into our skins, so to speak, in order to know who is the right person to mediate for our people and who not, who is capable and has the vocation to kindle all the mental and physical forces of these peoples against Moscow and the West, and on the other hand to realize who is unfitted and will

therefore crush all confidence and transform it into ill-humour and anger.

Former, dazzled apostles of russophile pan-Slavism, who, not so long ago, sought alliance with Russia and in their pro-Russian period did not shrink from following instructions from the Third International and make common cause with the communists, until they became the grave-diggers of their countries, they are the well-known members of the so-called "Green International" who sought to misguide the peasantry, in the past, with russophile catch-words and when they lost favour with their masters, fled and asked for asylum in the West. They are ex-politicians of the Kerenky type who, having failed, and betrayed the parole of national freedom and democracy, now in exile do their utmost to gain new victims among the emigrants and credit for their bankrupt enterprise from the West. Finally, they are career seekers, who have never been the spokesmen of their peoples and who now disregard their sacred historical bequest in order to become opportunists of exile initiative.

One need to be a psychologist to realize that such bankrupt emigré politicians, though pampered by the West, are hated and defamed by their own people and ours, because they have a part in causing the martyrdom of to-day. Western policy will not find access to the hearts of our peoples as long as it is obscured by that obnoxious veil.

A Unique Chance

No race feelings, no class paroles, and no cosmopolitan phrases can stir the hearts of our martyred peoples to-day. At no other time in history was the revolt against, and disgust with Moscow's brutal russification policy so great as now and hardly ever have civilized nations longed for the return of their liberty and independence as fervently.

In the psychological and political attitude of the "peoples of the East", however, all this is determined by an historical status nascendi, which the West should make use of to cut out Russian imperialism and for the blessing of a lasting, free reorganization of the continent and the world.

But the temptation to order the historical development of the people arbitrarily from outside must be resisted. Nations have a deep-rooted political instinct that is not easy to deceive and beyond that a very lively historical memory. They develop after their own historical experiences and reactions thereto. The West must not make the mistake of trying to swim against the stream of the said historical development, by forcing upon them spokesmen who are at variance with their inmost political will and feeling.

Traitors and bankrupts of the last few years cannot be grafted on our people as their spokesmen. Only proved fighters for national freedom and social justice, true martyrs who gave all for God and country and have always been on the right side of the barricade and have warned our peoples of popular deceivers, only such leaders will be accepted and trusted, and only they are able to kindle their enthusiasm.

With such leaders our people will be able to judge in how far the West is serious about their liberation, for their history and political instinct will not allow them to be deceived. That is why our peoples have rallied round the banner of their longed-for liberation and their true undaunted leaders and will have nothing to do with men who have been companions and blood-brothers of communism and Russian orientation, but are now giving lip-service to "freedom and democracy". Our people have spoken the final word "never again".

Thus we can only repeat that until the West ceases from pushing the proper builders of their future aside, it will never find its way into the hearts of our peoples and will lose the inestimable priority to doubtful political figures.

Appreciation Expressed to "American Friends of A.B.N."

When General Farkas de Kisbarnak, Chairman of the Military Commission of the A.B.N., had reported on his lecture tour in U.S.A. in May 1952, the Central Committee of the A.B.N. at its meeting on June 27, 1952, passed a resolution of thanks and appreciation to the organization of "American Friends of A.B.N." for their excellent organization and preparation of the lectures, press conferences etc. The proposal was received and passed with acclamation.

The American Friends of A.B.N. have already achieved good political connections and done successful work, a fact which was proved by the attendance of many prominent American guests and thousands of members of the national exile groups.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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The Russians and Ourselves

in this struggle, as long as they support the tyranny of bolshevist aggression or allow themselves to be made tools for it — they themselves need liberation, and not alone from rulers like Stalin, but from every kind of imperialist government clique, so that they may never again be led away from all sense of elementary international justice or be tempted into wars of aggression by chauvinist catch-words. The Russians as a people must not be manoeuvred into the rôle of a master-race and burdened with a tyrannical domination over alien nations, but be given, at long last, the possibility of developing its own forces in peaceful reconstruction on its own territory, devoting itself to its own cares and joys.

3. It is a cynical travesty of the facts to call the struggle of the A.B.N. for freedom and independence, anti-Russian chauvinism and separatism. On the contrary it is our nations which are the victims of a chauvinistic Soviet Russian regime, and subjected to systematic russification. Disguised as new "Soviet patriotism" which in fact has no other object but the denationalizing of our peoples and their enslavement, Stalin is carrying on a brutal chauvinistic policy to satisfy the mania for world conquest. By defending ourselves against this "new patriotism" we are struggling against our assimilation and are working in the best sense of the word for the interests of the entire civilized world — a world which is everywhere threatened by Moscow's mighty fifth column and with Soviet patriotism. Those who deny the truth of this and take exception to our national defence measures must be either smitten with blindness or be playing directly and with intent into Moscow's hands.

4. The reproach of separatism brought against us, is just as paradoxical. It can be no secret for any half-way educated person in the West that the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are no more Russian than those of the so-called satellite states which only had the bad luck to fall under Moscow's rule after the last war. There is just as little excuse for the integration or incorporation into the "great Russian empire" of the one as of the other. All our peoples, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Aserbaijans, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, Turkestanians, etc. have more than once in their histories had their own highly developed economic national states and have always possess-

ed a marked, wide-spread culture, which has been preserved in spite of years of alien domination and the most brutal policy of assimilation. Besides, these peoples have retained their individual characteristics and have striven always for freedom from Moscow and for independence. It is a travesty of known facts, now, to suddenly call their claims to their irrefutable rights as nations, separatism, just because the world has suffered and become accustomed their long subjugation under Russia.

There are, it is true, a few elements among our peoples who allow themselves to be bought by Russia's exile imperialists to propagate the preservation of the great Russian despotic empire, just as others, led astray by Stalin's new "Soviet patriotism", now sit at home in high offices, the tools of an alien regime against their own people. Their rôle is no different from that of Maurice Thorez or Palmiro Togliatti who are waiting to receive Stalin's "army of liberation" with open arms. To refuse our peoples and their spokesmen in the A.B.N. the right to combat such elements and to represent our repudiation of the Russians and Moscow as separatism, is as foolish as to call the revolt of the Italian or French people against treason and Moscow's fifth column, separatism.

5. The climax of the whole mendacious propaganda against A.B.N. is the allegation that our demands, directed as they are against the retention of the Russian empire as such, are detrimental to the fight against bolshevism, because they will drive the Russian people over to Stalin's side and, in an armed conflict with Moscow, turn them into enemies of the West. The answer to that allegation is, that the Soviet Russian system is in any case supported by the Russian people. Key positions in the govern-

ments of all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R. are in Russian hands. Moscow's "cultural policy" within the U.S.S.R. itself, as well as in the satellite states behind the Iron Curtain, is dominated by the idea of russification. All that is Russian is glorified by every possible means and Russia's "mission" is impressed upon the minds of the people daily. In short, the Russian people to-day, have been made the bearers of Soviet power and are fired by the worst kind of chauvinism in the form of Soviet patriotism which only proves that, in spite of some discontent with the regime the Russians regard the Soviet Union as their own empire, feel themselves as a master-race within it and are ready to defend it; for, whereas in all the non-Russian peoples strong underground movements and national liberation organizations are at work, there have been none worth mentioning in the whole territory of Russia proper during the Soviet regime.

Even if the West should carry on its psychological strategic warfare against Moscow, according to the Russian exile imperialists' recipe, i. e. preservation of the integration of the Russian empire, the Russians as such, with the exception of those in exile and perhaps a few in the country, could never be made to waver in their "Soviet patriotism" and thus would not be won against Stalin. On the other hand, the West in that case would certainly lose its great chance in a war against Moscow: the sympathy of its natural allies, the 100 million non-Russian people of the U.S.S.R.; their hopes of liberation would be crushed, their national revolutionary incentive paralyzed and they would be forced back into the floods of "Soviet patriotism".

For that reason alone and not from any enmity against the Russian people we demand, with a clear conscience, and also in the interest of the free world itself, an unambiguous avowal that Russian despotism will be abolished and the freedom and independence of our peoples and states restored. The conflict against communism and bolshevism must and can not be fought with the enslavement of our peoples as a pawn.

It is not our conception which is a drawback in the fight against Stalin and the world menace of bolshevism, but vice versa, it is the recognition of the Russian claim to an empire which will destroy this fight, that is the simple sum the A.B.N. sets the world for serious contemplation.

Summarized, our claims are: The A.B.N. fight is not *anti-Russian*, but only directed *against bolshevism* and

"Soviet patriotism"

is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R.. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism. Assurances that the Russian imperium is indivisible cannot destroy new Soviet patriotism, but it may paralyse the willingness to fight of 100 millions of nationally conscious non-Russians.



The Triumphal March of Our Ideas**A.B.N.-President Stetko Travels Through Canada**

President Yaroslav Stetko's publicity campaign in Canada, where something like seven thousand Ukrainian emigrants are scattered all over the country, is still going on.

Mass Meeting at Regina

Reports reaching us from Regina, Saskatchewan, tell us of a mass anti-communist meeting at which Mr. Stetko, as well as a clergyman, Mr. Branch of Moose Jaw, spoke in the City Hall. Mr. Branch is a well known member of the "Canadian Anti-Communist League" and head of the press office. The meeting ended with a resolution in which it was demanded that the Communist Party and its underground organizations in Canada should be declared illegal and dissolved.

After the meeting President Stetko was asked for an interview, during which he explained the ideas of the A.B.N. and the aims of the nations belonging to it. Later the Moose Jaw radio broadcast a half hour report on the struggle of the A.B.N. and the peoples subjected by Moscow. The meeting itself had been relayed from the City Hall by the local radio station.

Anti-Communist Manifestation in Montreal

There was another anti-communist mass meeting at which President Stetko was the

therefore against its *proto-type Russian imperialism*. This fight is not chauvinistic but for national freedom. It is not separatist, but for national parity.

Our peoples yearn for the hour when they will be able to live as good neighbours with the Russians, and work for economic, cultural and political well-being with them, as well as among themselves, contributing, as members of a harmonious community of nations, to the general welfare of mankind, on a basis of equal rights. In this sense we accept European integration and every other regulation of great areas that does away with selfish national claims of power and ruinous national rivalries.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. appeals to the responsible statesmen of the West to free themselves from all tendacious propaganda in their attitude towards the A.B.N. and to consider the facts given above without prejudice, in the interest of the whole world.

July, 1952

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

chief speaker, on June 16, 1952, in Montreal. "The Gazette", a Canadian daily, reports on it as follows:

"Mr. Stetko said that certain political officials are trying to organize some of the immigrants from eastern European countries

"Close to 500 enthusiastic persons made Memorial Hall echo with their applause when he told about the active resistance of freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain to Red totalitarianism ...

His were heartening words in many ways,



*A Temple
of Trust in God and
the Home Country*

*The Ukrainian Church
in Edmonton, Canada*

to incorporate them in a future non-communist federated Russia . . .

Agents of the Russian imperialist N.T.S. attempted in vain to disturb the impressive meeting by heckling. Their provocation disgusted the audience of over 1,500, and the imperialist spies were suppressed and turned out of the hall.

Stetko vs. Buck

Under the above title the "Sudbury Daily Star" in its June 11 issue, draws a comparison between the visit and meeting of the A.B.N. President and that of the communist leader of Canada, Tim Buck, a short time before. The latter had been badly attended and had made very little stir in the town whereas there were at least 5 times as many at President Stetko's meeting and his speech was enthusiastically received. The paper writes:

for he said that international resistance to the Red regime which threatens to engulf the world is a strong, organized thing. His was no tarnished tale of a Soviet Eden with sweetness and light, high production figures and happy collective farmers.

His message was one of tragedy and truth, honesty and hope. His Sudbury reception was a promising one, reflecting the opinion of an aroused Canada, both among its native and foreign-born population."

Canadian Trade Unions on President Stetko

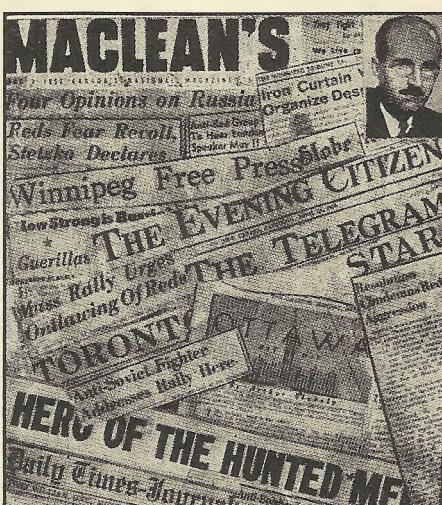
The official Magazine of the National Council of Canadian Labour, "National Labour Journal", has an article in the June number about President Stetko's visit to Canada. The paper speaks well of President Stetko and the just cause for which the A.B.N. is fighting.

* * *

Wherever Mr. Stetko went in Canada he won the hearts of the numerous emigrants from all the nations represented in the A.B.N. and, needless to say, most especially those of his own compatriots, who, without regard to political views or party, gave evidence of their sympathy and solidarity with him.

Western Broadcasts Feared

According to information received from Lithuania, the Soviets are increasing the power of their own radio stations in an effort to counter transmissions from the West. Near Berlin a new station for the purpose of jamming those transmissions has been set up. In the Lithuanian towns of Vilna, Kaunas, Siauliai and Memel control measures have been tightened to discover who listens to Western broadcasts.



Assembled photos from the Canadian press on the occasion of the A.B.N. President's visit to Canada.

Resolutions

Adopted at the Anti-Bolshevist Manifestation

sponsored by the representatives of fifteen ethnic groups, namely: Azerbaijanians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Chinese (national), Cossacks, Estonians, Georgians, Hungarians, Idel-Uralians, Latvians, Lithuanians, North-Caucasians, Slovaks, Turkistanians, Ukrainians, — all united in the "American Friends of Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations, inc.", attended by representatives of the United States Congress, leading Americans, and by over four thousand people of various ethnic groups, whose kin are suffering under the Russian yoke; held on Sunday, May 4th, 1952, at the Manhattan Center, New York City, in conformity with speakers and statements made at this manifestation:

The world of today is divided in two blocs running against each other to an inevitable and total conflict.

The Bolsheviks rule by Kremlin which according to corrupt traditions of historical Russian imperialism is striving for domination of the globe:

The bloc of Western Democracies under the leadership of the United States is fight-

and establish their free and independent, national and democratic states on their ethnographic territories in the universal spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, and of the Charter of the United Nations and thus the just world peace can be achieved.

We highly recommend to our Government in Washington to instruct our United States Delegates to the United Nations to present a plan for a peaceful solution of today's world crisis by urging Soviet Russia to return freedom to all subjugated nations under the Soviet domination, and to retire all Russian forces from the non-Russian territories, and to give these peoples the opportunity to choose their national and democratic governments on their ethnic soils, under the supervision of the United Nations.

Only thus the threatening war can be avoided.

Should Soviet Russia refuse this plan, we urge all freedom-loving nations in the U.N. to take immediate steps in order to expel the Soviet Union with its satellite delegates from the United Nations Organization and to break all the diplomatic and commercial treaties with the said Soviet Union and its so-called satellite countries.

We further recommend that the true representatives of the oppressed nations be permitted to be seated in the United Nations and given the opportunity to speak for their enslaved nations. The Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) should be consulted by the United Nations as a qualified body in choosing such representatives.

We, the assembled at this anti-Bolshevist Manifestation, guided by the American Friends of A.B.N. Inc. pledge our full support to all noble efforts and determined crusade against the aggressive and imperialistic policy of the so-called Soviet Union.

We also pledge our support to the well planned psychological warfare aimed to encourage and aid all peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle for freedom and independence.

We call the attention of the United States Government and the American people to the fact that Bolshevism is nothing but a combination of two evils, traditional Russian imperialism and international Communism, the aim of both being identical: to dominate the whole globe by the Russian rulers.

We, therefore, fully endorse the veritable statement of the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of June 26th, 1951, concerning the fact that the present Soviet policy is a continuation of a 500-year-old Russian imperialism.

We call attention of our Government and governments and people of the free world to the fact that it is a misstatement to refer to the people of so-called Soviet Union as "peoples of Russia" or "Russian peoples"; such terms are a misnomer since the majority of the population of this Soviet Union are non-Russian people.

We do acknowledge to the Russians the same right for freedom and independence as for any other non-Russian people; but we do urge decidedly that the Russian people renounce their aggrandizing aspirations to dominate any other non-Russian nation.

We Strongly Urge:

that the existing underground movements behind the Iron Curtain be given direct and effective assistance in their unequal life-and-death struggle for freedom and independence of their nations;



Member of Congress, Ralph W. Gwinn, while capturing the gathering by his ardent address in antibolshevist manifestation in New York.

ing for human rights, justice, and world peace;

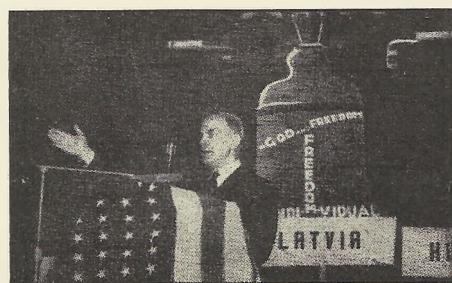
The third bloc — the bloc of nations subjugated by Russia, in spite of the huge potential resources and its psychological solidarity with the Western bloc, meets a dangerous indifference in this country because of lack of understanding and because of subversive action of Russian or pro-Russian elements. This indifference toward the peoples enslaved and tyrannized by Russian Bolshevism is unjust and thus endangering the interests of our country.

There actually exists an immense anti-Bolshevist struggle of all non-Russian peoples behind the Iron Curtain for national freedom and independence. This struggle is led by the underground national liberation movements which are being coordinated by the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). We believe that their struggle must be actively supported by the Western world, governments and people, if the world should achieve the just peace.

Since we consider the Russian imperialism under the Bolshevik rulers today as the only menace to our precious freedom and individual rights in this country and to establishment of just world peace.

We Hereby State

It is our steadfast purpose — as Americans of various ethnic groups to bring an effective aid to all nations subjugated by Russian Bolhevist imperialism, so that they at proper time overthrow the Bolshevik regimes,



Antibolshevist manifestation in New York. Member of Congress, O. K. Armstrong, while declaring his full support to the struggle for freedom and independence of all nations behind the Iron Curtain.

that the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the United States Senate;

that the ratification of the Genocide Convention be implemented by all possible efforts of the United States Government within the United Nations in order to show the world the most terrific enslavement of all people under the Soviet regime and to do everything possible that this horrible crime be stopped.

We also urge the adoption by the Congress of the United States of the following measures:

The Kersten Resolution (House concurrent resolution 94) expressing the friendship of the American people for the 110 millions enslaved non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and recognizing the rights of these peoples to freedom and independence.

The Kersten Amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1951 asking assistance for friendly nations from behind the Iron Curtain.

The establishment of an independent Voice of Subjugated Nations in order to make more effective our psychological warfare policy.

Finally, we express our highest admiration to all the United States and United Nations fighters in Korea as well as to all the underground forces, who are fighting for freedom and independence of nations subjugated by the Russian imperialists.

We realize that all the efforts on our side to achieve peace with those hidden behind

Bolshevist Propaganda in Case of War

It is not necessary to prove to the reader that Moscow is preparing the U.S.S.R. peoples psychologically for war. The West is well aware of that fact. What is less well known are the bolshevist methods for making the Soviet citizen they need for their war aims, immune against enemy propaganda. The characteristic feature of that propaganda is the endeavour to call forth a psychological "either—or" spirit i. e a fight to the death against the cruelty and barbarism of those occupying the country, or a more terrible death at their hands. The bolsheviks leave nothing undone to keep this artificially provoked and cleverly arranged dilemma from overstepping its limits. They spare no means of stamping out the very idea in the minds of Soviet citizens that a war against the West might bring some relief from their present miserable situation. To keep the people caught as by a vice in this "either—or" (either death or war against capitalist "robbers", gangsters and political imperialists) is the main object of bolshevist propaganda at present and in a war it would be the same.

Atrocity Propaganda

To achieve their aim the bolsheviks seek to blacken their enemies in the eyes of the population. "Capitalists must be represented as degenerate, an American, Englishman or Frenchman, so far as he is not a communist, is an egoistic gangster who only thinks of himself, his food and the satisfaction of his animal instincts. These people walk over the dead bodies of their fellows to attain their ends, and neither the tears nor the sufferings of their nearest and dearest can turn them aside. They live for themselves, make money and dominate as they like. Capitalist morals have made them beasts of prey, and cruel. Prisoners are tortured and allowed to starve to death, defenseless populations, with women and children, are slaughtered in a sea of blood. They know no mercy and no one is safe from them, only those who take up the fight against them in self-defense can hope to survive.

"So beat them, defend yourselves or

the mask of the Red Chinese government will be exploited by the Russian Bolsheviks to gain strength and make us weaker.

We congratulate whole heartedly all the brave fighters and call upon them and all the freedom loving peoples of the world to unite in the struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism:

FOR GOD AND FREEDOM!
FOR FREEDOM OF ALL NATIONS!
FOR FREEDOM TO INDIVIDUALS!

else they will kill you." To make such propaganda credible, the bolsheviks created a number of "alarming instances" of western barbarism in Korea. They made use of them to the limits of possibility. Whole pages in the newspapers are filled with them. Day for day the propaganda sirens shriek invectives against the criminal character of the capitalist and western imperialist. The consequences of bacteriological warfare are published in masses of descriptions and illustrations. Of late this satanic propaganda against the West has been intensified. A good opportunity for this bolshevist propaganda was given by the Soviet representative in the Security Council, Y. A. Malik, who only brought about the meeting in order to substantiate the case against Americans for bacteriological warfare. For this reason alone the bolshevist leaders were ordered to spread the myth of persecution and extermination on the part of the Americans in the prison camps of South Korea. The aim is directed against a future war. The citizens of the Soviet Union are told what to expect if they do not fight to the last man. What suffering awaits them should they go over to the enemy. "Is it not better to die fighting than to perish in a prison camp?" The fact that prisoners of war were exterminated by Hitler in the last war is cleverly made use of. People are reminded that millions of Soviet people lost their lives then. What guarantee is there that Americans or English are better than Germans? Korea is the best proof thereof.

Suggested Alternatives

Besides compromising the Americans and other western imperialists as men, Moscow tries to do the same with political aims. We have often pointed out that the Kremlin takes up the idea of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union which is allegedly in the programme of western propaganda and turns it to its own advantage. As usual the bolsheviks attempt to prove their thesis by real

historical facts. The revolution years 1917—1920 alleged to serve them with sufficient material. From a psychological standpoint it is important for them to manoeuvre the Soviet people into a hopeless situation and to persuade them that they have only two alternatives, either to go with Moscow and to keep at least the formal rights of independence granted by the Stalin constitution or to be treated as colonies under the domination of western powers.

Apparently there is no third possibility for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. in case of a conflict between West and East, no prospect of liberation from dependence on Moscow that will not lead to slavery under western imperialists.

Our Task

This sort of propaganda should not be underestimated. The bitter experience of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. under Hitler's policy in the years 1941 to 1944 has undermined all faith in western civilization. Building up on that basis bolshevist propaganda against "capitalist gangsters" of the West can count on success, if the opposite side does nothing to refute it. The second thesis of the bolsheviks may call forth some doubt among our peoples, considering their experience with the Germans and the fatal mistakes made by the present governments in the West, especially those of America and Great Britain, with regard to the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R. Many among our peoples having given up hope of help from the West might, under the circumstances, believe that there was no other alternative for them than to protect their rights by turning to Moscow. The only way to meet such propaganda and lack of political insight on the part of the West is for the non-Russian peoples to persevere in their policy of full independence, and only then to commit themselves when the West recognizes their claims to complete liberation from the slavery of Moscow.

I. R.

Prize Competition

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. is offering an award of D. M. 80,— for the best design for an A.B.N. flag, and one of D. M. 100,— for the best text for an A.B.N. anthem.

The text of the anthem is to stress the significance of the co-operation in the fight for liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow. The texts may be written in the mother tongue of any of the A.B.N. peoples, accompanied by a translation, either in English or German, or composed only in English or German.

Texts and designs must be sent in by August 15, 1952, to: "A.B.N. Correspondence", Munich, Dachauerstraße 9/11, and marked "Prize Competition".

Unanimous Voice of Ukraine

For an Independent Ukrainian State

At the conclusion of a discussion which took place in Munich June 25, 1952, on the policy of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", the Ukrainian political parties and centres passed an important resolution.

It becomes evident from the unanimous attitude of the competent political representatives of the Ukrainian organizations what importance is attached to the recent meeting, June 19 — 22, at Starnberg, of the four Russian emigré groups and representatives of so-called national organizations of non-Russian peoples. The position taken by the Ukrainian group is in no way exceptional, it only expresses in the most unambiguous terms the feeling that prevails among the other non-Russian groups in the U.S.S.R. The resolution runs as follows:

1) The conference takes note of the fact that the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" will continue under its new President, Admiral Kirk, to support the Russian emigrants in their efforts to retain a united Russian empire: That the European representatives of the committee are carrying on their work in this direction and that all Russian parties refuse the non-Russian peoples the right to the restoration of state independence and thus practically uphold the imperialist policy of the Kremlin.

The fact alone that the committee has retained its name, — American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, — that efforts are being made to include non-Russian peoples in a common organization with Russians, and the methods which the spokesman of the committee employed, constitute a clear proof in our eyes that the problem of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. is to be degraded to an internal question and that the object in view is the maintenance of the Russian imperium after the defeat of bolshevism.

The political programme of the American Committee does not even regard the concession which the Ukrainian and other non-Russian peoples have wrung from the Russian bolsheviks after long and bitter struggles viz., formal independent Union Republics with the right of secession from the union of the U.S.S.R., representation in the U.N. etc.

2) As the American Committee, under the chairmanship of General Kirk, has placed its policy under the motto: self-determination for the nations, the con-

ference declares that the Ukrainian of the Ukrainian Independent State which was established 35 years ago by liberation struggle aims at the restoration of the will of the whole people, — not, however, under the parôle of the realization of the right of self-determination as such. For the Ukrainian people has already passed that stage and in consequence to repeat the question as to national interests would mean a step backward.

3) The conference also takes note that particularly the plan of creating a special radio station to broadcast in the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. means a propaganda campaign for a united Russian empire. Such broadcasts, made in the name of a Combined Radio

Committee and under its direct control, would give the impression that a united Russian imperium had already been decided upon for the future, and that would have serious consequences in the fight for liberation from bolshevism. For this reason this conference rejects the proposal to erect a radio transmitting station. Lone wolves who desire to destroy the unity of the Ukrainian front will in future be regarded as not belonging to the Ukrainian national group.

4) The conference is of opinion that in future, too, joint discussions and decisions by all Ukrainian parties and political groups with regard to the American Committee and Russian emigrants are desirable and essential".

Representatives of the Ukrainian National Council (U.N.R.);

Representatives Abroad of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Z.P. U.H.V.R.);

Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Z.Ch. O. U. N.);

Union of Ukrainian Monarchists (S.H.D.);

Ukrainian Socialist Party (U.S.P.);

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.);

Association for a Ukrainian National State (U.N.D.S.);

Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (U.R.D.P.), represented by its two wings;

Union of Ukrainian Democrats (U.N.D.O.);

Ukrainian Peasants' Party (U.Z.S.U.);

Association of Ukrainian Creative Forces (S.U.K.T.S.).

Slovakia Rectifies

With few exceptions, the columns of the leading western newspapers are hermetically sealed to representatives of the political exiles from countries behind the Iron Curtain. On the other hand reports by chance contributors and badly informed "special correspondents" which show almost complete ignorance of conditions and call for contradiction, are printed. "Die Neue Zeitung", the American newspaper for Germany, is an example, with its recent article on resistance in Slovakia and its political emigrés. The Slovak Liberation Committee has requested us to publish the following rectification. (Ed.)

In an article in the June 20, number of "Die Neue Zeitung" on resistance in Slovakia, its author, Peter Schütz, besides some interesting information, maintained that resistance and underground organizations in Slovakia were so confused and complex that they could only be "cleared up by the men in the forests of the Slovakian Carpathians themselves". He speaks of a "White Legion", "White Partisans" and finally of "Domovska Armada" (Home Army) and mixes up all these expressions.

To the above it must be said that to-day in Slovakia there is practically speaking only one liberation movement. Its name in the country, as underground organization, is "Slovenska Domáca Armada" (S.D.A.), while the so-called "White Partisans" are not a separate organization but the fighting units of the same home guard, bearing the popular name "White Partisans".

It seems of value to mention that the Slovak Home Army, resp. white partisans, acknowledge the Slovak Liberation Committee with Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky at its head. It is well-known that this Committee, as the supreme representative of Slovak liberation struggle abroad, stands uncompromising-

ly for the restoration of the independent Slovak Republik. The greatest majority of the Slovak emigrants support the Slovak Liberation Committee, while the Slovak National Council abroad, represented by Karl Sidor, who is content with the future autonomy of Slovakia has a comparatively small number of supporters. The contention of the author of the article quoted, that the last named Slovak National Council, enjoys the greater authority, does not represent the facts. It may be said that the diminished influence of the Slovak politician Sidor is due to his expressing himself, as long ago as 1939, at the time of the March revolution, as against the establishment of an independent Slovak republic, which, then and now is an ideal cherished in the hearts of the Slovak people.

We feel obliged too, to take exception to some derogatory remarks in the article in question, against Slovak independence and its initiator, and statesmen. It is incomprehensible why the creation of the Slovak Republic which is mentioned with the name of the martyr and father of Slovak independence, President Tiso, always appears in quotation marks. It is also not to be understood why, in referring to Dr. Durcansky and the liberation movement of

German Women Wailaid

The first consequences of the concentration of Soviet troops in the woods of Wiehe near Querfurt (Germany Soviet Zone) have become apparent in the increased number of cases announced at the People's Police stations of women waylaid men of the Red Army.

Hildegard Troitz (28) was waylaid by three Soviet soldiers and raped after a regular chase. A short time after she was taken to the hospital, she died.

There are similar reports of outrages by Soviet troops from Eberswalde and Prenzlau in Brandenburg. At Eberswalde, among others, a woman of 53, named Anna Leskow, was violated. Two women at Prenzlau who suffered internal injuries after falling into the hands of Soviet soldiers had to be sent to a hospital.

All those who announce such cases are strictly forbidden at the police stations to mention them in public. (I.W.E.)

Side-lights

The Ordeal of the Baltic Peoples

The 14th of June is a day of mourning for the Baltic peoples for the night of June 14, 1941, saw the beginning of the systematic deportation of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians to the slave camps of the Soviet Union. The order was issued by the N.K.V.D. on October 11, 1939, and the succession in which "anti-Soviet elements" were to be deported was fixed. Sixty thousand Estonians were deported in the first wave, among whom were 9,229 children; in Latvia there were 37,500, and in Lithuania 34,260 deportees. On October 31, 1939, Molotov declared that "the inviolable sovereignty of the Baltic peoples was guaranteed in the Alliance."

The cold-blooded technique of the Soviet Russian policy of expansion and violation is exposed nowhere more blatantly than by the fate of the 'Baltic peoples': between September 28 and October 11, 1939, "alliances" were concluded between the Soviet Union and the 3 Baltic States and, at the same time, military bases were ceded by the three Baltic States. On October 31 the Soviet Union again guaranteed the sovereignty of the three Baltic States. On June 15, 1940, after changes in the three governments, Estonia's sea, and Lithuania's land connections with the West were cut by the Soviets. On June 16, 1940, the TASS agency alleged that a league of the three States against the Soviet Union had been discovered. Thereupon the Red Army marched in on June 17, and on August 6 the supreme Soviet proclaimed the union of the 14th, 15th and 16th Soviet Republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.

In 1944, after an interval of four years, the Soviets took up the threads of their interrupted work. Up to date, the number of deportees from the three Baltic States to convict camps in the Arctic and beyond the Urals has reached one and a

half millions, as far as is known. As the original population was 6 millions, the biological substance of these three peoples is immediately and fatally threatened.

This year, too, Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians all remembered the sufferings of their compatriots. In memory of that tragic 14th of June, President Truman sent a message:

"We shall not forget our Baltic friends. We send them, wherever they may be, our sincere hope that they may have the strength and patience to bear the exasperating tyranny they are subjected to, until one day they are able to enjoy freedom and independence."

The day was commemorated in all where members of the Baltic peoples are living. In Paris, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians assembled on June 18, under the auspices of the French Committee for Free Europe and its president Henri Frenay, a former minister. In addition to the Minister, Roger Kaepelen, formerly special correspondent of the "Temps" in Poland, spoke as a delegate of the Committee, as did also Prof. I. G. H. Hoffman and Prof. G. Matore of the Besancon University. M. O. Grosvald, the Latvian Minister, expressed the thanks of the Baltic peoples.

The bulletin issued at the Paris meeting closes with the words: "Half Europe is subjected, more than 100 million peoples are living in slavery, but the free world is aware that the pressure on the Occident which began in June 1940 when France was defeated, now threatens the security and even the existence of Europe." (P.S.)

The Recalcitrant Ukraine

Two Soviet Russian papers, the Moscow "Pravda", and the "Radyanska Ukraina" which appears in Kyiv in the Ukrainian language, discussed the recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. On the agenda there were two themes: The position of agriculture and the party cadres in Ukraine.

In divided rôles the "Radyanska Ukraina", as local party paper, censured the unsatisfactory conditions in agriculture, for instance the destruction caused by insects in the sugar beet crops, and hauled the leading party functionaries over the coals, while the "Pravda" took over the conditions prevailing among the party cadres and their failings, devoting but little space to the abuses in agriculture and showing a more favourable picture than did the "Radyanska Ukraina". Thus, as the Soviet citizen seldom reads more than one paper, the public gets an idea that things are not really so bad.

The "Pravda" report is of course the

more important, handling as it does a critical problem in the security of the communist system, in a country which has always been "difficult" and because after all it reflects the opinions of Moscow resp. the Russian central party and government offices.

The political conditions in Ukraine, one reads, are by no means what the Moscow Politbureau might expect. In many areas almost a third of the secretaries of the district committees, that is to say the backbone of the party, had to be dismissed last year and new men put in their places. It would thus appear that even these trained functionaries are not so true to the party line and are not so firm as the Politbureau supposed them to be.

The question then arises, what may the attitude of the population be, of whose indifference towards ideological and political training the Moscow press continually complains.

Among the 215 holders of chairs for political science, — the core of communist higher education, — there is only one with the degree of doctor and one professor. Significantly, neither a Ukrainian, but both are Russians. Eight years after the reoccupation of Ukraine none of the many Ukrainian academicians could or would occupy that chair, in spite of the tempting prospects of such a position of authority. On the one hand an official Soviet confession of their defective ideological firmness, on the other either reluctance, considering the odium of this post, or a feeling for national honour. Whatever the reason may be, it gives us a significant insight into the situation in Ukraine.

The "Pravda" blames the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for having selected and distributed the cadres badly: 70% of the deputy heads of scientific research institutes have no expert qualifications, with the result that the work in subjects such as history, languages, ethnography, history of art and philosophy are greatly prejudiced, that is, just those subjects which lend themselves to political ideological abuse by the bolshevist system. In this way "Pravda" heaps criticism upon all those institutions and their heads that are in any way responsible: the management of the department of enlightenment and propaganda of the C.C. of the C.P. of Ukraine, the deans of universities in the cabinet, the department of science for the C.C. of the C.P., the committee for cultural and educational institutions in the cabinet and the minister for general education in Ukraine itself. Many of them must put up with the dangerous reproach of bourgeois nationalist distortions in their work.

In a totalitarian state a passive attitude towards the demands made by the system is a sin, and for persons in public life it is perilous.

This passiveness seems wide-spread among the intellectual upper classes in Ukraine. — Involuntarily one is reminded of the quite considerable number of western professional men whose characters were weak enough for them to place themselves more or less openly at the disposal of the Kremlin against the interests of their own countries.

(W.A.Z.)

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny
Vice-President of the Slovak
Liberation Committee.

"Behind Warsaw..."

it was hell!" a German P.O.W. said when he returned a few days ago from the steppes of Turkistan; Polish partisans had attacked his train. "Bullets from fields and woods showered on our train that the Polish partisans had mistaken for a Soviet troop transport. Throughout the journey we had to lie flat on the floor, the tops of the waggons being riddled. The fire came from machine-guns, rifles and light anti-aircraft. We heard the screams of wounded Soviet soldiers who had taken up positions on the armored car and the roofs of the waggons, and were shooting wildly in all directions. But the fire from the dark woods was far heavier."

When they stopped at Posen, the P.O.W.s found that the armored shields on the train guns had been smashed and there were no gunners left. The commander of the accompanying guards reported to headquarters that 25 men were missing. There were several wounded among the survivors. The prisoners heard a Russian officer say that this was the sixth attack within a short time.

People in the West, although living themselves on the brink of the bolshevist whirlpool, are inclined to make light of reports about resistance to bolshevism in the Soviet Union and the states of the Eastern Bloc, calling them emigré exaggerations. It is a fact that the Western press in their lust for sensation have created their own brand of partisan romanticism and paid for it, to pander to their subscribers, without any regard to facts. In consequence of such sensational reports, the outside world has lost all feeling for the sacrifices and suffering in the countries enslaved by bolshevism, borne by populations who still continue their resistance, well aware of its real significance.

It needs something drastic, as the lightning spread of the P.O.W. report proves, to draw the attention of the public to the hard realities of life in the Soviet area. But the daily resistance put up by countless millions behind the Iron Curtain without a shot being fired should not be forgotten. For this, too, is a link in the broad, active front against bolshevism that helps to protect the free world.

Panyushkin goes to Peking ...

Resolute action has always made the men in the Kremlin ill at ease. The peace treaty with Japan, signed in September 1951, in spite of Moscow's protests, and which means Japan's inclusion in the western defence system, nonplussed the Kremlin. It was 9 months later, in June 1952 only, that Moscow announced its answer — "The Congress of Defenders of Peace in the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean", to take place in September 1952 in Peking i. e. just a year after the unwelcome treaty.

In this connection it is important to explain the Russian word "mir" which can mean the world, or peace, according to use. In the struggle to reach this aim "mir", the first phase will have been accomplished when the world is conquered; when the second phase begins, peace, as seen by the bolsheviks, the peace of the graveyard will come.

Thirty-five years of the bolshevist system has proved that whoever gives his services for the first phase will certainly find "peace". And yet people have not learned that lesson.

The "Izvestiya" of June 6 reports that in Peking a grand preparatory conference of delegates from 20 countries has just been concluded, after passing a resolution to convene a "Congress of Defenders of Peace in Asia and the Pacific Ocean", with the purpose of strengthening and expanding the movement to defend "mir" (world or peace?). The leading article accuses the West of allowing Japanese militarism to revive, in order to make use of it later against "the national liberation movements" among the peoples of Asia.

It is the U.S.A. which is building up military positions against the bolshevist expansion of "mir" in eastern Asia, that is causing the Soviets to activate their work there. That this announcement has a very real meaning may be seen from an inconspicuous notice on the last page of the same number of the "Izvestiya" which announces the Asiatic peace conference. "Comrade Panyushkin A. S. has been appointed special envoy of the Soviet Union to the Chinese People's Republic."

This lifts the veil of uncertainty that has lain over recent changes in Soviet diplomatic quarters, at least a little. Panyushkin who has had the opportunity in U.S.A. of studying American policy at first hand, has been chosen to make good the Soviet defeat in east Asia (in the Japanese treaty) and to open new doors for the blocked expansion of Bolshevism.

American policy which has so often been played with an unhappy hand in Asia, and entirely missed its opportunity in China, will be faced with enormous difficulties in this area of such decisive importance. (W.A.Z.)

The Volga-Don-Kanal

Strategic or Economic Importance?

There is no mention in the Soviet press of the previous history of the above waterway. As a matter of fact, the Turkish sultan Soleyman (1520—1566) had the possibility of connecting the Volga with the Don examined during his reign, in order to improve communications between the Turkish Empire and the Turkish population living on the Volga. At that time waterways were the most favourable means of transport both for trade and warfare.

After the destruction of Moscow by the Crimean Khan, Dawlet Girej, Sultan Selim II ordered Dawlet Girej to have the canal constructed by troops. The project was frustrated by the successful military operations of the Cossacks, who took the fortress of Asov from the Turks.

Tzar Peter I was the next to take up the plan. Russian expansion in the Crimea, the Caucasus and to Central Asia, however, made its execution superfluous.

The check to Soviet Russian expansion in the first years after World War II caused the Kremlin to consider its realization necessary. Though the standpoint of economic improvement,

in the area between Rostov and Astrachan, plays a great role in this project, the short term building plan leads to the conclusion that military considerations are a decisive factor too. Submarines and small units of the Soviet navy can be sent from the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov and from the Caspian to the White Sea in this way. The existence of the central part of the waterway which is nearing completion also opens up the possibility of moving the ship-yards, i. e. dispersing them.

Better communications mean that the area can be kept in firmer control politically, a fact that has considerable importance in the military strategy of the West.

It is the usual Soviet hypocrisy when they maintain in their "Peace Campaign" that the canal serves merely economic purposes. (G. W.)

A.B.N.-Conference in London

June 17th and 19th, 1952, a conference, convened by the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain, took place in Caxton Hall, London, the motto of which was "For the Defence of the Faith and the Rights of Man and Nations". The aim of the conference was to consolidate the relations with the British friends of the subjected peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

The following lectures were held at the conference:

1) Prof. Rudolf Wierer (Czechia): "The Belief in God and its Importance in the Creation of a New Order in the Countries Occupied by Bolshevism".

2) Dr. Stjepan Buc (Croatia): "Pan-Slavism, its Origin and Disappearance."

3) General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary): "Psychological and Military Basis for Setting Up an Anti-Bolshevist Front from the Forces in the Underground Movements."

4) Yaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine): "A.B.N. Ideals, their Propagation and Attractive Power. — Co-ordination of the Liberation Movements of the Subjugated Peoples with the West."

5) Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky (Slovakia): "Liberation solely of the so-called Satellite States without the simultaneous Liberation of the Peoples in the Soviet Union would lead to Failure."

6) Zenon Pelensky, Editor (Ukraine): "What is Happening Behind the Iron Curtain?"

7) Vasyl Glaskov, Engineer (Cossackia): "Fight of the Subjugated Peoples for their Rights and State Independence."

Lectures by authors who for various reasons were prevented from attending in person were read in English. Opportunity was given after the lectures for discussing different points which greatly contributed to mutual understanding.

Besides the British guests, representatives of the Czechs, Slovaks, Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Cossacks, Georgians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, took part in the conference. Poles, Austrians and Spaniards were present as guests.

A great number of telegrams and congratulations were received. Among them, a long, warm-hearted letter from

From behind the Iron Curtain

BYELORUSSIA

THIS TIME IT IS AGRICULTURE

Dissatisfaction with the activity of Party organizations is an almost daily theme in the Soviet press. The "Pravda" of June 18, 1952, reporting on a meeting of the Central Committee of Byelorussia says:

"It was pointed out at the plenary meeting that many party and state organizations in the Republic were slack in their handling of agriculture. A number of party organizations lacked the necessary energy and failed to follow party and government directives concerning the agrarian economics as strictly as they should..."

The Byelorussian ministry for agriculture and its minister comrade Kostyuk, were sharply criticized for the inadequate preparation of specialist cadres, neglect of repairs to mowing machines and insufficient cooperation with collective farms, as well as the M.T.S. (Machine Tractor Stations).

Members at the plenary meeting pointed out that there were serious defects in the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and its agricultural department."

COSSACKIA

AGRICULTURAL CARES

Preparations for the harvest are causing Soviet authorities some concern. It has come to light that the repairs to agricultural machines are not yet finished. In the Rostov area more than 30% of the combiners are in need of repair and at many of the tractor pools there is a lack of specialists.

In a leading article in the "Pravda" of June 13, 1952, the alarm is raised and all party and state organizations, as well as the kolkhoze workers, are urged to amend their ways and do their duty, above all to attend to the sufficient storage of corn and fodder. It is well known that thousands of cattle starved last winter in some districts of the Stavropol area, because the cattle-breeding kolkhozes had made insufficient or no preparations for the winter supplies. That fact, which was not disclosed for so long, is now even admitted by the Soviet press.

The irrigation of the fields is meeting with obstacles. Bombastic reports of the progress being made on the Volga-Don Canal cannot close the eyes of the inhabitants to the fact that water has to be fetched daily from the Don by horse cart and motor lorry.

("Pravda" 18. 6. 1952)

the faithful friend of the A.B.N. and a champion of the rights and liberties of the subjugated peoples, Mr. John Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, made a great impression. The President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Yaroslav Stetzko, sent a telegram of greeting from Canada.

Prince de Tokary, Chairman of the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain, took the chair at the conference.

CZECHIA

FRONTIERS SECURED BY RADAR

Special military units are setting up a chain of radar posts along the Bohemian-Bavarian frontier. One of them is on the top of the municipal waterworks at Eger. It is operated by a squad of twelve soldiers and is connected by telephone with the Eger barracks. Another post has been put up in the open field near the village of Stitary.

Feverish activity is to be seen along the frontier where new observation posts are being built, equipped with machine guns, reflectors and rockets. These observation posts are connected by telephone with strong military units.

A twenty meter high watch-tower has been put up on the Heinberg near Asch, connected by telephone to the frontier guards at Nevesa. South of Asch a great number of underground bunkers have been built.

QUOTA DELIVERIES GRADED ACCORDING TO CLASS

Meetings are being held in all the villages at which the speakers try to convince their hearers that they have only then fulfilled their duties as citizens when they have met their deliveries at 100%.

According to instructions from the Ministry for Agriculture the quotas for this year's harvest are based on the yield taken for granted by the plans. The instructions prescribe that the quotas are then to be distributed "according to class", which means that the big peasants have to deliver more than the small peasants — in some cases even the whole yield of the crops — even if the cultivated land is the same size.

EASTERN GERMANY

SEVERER SENTENCES DEMANDED

"Our peoples' judges must pronounce severer sentences so that enemies of the Republic lose all interest in working against the State", was the demand put forward by Dr. H. Töplitz, state secretary in the Soviet Zone Ministry of Justice, when addressing students of the German Law School. Only thorough training in social science, which, in the words of the speaker, had up to now been inadequate, could enable the "functionaries of justice" to pass proper sentences suitable to our whole political and social development.

RESISTANCE INCREASING AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

Reports from all the provinces in the Soviet Zone tell of the resistance offered by young people against the terrorism of the Soviet regime. These reports find confirmation in the numerous new arrests made by the State Security Service, especially among youthful persons. In Hardenbeck 6 youths were taken into custody accused of having founded an "Anti-Peoples' Police League"; not far from Wittstock 4 others were arrested for allegedly preparing an "armed up-

rising"; at Grimm several young people were accused of working with "warmongering organizations" in West Berlin; at Boizenburg on the Elbe 12 persons were taken, who were said to have formed a "resistance group"; at Halle 6 of the F.D.J. (Free German Youth), among them a group leader, were arrested for resistance against the defence propaganda in the Soviet Zone, and have never been heard of since.

POLICE RECRUITS FROM PRISONS

Discharged prisoners report that recruiting officers of the Peoples' Police have been visiting various prisons in the Soviet Zone to enroll short-term youthful criminals for the military units of the police force. The prisoners are promised immediate release if they volunteer. Good conduct would ensure the obliteration of their criminal records and promotion would not be prejudiced by the prison sentence. (I.W.E.)

GEORGIA

MINISTERS UNWILING TO LEARN

After having criticized the Communist Party of the Georgian S.S.R. in several articles, the "Pravda" of June 6, 1952, proceeds to attack the Georgian minister himself and accuses him of having lost "the taste for learning".

"The theoretical backwardness of the head of the 'Cekavshiri' (Central Association of Georgia — Ed.) is no exception. We find the same state of things in the sphere of political training among the leading men in the liaison offices of the Soviet Union for the Georgian Republic, and many other organizations and ministries.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and its propaganda department have long tolerated the low standard in the matter of theory and have not noticed that Comrade Ruchadse and some other leading personages have made no advance in ideological affairs...

The department for propaganda and enlightenment has shown no interest in improving the political standard of the ministries which are its representatives, the heads of administration and trusts."

The criticism of the central offices in Moscow does not stop at the unwillingness of the leading men in the Soviet republic of Georgia to learn, but accuses them of having encroached upon the property of the collectives and Moscow, thus defrauding the country of its economic yield. An article published in the "Pravda" of June 14, 1952, reports, among other things, that at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of Georgia, the regional and district committees of the party and the state, and agricultural offices of the Republic had not resolutely carried out directives given them by party and government to safeguard kolkhozes from looting and infringement of the statutes of the kolkhozes...

At present the Central Committee is occupied in discovering transgressions against the statutes of kolkhozes and finding out the culprits. The commissions set up under the direction of the Central Committee have detected many cases where state property has been plundered and also offences against the regulations of the collective farms. Not infrequently the responsible district leader has turned out to be the plunderer."

HUNGARY

SOVIET ARMAMENT ORDERS

The State enterprise "Hardware and Machine Tools Factory No. 158" in Budapest formerly the Frommer Arms and Machine Factory, has been attached to the Ministry for Heavy Industry. The plant, which was almost entirely destroyed in the war, was rebuilt at the urge of the Soviets when they occupied the country, so that production began as early as 1947. In summer 1950 reconstruction was finished.

Raw materials — 50% Russian, 50% Hungarian — are delivered direct to the plant either by lorries or railway. Finished weapons leave the factory daily in lorries. Monthly train loads of machine guns, automatic pistols, revolvers and other weapons, as well as machine tools, roll into the Soviet Union. The cases bear the mark H.O.B.X. in Cyrillic letters.

The workmen employed in Department "H" are isolated from the others. They live in the works, are not allowed to leave the premises and have no contact with the outside world. This department is controlled by the A.V.H. and can only be entered by showing a special permit.

LITHUANIA

CHURCH BELLS BECOME SCRAP

In March this year the collection of different metals and iron for Soviet industry was intensified, Soviet fashion, in Lithuania. Inspectors entrusted with the action were expressly ordered to seize metal objects belonging to churches, such as bells and even liturgical articles.

RELIGION IN THE GRIP OF BOLSHEVISM

The consequences of the "World Peace Conference of Churches and Religious Communities" which was held in the Moscow Priests Academy in May, are beginning to be noticed. The first steps to "found a National Catholic Church independent from the Vatican" have been taken by committees set up for the purpose. From recent news coming from Lithuania, it would appear that Roman Catholics are facing black days. The N.V.D. subtly misused the names of the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in that country to further the aims of the World Church Conference i. e. to glorify the communist system and libel and vilify the Vatican and the West.

On May 3, Bishop Paltarokas was taken by force from Vilna to Moscow to be present at the Conference on May 9. Then on May 12, it was officially announced that "Bishop Paltarokas had signed a declaration of gratitude to Stalin in the name of the Church and the people, a declaration of cooperation with the "World Peace Committee", and an appeal to the churches and religious communities everywhere in the world", in which the Vatican is condemned and the West cursed for carrying on germ warfare in Korea and for inciting a new war etc.

By order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, in all town churches, that are not yet closed, solemn services were to be held on May 14, at which the declaration of gratitude to Stalin; the

declaration concerning co-operation with the "World Church Conference", were to be read. Simultaneously further violent attacks against the Vatican were launched.

(Information Lit.)

TURKISTAN

UNPOPULARITY OF KOMSOMOL

The Moscow "Komsomolskaya Prawda" of June 5, 1952, published a report from a correspondent in the Kasakhian S.S.R. on the situation of Komsomol there.

"As early as February 1949 the bureau of the Komsomol of Kasakhstan, on reviewing the statistics for that organization, discovered the disquieting fact that the number of Komsomol members among the kolkhoze workers had diminished. The Central Committee thereupon required the regional committee to see that more kolkhoze members were enrolled."

A year passed and again the Central Committee was forced to acknowledge that the regional committee had "greatly impaired the enrollment of kolkhoze young people in the Komsomol." Whereupon the regional committee was ordered to improve its supervision and correct matters. Another year passed, then in February 1951 the bureau of the Central Committee suggested that the regional committee should discover "the reasons for the falling off in membership of a number of organizations in collective farms and take steps to check it."

In February 1952 the Central Committee complained once more that "enrollment of kolkhoze members in the Komsomol had slackened." And a month and a half later, when the new statistical report came in, the bureau issued a further statement in which 14 district organizations are listed, that in the second half of the previous year not one new kolkhoze member had enrolled in the Komsomol, and that in the present year there were 23 district organizations in which no new kolkhoze members were registered. The bureau calls upon the 10 district committees "to find out the reason for this unsatisfactory development in the district organizations..."

In April more than 80% of the Republic's kolkhoze organizations failed to report any increase in members. Not in 10 but in all 16 districts, the number of kolkhoze members of the Komsomol had diminished...

We were recently at a Komsomol meeting in the 'Voroschilov' kolkhoze in the Ayagusky district. Of the 51 registered members only 9 took part in the meeting... Not one young kolkhoze worker has been enrolled in the Ayagusky district this year.

No Komsomol meetings have been arranged for months, even years, at many of the kolkhozes in the Republic."

FALSE CONCEPTIONS

The Moscow "Pravda" of June 8, 1952, contains a detailed report by their Frunse correspondent, on a recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Kirghiz S.S.R.. A good deal of space in it is devoted to attacks on the "nationalist conceptions" of the historians and writers and their toleration by party organs.

In the lecture and following debates, the question of the backwardness of historical research and literature was widely discussed. Serious errors have occurred in the inter-

pretation of the history of Kirghizia... For a long time bourgeois nationalists, Samanchin, Bektenov and Beydshiev, worked in the field of history and literature and through them many nationalist conceptions were introduced which greatly impeded the advance of historical research.

Professor Bernstam made errors of an anti-marxist character in his work on Kirghizian history...

The progressive rôle of Kirghizia's union with Russia is not noted in the works of these historians.

Mistakes have been tolerated in the reviews of a number of national movements. All insurgency (insurgency against Russia — Ed.) have been called national liberation uprisings, in contradiction to historical fact. For instance, the Andishansky rebellion 1898, which bore a reactionary character, was quite wrongly represented.

Cosmopolitan tendencies are propagated and Russia's part in the development of Kirghizia's culture is under-estimated. It was a serious mistake to publish "The Great Campaign", a fragment from the "Manas" epic, in which reactionary ideas of pan-Islam and pan-Turkism are propagated.

The bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Kirghizia has shown a liberal attitude towards all these errors and distortions...

Too little has been written about the great friendship between the Russian and the Kirghiz peoples...

Comrade Imanaliyev, secretary of the Issyk-Kulsky regional committee of the party pointed out that national tendencies had appeared in the association of writers. The autor Tokombayev spread bourgeois-nationalist ideas in his epic "The Years of Bloodshed", in spite of which a new edition has now come out...

The bureau of the Central Committee had kept secret the resolution concerning the detection of bourgeois nationalists employed in the Kirghizian branch of the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union. In January this year the bureau of the Central Committee had removed comrade Orosaliyev, secretary of the C.C. of the C.P. of Kirghizia from his post."

UKRAINE

MOSCOW DISSATISFIED WITH UKRAINE

The Moscow "Pravda" reports on June 6, 1952, that a meeting of the secretaries of regional and village committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, convened by the Central Committee of that Republic, had taken place at Kyiv. The chief speaker Comrade Melnikov, the Russian secretary of the Central Committee, had to announce the dissatisfaction felt by the Moscow offices at conditions in Ukraine and the low standard of ideological work in the villages."

The effect of what Moscow calls the inadequate grasp of communist ideology in Ukraine's villages are indeed considerable and have an injurious influence on agriculture there. In the previous year alone 27% of the heads of the district departments for agriculture were dismissed their posts and new men put in, who were not selected for expert knowledge but for their political reliability. The consequences of this policy are only mentioned by "Pravda" in one sentence. "There are extraordinarily few agrarian experts among the heads of the kolkhozes."

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Importance of the Insurgent Forces

By General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak

When, in the Spring of the year 1944, the Soviet Armies had broken through the German lines and their spearheads approached the Hungarian borders, I received orders from the Hungarian High Command to march with the already mobilised units of the 6th Hungarian Army Corps into the Carpathian Mountains, and to defend the country against invasion by the Bolshevik forces.

A few days after the receipt of this order, detachments of the 6th Army Corps were already marching up through the dense forests of the wooded Carpathian Mountains, on main and ancillary roads covered in places with snow about two feet deep, the bridges and passes of which were, to a great extent, badly damaged and needing repair.

Besides the difficulties caused by the roughness of the ground and unfavourable weather conditions, the advance of the Hungarian Detachments was hindered by the activities of partisans who kept them under continuous fire from the 6,000—7,000 feet high mountain ranges.

These partisan activities behind the entire front line of the Army Corps did not cease after the advance and after the building of defence positions had been completed.

In May 1944 the partisans carried out thirty-six surprise attacks, some heavy, some light, mostly at night, against supply units, H.Q.s and artillery positions. Important bridges were blown up in some places, the guards disappeared, and the partisans employed not only machine guns, but even

mortars in these skirmishes, in consequence of which life there became a living hell.

Against surprise attacks of this nature not only military institutions behind the front-line, but even reserve units were helpless, as to climb mountain peaks occupied by partisans would have taken 4—5 hours and during that time the partisans would already have moved off elsewhere, only to continue their activities from other peaks. They concealed themselves sometimes with such skill that it was impossible to discover their hide-outs.

To return the partisans fire with artillery or infantry was rarely possible, as one could not definitely ascertain the direction of their surprise attacks which were carried out in a matter of minutes. It was unthinkable to withdraw troops from the rather thinly-occupied first front-line, thus exposing them to the danger of being annihilated in the fight with the partisans, as the guarding and safeguarding of bridges, depots, railway lines and important junctions behind the front lines needed, in any case, considerable forces.

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Moscow's Steam-Roller Turns...

Eastern Germany — A New Satellite

On Whitsunday the government of the German Democratic Republic (D.D.R.) introduced measures to isolate the Soviet Zone completely from the Federal Republic of West Germany. The outward and visible sign was the evacuation of the border villages, sharper controls at the borders, and more barbed wire and searchlights, as well as arbitrary interruptions in normal frontier traffic and transport of goods. To cap all, a wide strip of no-man's land was made, in order to separate the two parts of Germany and cut the bolshevist east block from the rest of the world.

The excuse given for the proceedings was, that with the signing the contractual agreement and the agreement on the European army the integration of the Federal Republic with the West had begun and made protective measures necessary for the D.D.R. The population of East Germany even had to request these measures in "voluntary" resolutions etc.

Such proceedings have undoubtedly given some circles in West Germany the appearance at least of being right, when they declared that the negotiations between the German Federal Chancellor and the western powers for the inclusion of the German Federal Republic in the defence system of the free world would lead to counter measures by the Soviets, for it would be regarded by them as putting on pressure. But in this they are taking a tactical, dialectic, short-term manoeuvre as a real change in the attitude of the Soviets towards Germany, and

in their systematic foreign policy. This conception means, too, the complete disregard of developments in Germany since 1945, as reflected in the behaviour of the Soviets towards that country. For the illusionists who believe in the possibility of a united Germany being attained by the Soviets' voluntary renunciation of their east German political, economic and military bases, the contemplation of such facts is unpleasant.

For their better understanding they should study the answer given by a former Soviet colonel, G. A. Tokayev, now lector at the London University, to a question on the subject, that was asked by a paper appearing in Sweden. Tokayev closes his remarks by saying "Let no one cherish the illusion that the U.S.S.R. will ever withdraw voluntarily from Germany. They may acquiesce in many things, but never in an independent German State".

The Soviet government itself has shown in the last few weeks how very little they care for the alleged aim of a reunited Germany, the withdrawal of the occupation troops etc., for, instead of an exchange of notes with the Western Allies concerning concrete negotiations, the II party conference of the S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) decided on July 12, 1952 — two days after the third note by the western powers to Moscow — on the "organization of armed forces" and the "building up of socialism" in the Soviet Zone with the object of its development into a "People's Democracy".

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Turkistan is Not Alone

The Success of an Appeal

The appeal by the National Turkestanian Unity Committee to the Islamic world, on March 24, 1952 ("A.B.N. Correspondence" No. 5 published the appeal in its English and German editions, Ed.), not to forget the Turkestanian people in the Soviet Union and to rally to their help, has found an enthusiastic echo in all Islam. The leading newspapers of Jordania, Saudi-Arabia, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt have taken up the cry and sounded the alarm for all the Islamic peoples outside the Iron Curtain.

The President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Veli Kajum Khan, has had the following statement published in No. 78, B of the N.T.E.K. journal, "Miliy Turkistan" ("National Turkistan"):

The appeal of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.) to the Islamic peoples of the 24th of March, has met with great enthusiasm among the peoples of the world and especially in the Islamic countries. The Islamic peoples have at once made known the appeal in their official newspapers as well as by means of the radio, and in different towns in the Arab world meetings have taken place. The headings in the newspapers were: "Cries for help from 25 million tortured Moslems in Turkistan", "The Turkestanian people asks for the help of the Moslem brethren".

The tragedy of the Turkestanian people, outlined by this appeal and due wholly to Russian imperialism has excited the Islamic world. Our Islamic brethren did not let the matter rest there but went one step further and as we are informed, they will, on account of the proposals, of the N.T.U.C., form a Committee of investigation in Damascus, to investigate the conditions in Turkistan. For this purpose a conference will be convoked by the Islamic governments to discuss how to help the Turkestanians in their fight for liberation from the Russian yoke. They

will also send a note of protest to Russia.

These efforts show most clearly how intimate are the connections between the Islamic peoples. It is also known to the Islamic peoples that the Turkestanian people does not fight only for its own independence, but also for the preservation of Islamic culture and for the defence of our Islamic religion.

1. *The N.T.U.C. asks all Islamic peoples and the free world to support these efforts and to contribute to the realisation of the proposals made in the appeal.*
2. *We ask the Islamic representatives in the U.N. to put forward the tragedy of Turkistan in the meetings of the U.N.*
3. *We ask the Western democratic world to support the steps of the Islamic countries.*
4. *We will thank our Islamic brethren for their understanding and their support of their tortured Islamic brethren in Turkistan.*

V. Kajum-Khan

President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee

Resolutions of the Central Committee of A.B.N.

On August 1, 1952 the Central Committee of the A.B.N. held a meeting at which the questions of building up the A.B.N. in England, Germany and Canada were discussed and resolutions passed.

One important resolution concerned the convening of the General Congress of the A.B.N. this year. It is to be in connection with a congress of free peoples and in collaboration with other well-known anti-bolshevist organizations of the western peoples. At the Congress of the A.B.N., the A.B.N. Freedom Manifesto will be signed.

Representatives, Branches and Local Cells of the A.B.N.

The General Congress of our organization will take this year. Increasing your activities, prepare your reports.

Moscow's Steam Roller Turns...

Continued from Page 1

The transition to "socialism" in the dialectical ideological sense means the realization of the intermediate step to communism, politically, through integration with the East, the inclusion of half Germany with its 18 million in the East bloc system.

Facts followed quickly on the resolution. The pattern is so familiar that the statement of a few measures was sufficient: the five German laender, Brandenburg, Saxon-Anhalt, Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg were rolled out, i. e. they dissolved themselves "voluntarily" into 14 areas and 217 districts, into anonymous planned squares, in which the bolshevist campaign of extermination and destruction now begins viz. the abolition of private property and plants, the bleak collectivization of agriculture, destruction of independent craftsmanship, nationalization of industry with its attendant Stakanov system and political pressure at every level of public and private life. The Catholic and Protestant Churches have already been made to feel the "change of climate".

Anyone who, in the face of these events, still speaks of the duty of "reuniting Germany" has not learned, or not wanted to learn anything from the experiences of 1944 and 1945, even if they have not watched the history of bolshevism, that is to say the current events since 1917, for now a development begins to unfold which has been practised in a number of states in north, north-east, south-east and central Europe, and the task of the future can only be "the liberation of the lost", as a well-known journalist has called it but no talk of "reuniting".

For the chicken-hearted the vague chance remains open that the Kremlin despots are sufficiently disillusioned not to see in their S.E.D. functionaries in East Berlin, representatives of the German people, or in the process now being introduced, a final unmasking of a definite strategy, but a blackmailing manoeuvre against the Federal Republic and the western powers.

These illusions are faced with the bitter knowledge that in east Germany by "peaceful methods", that has been achieved for which men are fighting in Korea, Indo-China, Burmah, Malaya, the steady pushing forward of tributary areas, so that when the decisive conflict with the free world comes, the front line fight can be waged to keep the "inside" line immune from any reaction.

P. S.

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The Liberation is Indivisible

The Liberation of the Soviet Satellites is Impossible Without Simultaneous Freeing of the Peoples of U.S.S.R.

By Professor Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Double-faced World Menace

The extension and intensity of the present political crisis is the result of a symbiosis between Moscow's imperialism on the one hand and the representatives of communist ideology on the other. If, for the representatives of Moscow's imperialism, its advance is the aim, and the spreading of communism the method, the missionaries of communism on the other hand see in the growth of Moscow's potential a suitable precondition for the establishment of communist regimes in the whole world. Therefore the countries serving bolshevist aims are most closely connected with Moscow. The aims of Moscow's imperialism and communism are so closely linked that a differentiation between them does not seem to be justified. As the executors and representatives of these aims are the same persons, having the Kremlin as their headquarters, a split or even contradiction between them is unthinkable.

The world has for years had the opportunity to see that without the help of the communists, Moscow's imperialism could not have reached its present expansion, and communism on the other hand, could not have extended as it has without the absolute support which it has found in Moscow. It is just this inseparable association which has caused the present insecurity.

From the above facts the Liberation Movements draw this lesson: no difference should be made among the nations in respect to the time when Moscow succeeded in subjugating them. From today's point of view this is an unimportant detail. More important is it to realise that the fight against Moscow's imperialism must be linked with the fight against communist ideology and vice versa. Without the defeat of both there can be no lasting peace.

Camouflaged Despotism

Moscow's empire is not a product of our days; we can follow its growth for centuries, from a small Duchy to the subjugation of one quarter of the world's surface and one third of the world's population. Russia is the nucleus, its centre is Moscow. After the revolution the Soviet took over what Russia had succeeded in subjugating up to 1917. The system of satellite countries is just another form of imperialism, fitted to present day conditions. Though the form of incorporation may be different at the moment, there is no difference between the former Russian and the present Soviet aims.

Judging the problem theoretically, there is, no doubt, a difference from the point of view of International Law between the various Soviet republics

forming part of the Soviet Union and the states called Satellites. From this theoretical point of view Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. are theoretically independent, whereas Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Aserbaijan are within the U.S.S.R.

But in international politics there is no great difference between these two groups of states, except that traditional international views give greater possibilities to the Satellites for pushing the Kremlin's aims than to the member republics of the U.S.S.R. But even this difference disappears, for instance in the case of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics, because they are members of the United Nations. Judging the situation of Moscow's satellites and the soviet republics within the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of political possibilities, it becomes obvious that there is no difference between the position of Prague, Warsaw or Budapest on the one side and Kyiv, Minsk or Riga on the other. They cannot do anything but fulfil Moscow's orders. Of course, having an advantage from it, Moscow is interested in maintaining these theoretical differences.

The Iron Curtain Unjustified

The present border — the Iron Curtain — is without any greater natural justification than was the border between the free world and the U.S.S.R. in 1938, which was only the result of the then prevailing power conditions in East Europe.

By the unlawful and violent change of her borders, incorporating half Europe, Moscow has lost the title to the 1938 borders. To consolidate the political degradation of the nations of Central and South-East Europe and of the Baltic to the status of nations within the U.S.S.R., Moscow created political and moral grounds for taking up and solving the problematical right of existence of the Soviet empire, ruling with Bolshevik despotism a large number of nations.

The present unnatural political situation is not a product of the Russian nation's power, but only a consequence of possibilities with which Moscow disposes, as a result of her rule over a mosaic of nations. Only through the subsequent subjugation of scores of nations did it gain its present possibilities.

World Expansion in Laps

The subjugation of Byelorussia, Poland and the Baltic nations makes Moscow the dominant power on the Baltic Sea. The subjugation of Hungary, Slovakia, Albania and Czechia enables Moscow to exert pressure upon Germany, Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece. The subjugation of Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria and Caucasus gives

her such a dominant position on the Black Sea that she can start to plan making it a Russian sea. The subjugation of the nations living on both sides of the Caucasus, and Caspian and Aral Seas and up to Lake Baikal, gave Moscow the possibility of exerting pressure upon Turkey, Iran, Iraq, India and China. So the Soviets are able to prepare their expansion to the Mediterranean Sea, North Africa and the Middle East.

This mosaic of nations, subjugated by Moscow and living in an area of over 3 million square miles, constitutes the basis of the political and economic power of the Kremlin. It is known that the most important raw materials and therefore also industrial centres are situated on territories inhabited by these nations. This is why the free world must be interested in the liberation of these nations if it wants to get rid of the threat to world peace.

At the end of World War I, many politicians hoped that Moscow would limit her aims to the territories of former Tsarist Russia. Again, after World War II, they hoped that she would confine herself to the incorporation of Central and South-East Europe. And the free world was even prepared to accept it. But for Moscow it was a welcome opportunity for increasing her potential, in order to prepare further pressure in the service of bolshevist messiahism.

All this contributed to raising the self-importance of the Kremlin men to such an extent that a withdrawal of the Soviets behind the 1938 borders became unimaginable. Moscow's influence would not stop, even if she decided to withdraw formally. Moscow's pressure upon the satellite countries would be brought to an end only if simultaneously the other nations, held with violence under the Soviet yoke, were liberated.

The political system introduced in the countries behind the Iron Curtain is so ruthless and despotic that one cannot expect its breaking down in a normal way. The only way out of the present situation is Moscow's withdrawal, or pushing her back to the Russian ethnic border. Only then can the world attain stability and conditions for a lasting peace. Because it is impossible to maintain peace without the liberation of the scores of nations subjugated by Moscow, the free world has every right to be interested in their fate. There can be no world peace as long as the nations dominated by Moscow are not free.

Conditions for World Peace

These seas have always been the best means of communication. By sea the nations could most easily exchange their products, and also new ideas

Church Against Bolshevism

By Prof. Rudolf Wierer, L.L.D.

Characteristic Soviet Religious Policy

The practical religious policy of the Soviets is characteristic in the various ways in which it tries to annihilate religious feelings and national consciousness.

The Soviets have directed their hatred chiefly against the Eastern Rite of the Catholic Church. The reasons for this satanic persecution are clear. The Ukrainian Catholic Church is the largest and most important body among the Eastern Catholic Churches. It is both the source of inspiration and the focus of independent thought and feeling for Ukrainians. Unfortunately the Bolsheviks with the cunning sophistry of their dialectic have, till now, always found ears ready to listen to their lying propaganda, and it is relatively easy to make members of non-Ukrainian Orthodox Churches mistrust the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Soviets began their persecution of that Church immediately after the second occupation of the Western Ukraine in 1944. 250 Priests fled westwards; the great old man of Western Ukraine, the Metropolitan, Archbishop Count Andreas Sheptytzky died on November 1st, 1944, we must presume a violent death, and the clergy were persecuted.

could most rapidly spread. Therefore the principles of progress and freedom spread first among the maritime nations, and only later did they reach the inland nations. Therefore the liberation of the Central European nations came later than that of the Balkan nations and America, and it has not been possible hitherto to liberate the nations between the Ural and Carpathians, and between the Caspian Sea and Lake Baikal, but it is not uncommon to find in the free world people who even regard the subjugation of the nations as something natural.

It is in the interest of progress, and freedom, and is even a condition for peace, that the ideas which enabled the free world to develop should extend also to those territories which have been artificially kept in isolation from their influence. Because only through their realisation throughout the world, will the free nations be able to enjoy the fruit of progress and freedom without restraint. The liberation of the nations subjugated by Moscow is a condition for maintaining the freedom of the nations which are free today. The liberation of the subjugated nations is necessary for creating conditions under which world peace can be maintained. This is not only a thesis without a practical and realistic goal. The free nations, by becoming unfaithful to the principles to which they owe their own development, and by making a compromise with tyranny, themselves contributed to the creation of the present situation.

To be continued

After some months the Bolsheviks in power imprisoned all the Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Western and Subcarpathian Ukraine. These revered men, led by the distinguished man and scholar, Metropolitan Josef Slipy, were sentenced in 1946. The Bishops were condemned to imprisonment, but by 1950, five out of eleven had already died or been killed. It is probable that others are suffering martyrdom to this very day. The place of these Bishops was taken by faint-hearted priests who, by March 1947, had completely usurped the position of the sentenced and liquidated men, declaring that the Union with Rome was revoked. This apostacy has not been acknowledged by the clergy and people faithful to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and it was followed by a new wave of persecution. By 1950 there were about eight hundred people who had died for the Christian faith. In the Satellite States the persecution was the same: In Slovakia the entire Diocese of Presov was annihilated: in Tito's Yugoslavia persecution continues despite the facts that the Titoists find it opportune to appear democratic.

Bolshevik policy towards the Latin Rite of the Catholic Church is also characteristic. At the start of Communist rule we see a certain circumspect tendency in their dealing with Satellite States. Their aim is to lull the caution of the Catholic hierarchy, but there have always been certain facts sufficient to give alarm to every Catholic. In Poland, the Bierut puppet regime abolished the valid Concordate between the Holy See and the Polish Government. Nevertheless the Bolsheviks and their fellow-travellers explained away this decisive step as political action against the "reactionary" members of the Polish Clergy. Some months later, a similar subterfuge was used, in spite of Western protests, in the case of the valiant Archbishop of Zagreb Stepinac. He was arrested, tried and imprisoned on a false charge of "collaboration". In this way the Communists tried to absolve themselves and make themselves out to be the liberators of the Church. In Czechoslovakia, under a masked, half-Bolshevik regime, (1945-1948) persecution of Catholics was declared to be a struggle against "Collaborators". Thus they were able to disguise the death sentence on Msgr. Dr. Jozef Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic. After the Coup d'Etat in February 1948, when the Bolshevik regime was unmasked, the Government started with a certain appearance of pretended sympathy towards the Church. The new President, K. Gottwald, attended Divine Service after his election in June, 1948. But the persecution started a little later and several Bishops were victims. Archbishop Beran of Prague, Bishop Hlouch of Budejovice from the Czech side, the Slovak Bishops Vojtassak, Skrabik and

Buzalka, are examples of heroic men who are left to languish in prison. In Szenty was sent to prison. These are only very well-known men who now suffer martyrdom for the Truth, but there are thousands of others, priests and laity, who are persecuted and suffer, unknown to the world. As the education of the clergy is controlled, and as they become more under the influence of the Communist ideology, the persecution becomes more intensive. There is a certain danger in this influence as Communism is often represented not in its brutal materialist and atheistic form which it bears in practice, but in the guise of national and progressive ideas.

Concessions with an Ulterior Aim

The Orthodox Church in Soviet countries has undergone terrible persecution. The brutality of the Soviet religious policy was however softened in the thirties and was moderate during the II World War. During that time political requirements demanded an intensive stir up of nationalism, and made it expedient that there should be a degree of superficial renaissance for religion. To-day the policy of the Bolsheviks is still to strengthen Soviet moral influence by using the Orthodox Church. Therefore certain concessions are still maintained. It has always been a leading principle of the Soviets that Church and State must be completely separated, but the use of Churches in old Soviet Territory is tolerated, and men are free to worship within the walls of their churches. But this purported liberty is no true religious liberty which should consist firstly of liberty of conscience and opinion, secondly of liberty of cult, and thirdly, liberty of religious association. Although the Soviet Union is supposedly tolerant, the first and fundamental religious liberty has been utterly destroyed, for the ordinary citizen is compelled every day to act against the voice and beliefs of his conscience: neither is there any liberty to express an opinion. If the second liberty is very restricted, the third liberty, that of religious association, has been almost completely taken from the Church, which can neither organize charities nor give instruction to young people. In schools, in particular, no religious instruction can be given. For all that the Bolsheviks display a friendly attitude towards the Orthodox Church, the Soviet Government has firmly kept to its decision that religious instruction of the young — except in the family — is barred by an order, which forbids the religious instruction of young people below the age of 18. Moreover the Church cannot organize libraries of religious books or publish a religious press. Thus all concessions made by the government in favour of the Patriarchate of Moscow (for example the licence to publish

Importance of the Insurgent Forces

Continued from Page 1

Partisans a Second Front Line

Thus there came into existence, behind the front line of the 6th Army Corps, a second front line, about 100 kms. in depth and width, which completely transformed the character of the warfare, and caused great anxiety and heavy losses.

Similar activities were experienced in the Korean war, where General Mac Arthur was compelled to use one-third of the U.N. Forces to defeat the Red Partisans. We may assume that the battles of the second front line in the anticipated Third World War will be of great importance.

Hungarian Units and U.P.A.

To return to the fighting of my Army Corps, on two front lines, I have to mention that this ghastly struggle did not last long, as we discovered, fortunately in a fairly short time, that the Partisan groups fighting in the moun-

tains did not recruit Red Partisans or soldiers of the Red Army who managed to infiltrate through our sparsely occupied first line, but recruited mostly members of the Units of the Ukrainian Insurrection Forces (U.P.A.) who fought at the same time against the Soviet, as well as against the German Army, both of whom spelt danger to their country. These Partisans did not realise that the Hungarian Forces were employed on the front in order to defend their country against Bolshevism, without intending to endanger the best possible friendly relations with their Ukrainian neighbours.

These insurrection forces did not know anything of the wish of the Hungarian Army to co-operate closely, in a spirit of complete understanding

and support, with the Ukrainian fighters for freedom, which was to the mutual interest of both parties.

After the Hungarian Command had succeeded in clarifying the situation between the Hungarians and Ukrainians, a meeting was arranged between the two parties.

After this agreement the Hungarian Units had, in fact, only to fight against the Soviet Russian Army, while the task of the U.P.A. groups was to fight the Red Partisans and infiltrating groups, maintain close communications with other U.P.A. groups acting behind the Soviet-Russian lines, notify the Hungarian Army of every movement of the Russians and, if need be, to attack the Russians in conjunction with the Hungarian Units. The provision of arms, ammunition, wireless sets, food and medical treatment was the task of the Hungarian Army. Thus the activities of the Ukrainians and the Hungarians were co-ordinated.

Thus we succeeded in ensuring that peace prevailed in the Western valleys of the Carpathian Mountains and that valuable co-operation was established. When the Hungarian Army was compelled to withdraw, due to the general situation, the U.P.A. undertook to cover this retreat and did it, so efficiently that it was possible to complete it successfully within three days.

Fifth Column is Second Front Line for Russia

My experiences on the battlefield provide a characteristic example of warfare on two fronts. Those experiences of an Army Corps on a front line, on a comparatively small scale, point a moral applicable to the war of the

future, the main characteristics of which will be fighting on two fronts.

This war is already in progress. We learn from the papers daily that behind the present front line — in Korea and Indo-China only, for the time being — there exists and fights a second front line in the form of the Fifth Column, which is expanding throughout the whole world. I need mention here only the struggle for atomic energy supremacy, the spy trials, the underground activities of the Communists, the political murders, etc., which take place, and are directed, beyond a doubt, from a common central organisation.

This means war in truth, but only the Soviet Union exploits the main weapons of this war; she alone endeavours to cause confusion everywhere in order to penetrate to places where she could not yet reach without the Red Army, or where she — for the time being — does not intend to penetrate.

During the past decades the Soviet Union, through her own experiences, has had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the far-reaching significance of internal destructive forces. These forces were the cause of the catastrophic outcome of the Russian-Japanese War, and the collapse and dissolution of the Russian Empire after the First World War, right on the threshold of Russian victory.

In the light of the above-mentioned facts, the Soviet Union deemed it necessary to organize before the Second World War, thousands of Red Partisans in order to use them in the event of a future war, against the people, should it occur to them to demand freedom and independence — as the Russian Colonel Kalinov says in his book entitled "Soviet Marshals".

These desperate millions constitute the second front of the West, a great power in itself, created by the tyranny of the Soviet Union, which tramples on all that is good and beautiful.

Carroll on a Nationalities in Russia

Wallace Carroll, an expert in the psychology of warfare, director of the U.S. F.B.I. in the European Theatre of the Second World War, states in one of his works that there is a hitherto unwritten paragraph of the history of the recent years which must be studied by the Americans without delay, and most profoundly, with the aid of the abundant material provided by the German Military Archives.

It is quite clear to Wallace that the Soviet Union is a country inhabited by many nationalities who, for centuries, have fought for their freedom and independence.

This question has placed all nations at war with Russia in a dilemma, but to-day there is no doubt that the support or neglect of these peoples striving for their freedom may make an ally, or an enemy of a hundred million

a periodical) are suspect. The purpose of this benevolence is only to attract Orthodox believers in non-Soviet countries and even certain Protestants who believe that it would be possible to persuade many Eastern Christians to form a religious Union between the East and the West. The Orthodox Church is also used as a tool for propagating separation from Rome. In Czechoslovakia they introduced the Orthodox Metropolitan Jeleferij. He obtained Czechoslovakian citizenship (for he is Russian, and was a Soviet citizen) so that he might weaken the other Churches in Czechoslovakia, especially the Catholic Church. In those countries, however, where there is no opportunity for misusing Orthodox sympathies in order to break down religious opinion, the Orthodox Church is still persecuted, although not as ostentatiously as it was thirty years ago. This is how the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, that magnificent organization renewed by the great martyr, Vasyl Lypkivsky, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, has been treated.

Terrorisation of all Religious Communities

Bolshevik terror seeks to exterminate every religious community: Christians, Moslems, Jews and others, all know of the barbarous destruction of the brave Caucasian Moslems, the suppression of the Turkestan Moslems, and last but not least, the campaign against the Jews, disguised to-day under insinuations against Trotskyism and Zionism. These phrases may be heard equally in the U.S.S.R. or Czechoslovakia.

It is clear then that every religious man must struggle against Bolshevik atheism, that he must warn others of his creed of its dangers, and tell them of the guile with which the Bolsheviks approach religious questions.

We must make it impossible in the future for men such as Hewlett Johnson to be led astray by Communism, or Moslems to be the dupes of Soviet agitators. We must stand together in the defence of our ideals and faith.

people. Faults and mistakes committed in this respect in the course of the last war led to fatal consequences.

The German assault against the East proved that although millions of people were ready to fight on the German side, when they discovered that they had been disappointed in their hopes, they turned against the Germans. In case of War — says Wallace — we have to do all that lies in our power to use these peoples in a struggle against their oppressor. In the East, one has to operate with ideals of freedom instead of atomic bombs; one has to set free the energy of peoples demanding independence, so as to enable them to crush tyranny and to organise their own way of life in accordance with their needs.

Finally Wallace says that the ways and means of the use of the Air Force will decide whether the millions of peoples oppressed by the Soviet Union become our friends — or the defenders of Moscow.

Wallace fully realised the strength and significance of the second, internal front.

Major General J. F. C. Fuller's opinion of this question is rather similar. In his book "How to Defeat Russia" he states that the Third World War is already in progress. He demands the support by every means of the Resistance Movements and that of the Partisan Forces beyond the Iron Curtain, and the opening of a "Moral Offensive".

Major General Fuller refers to the importance of the insurgents of the Second World War and points out that those anti-bolshevik forces were able to harass permanently the Russian supplies and lines of communication, which may be a fact of far-reaching significance in a future war. The mightier these revolutionary forces are, the weaker will be the will to fight, and the slower the advance of the Soviet Union.

These are the weaknesses of the Soviet Union, in spite of the fact that its arms are powerful and the country itself is pretty invulnerable.

To attain liberation, it is not sufficient to carry on with anti-bolshevik propaganda. It is essential, on the eve of the great day of reckoning, to set against the devilish Bolshevik ideology a positive strategic object and a so-called "Western Ideology" which — in my opinion — could only be the ideals of the "Cross of Freedom".

The Bolshevik danger to the world must be tackled from every possible angle. In this respect, the most substantial factor for ensuring victory can be expected from the subjugated peoples. It is of great importance to win over the soldiers serving under pressure in the Soviet Army, and the co-operation of the above-mentioned revolutionary forces. The number of these can be expected to be a million, and, if need be, an Army of one million behind the

Resolutions

We, present at the A.B.N. Conference in London on 17th and 19th June, 1952, have resolved that:

1) The Kremlin clique achieved their power by murder, cruelty, persecution of the churches, mass massacres and by enslaving the free nations.

2) The same clique, building their fifth column to infiltrate their propaganda, — based on materialism and absence of any faith in God, — among the nations of the Free World is determined to extend their imperialism all over the world by cold or hot war.

3) Russian communism is dangerous through its destructive doctrines and its imperialism, to all the freedom loving peoples.

Our object is: —

1) To reveal the true aim of Russian communist autocracy and to organize forces and support anti-communist movements.

2) To counter communist propaganda in the Free World countries and behind the Iron Curtain, by a rebirth of religious life, national ideas and tradition contrary to communist godless doctrines dominated by Russian chauvinistic imperialism.

3) To recognize the right of freedom and independence for all nations within the U.S.S.R., based on A.B.N. principles and for other countries suppressed by communist autocracy.

We, aware that there is no prospect for lasting peace unless the freedom for all nations and individuals is trampled down, are prepared to counteract Bolshevism, now, together with all nations, whether in captivity under Communist tyranny or in the Free World.

First Soviet front line could decisively influence the outcome of a war. But we must not forget that these could also hinder operations should they not be provided with adequate instructions — and these forces deserve the greatest possible support by the West, as they could, if need be, save the lives of thousands of Western soldiers.

The Key to Victory

It is a well-known fact nowadays that the Soviet Union, with the aid of the Fifth Column of the Communist Parties functioning without hindrance in every country, is able to cause civil wars, chaos and restlessness. Its goal is obvious: *the Soviet Union endeavours to engage the attention of the West on the outlying fronts in time of war and to cause the greatest possible confusion in Korea, China and in the territories of the Western Countries.* By means of the Iron Curtain, the Soviet Union shuts itself away from the West in order to prevent the East becoming acquainted with the West, and to stop the West obtaining any knowledge of the horrible regime of the Soviet. Thus it becomes possible for Soviet propaganda freely to agitate and lie and to inform the world according to its own needs and to make even the West believe that its assertions are indeed true.

Against this, the West will only be able to conclude its war victoriously if it does not delay in establishing a powerful Western second front, to co-ordinate with the oppressed peoples for the achievement of political and strategic ends, to proclaim the ideal of freedom and to attack the foundations of the Bolshevik world danger of Moscow.

In all parts of the Soviet Union great masses of the opponents of the hated regime — many in the Red Army and even in the terror-organisations — await the great moment when they can take up arms against tyranny. The future will show how significant this internal resistance — the second front of the West — will be.

The key to victory is still in the hands of the West to-day.

Bolshevism works hard with the most cruel weapons and strictly to timetable. It uproots its real and imaginary enemies according to plan.

There IS resistance to-day: It is possible to win souls to-day! Therefore now is the time to make the necessary arrangements, because further delay may lead to the ruin of the entire world.

The Day will Dawn

We, Representatives of the Peoples subjugated in their home countries; We, who have joined forces under the slogan "Viribus Unitis" prepare in spirit for the great day when the sun of liberty will rise again. This day has to come at last, and it will come the more surely for the darkness and hopelessness of our present night.

The memories of our glorious past haunt the burnt-out ruins of our homes, memories which live in our hearts, as well as in the mountains and woods of our countries.

The Justice of history is more powerful than the strength of the Devil's disciples on earth. We may rest assured that the day of the triumph of Justice will dawn.

In this firm belief, we pray to the Almighty for His Blessing on our work — our countries, and our swords.

Profanation of Our Subjugated Peoples

Falsehood and Slander in the Service of Russian Imperialists

"Calomniez, calomniez, on y restera toujours quelque chose" (Don Basilio).

"Slander and again slander till in the end something clings", this classical saying of Don Basilio's seems to form the basis of the latest weapon employed by our enemies, used the oftener against the A.B.N. and our peoples' fight for liberty, the more our more convincing our ideas become in the eyes of western opinion. For this oft tried weapon the Russian imperialists seek out tools worthy of it.

The information service of the emigrant organization N.T.S., "R.I.A. Correspondence", in its last numbers serves its readers with a series of special supplements which outdo one another in lies, travesties and libels against our peoples' struggle and their representatives in the A.B.N. In the introduction to one of these supplements No. 20/52 of June 9, 1952, the editor of "R.I.A. Correspondence" says he is "particularly pleased" at being able to publish another article in the series which has been specially written by the former Czech diplomat, Mr. Jacques O. Grezer, who is now a well-known publicist."

All the same, it looks as if the shoes of these imperialists of N.T.S. were beginning to pinch, for in the aforesaid introduction to the article it says: "The political situation is so today that the question of the so-called anti-bolshevist tactics of the A.B.N. appears more than ever before on the agenda."

The question of this prominent Czech "diplomat" and "publicist" will be discussed below. Although his personal and publicist ethics are such that they do not deserve serious consideration, we feel it necessary to give a few examples of what his "publicist" work is like, in order to show the public what means the Russian imperialists stoop to, in their propaganda against us, and from what muddy waters the "arguments" of the Russian imperialists are fished.

First, the great joke: the articles by this extraordinary writer have headings like "Alfred Rosenberg's Pupils", "Policy of Madness", "The A.B.N. — the Trojan horse of Bolshevism". All this noise is directed, of course, against the liberation movements of our peoples, whose claim for release from the bolshevist yoke is labelled madness. Doubtful American sources are quoted, representing us as disgruntled savages, impelled by racial hatred only against Russians; we are not antibolshevist, but rather anti-semitic, anti-democratic, anti-federalist. "Deception and Lies" are alleged to be the weapons of the A.B.N., which, moreover, is infiltrated by communist agents, working for Stalin. The author of this undignified article quoted by the "R.I.A. Correspondence" even presumes to speak in name of America, flatly declaring with regard to our liberation movement, "Allies that we do not want". We have only one answer to this: the A.B.N. and its members wish still less to have the support of such obscure elements who can sink so low as to play the part of desecrators of our peoples.

But the "well-known Czech diplomat and publicist" has more magic weapons in store for us. He quotes the notorious Hermann Rauschnik and makes long excursions into

Hitler's and Rosenberg's eastern policy to prove that our ideals were hatched out in the nazi Ministry for the East and for that reason alone to be repudiated. He says that the realization of the principle of national freedom for our peoples would work out as a "Morgenthau Plan" for Russia, and it would be just as paradoxical and inadmissible to restore their freedom to the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. as, for instance, to break the German Federal Republic up into 16 separate and independent states. But the "great diplomat" seems to have overlooked the fact that Germany is a united and coherent nation, desiring to live in one and the same State, while the U.S.S.R. is a dungeon of nations, in which bolshevism, hand in hand with a policy of russification, has been pursuing genocide for years. Is it really faulty knowledge or does he take his readers for so idiotically naive that he can foist such quackery on them?

As for the "nazi origin" of our ideals, it is of little consequence today what Hitler or Rosenberg planned or did not plan yesterday. The only important thing is the historically proved fact that Hitler failed in the East, not because he realized our ideals, but on the contrary because he trampled them under foot and ignored our peoples' right to recovering their national freedom and independence. His occupation of Ukraine was so brutal that he brought the enmity of our peoples upon himself and ruined his campaign in the East. The author gives himself a fine testimonial when he attempts to maintain that our nations as such were artificially created and never existed as independent states. Our only answer to this is: If anyone dares thus to drag the sacred ideals of whole nations in the mire and defame them it is not surprising if spontaneous reactions appear which are then exploited to accuse us of terrorism.

That Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., and Stephan Bandera, leader of the

Ukrainian Liberation Movement, were not acting under Hitler's orders when they proclaimed the free Ukrainian state in 1941, but on the contrary, as leaders of the national revolution that they dared to proclaim it against his will and to oppose his policy of oppression in Ukraine and were therefore arrested and spent 4 years in a concentration camp, are historical facts which no journalist's lies can shake, however unscrupulous they may be. The mass demonstrations which have taken place in Canada in recent weeks in the honour of President Stetzko, show clearly enough what the Ukrainian people and its millions of emigres think of the sincere and uncompromising attitude of the Ukrainian liberation movement and are certainly a better criterion than the paid publications of the N.T.S.

To lend his pamphlets a shimmer of truth, the author refers to quotations from the "A.B.N. Correspondence" which he deliberately falsifies or distorts in every case, for instance, when quoting from No. 6/7, 1951 of "A.B.N. Correspondence", we are supposed to have said that "every Russian, even if he is an emigre and calls himself a democrat is a supporter of bolshevism". In reality the passage runs "Every Russian imperialist, even if he calls himself a democrat" etc. His other quotations which are meant to prove that we regard the Russians as Asiatic hordes which should be expelled from the European community and slaughtered for "collective guilt" etc. etc. are equally absurd and not worth while replying to.

It has been said more than once in our publications what our opinion of the Russian people as such is, and the attitude expressed by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. on the main page of this number makes any further discussion of the matter superfluous.

Quotations which try to stamp us as "enemies on principle of any kind of inter-state union, federation etc. are just as slanderous. The truth in those passages quoted from the "A.B.N. Correspondence", lies just in the sentences which have been so shamefully and with intention left out, viz. that we only then reject inter-state unions if they are brought about against the will of the people in question, or serve to cloak and make eternal the claims to be a "master race", proclaimed by certain artificially constructed states such as the U.S.S.R. dungeon of nations, the Czech state structure and Tito's realm.

So much for that. But we will not refrain from introducing to our readers the man who has lent his pen to such tirades against the A.B.N. or the portrait drawn of him by the well-known Czech emigrant paper, "Bohemia".

"Who is this J. C. Grezer", the "Bohemia" asks, "who gives himself out as a Czech patriot, diplomat and federalist? Who is the Grezer who calls himself a doctor and count and alleges that he is an officer in the Czechoslovakian legion abroad? He is a Sudeten German, named Jakob Ortulf Grezer, of Moravia, who served in the German army during the first world war and whose father was a member of the N.S.D.A.P.. Grezer graduated with some difficulty from the German secondary school of Mährisch-Ostrau.

Importance Notice

The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is doing publicity work in the free world on behalf of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

A central office is being opened where material will be collected and circulated. Books, pamphlets, leaflets in foreign languages bearing upon our peoples and their problems will form the material.

Members of the A.B.N.! see that all the publications in foreign languages about your folk group in exile are sent to our central office in several copies. You will be doing your national cause a good service!

Secretariat General of the A.B.N.

Side-Lights

Pope Pius XII. "To the Peoples of Russia"

The Failure of a Message

The Holy See recently addressed an apostolic message "to the Peoples of Russia", which message seems, on account of this turn of phrase, to have failed in its well-meant purpose, and to be calculated to alienate the oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union.

The message begins with the statement that the believers of the Catholic Church in all parts of the world had laid it upon the Holy Father to "place the whole Russian people, in their present oppressed state under the protection of the Blessed Virgin". Even at this introduction, many people in the U.S.S.R., and especially the Catholic believers, such as Ukrainians and Byelorussians, will ask why only the Russian nation is to partake of this grace, while their nations are not once mentioned by name. This all the more when all the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., do not even feel themselves in any way addressed by such terms as "Peoples of Russia" or "Russian Peoples", and fight against it tooth and nail, all the more today, when they are addressed by the name of their oppressors.

Further on in the message, the term "Russian peoples" is employed several times, and now indeed, not only in the sense of state, but even in the sense of national-political and racial unity! Thus the Ukrainian Prince, Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, as well as Yaropolk (9th, 10th, and 11th centuries) are spoken of as Russian rulers. The great cultural reform of Vladimir which he performed by means of the introduction of Christianity

He is just as little a doctor as he is a count, or officer in the Czech army abroad. It is obvious that with these assertions he has deceived official bodies as well as the public.

About a year and a half ago, Grezer called on leading personages in the Czech national group in Munich and offered them large sums of money and jewels if they would work for the Czech ministry of the interior, declaring that he was making the offer after a verbal agreement with the Czechoslovak Consul-General, Dr. Dvorak. We informed the competent official places at the time of this affair. Since then Grezer has several times attempted to obtain information from us . . . to bribe members of our staff . . . and to win people over to work for communist red Prague ("Bohemia" No. 4/5, and 9/11, 1951).

The author thus exposed has neither contradicted the statement in the "Bohemia" of January last year, nor has he dared to bring an action against the paper.

That is the man who pretends that the A.B.N. is playing into Stalin's hands! It must be admitted that this "diplomat" is consistent. That is the "publicist" used by the Russian imperialists of the N.T.S. in their campaign, led by blind hatred, against us. One is inclined to ponder on that wise French proverb which runs: *Qui se semble, se ressemble*.

into Ukraine in 980, is simply ascribed to the Russians. The whole of Ukrainian history in general, the Ukrainian ecclesiastical life, and all the Ukrainian cultural reforms of centuries are ascribed, without further ado, to the Russians.

Finally this Papal message addresses itself in particular to the "Catholics among the Russian peoples", although, as is generally known, the Russians acknowledge the Orthodox Church, while, in the territories of the U.S.S.R., only Ukrainians and Byelorussians belong to the Catholic faith and stand under the spiritual protection of the Holy See in Rome.

All these blunders in the quoted Vatican message are all the more regrettable, when our peoples and their resistance movements, independent of differences of belief, have always had a supporter in the Catholic church, and, in the form of the Holy See in Rome, wish to see a powerful ally in the fight against the despotism of Moscow and the godless communists.

A.B.N. and the Red Cross

On the occasion of the 18th Congress of the International Red Cross at Toronto (July 23, to August 8), the A.B.N. arranged a manifestation on July 27, in the same town, which was attended by 5,000 persons, members of the different peoples of the U.S.S.R. After a Church Service they marched through the town and assembled before the Town Hall where Dr. J. Kaskelis (Lithuania) opened the rally and explained its meaning. The chief speech by Y. Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., was read in English. It depicted the situation of the countries and people behind the Iron Curtain and Moscow's crimes against human rights. In reference to the place and occasion of the meeting, Mr. Stetzko said:

"We protest against the presence of a State in the International Red Cross that committed massacres not only in war, but also in peace. We demand that all diplomatic and trade connections be broken off with the Soviet Union and the Satellite States. We demand that representatives of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow be admitted to the International Red Cross, the recognition of the U.P.A. and resistance organizations of other peoples, as armies in a state of war on the principles of the Hague Convention, with all the consequences of that recognition."

He warned the Red Cross against making any compacts with the U.S.S.R. which was preparing a surprise attack on the whole world and had never kept any agreement made.

Speeches by representatives of the Croats, Slovaks, Rumanians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Cossacks, Bulgarians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians followed, all demanding the exclusion of the U.S.S.R. from the International Red Cross.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N., the A.B.N. representatives in Canada and representatives of other nations in the A.B.N. sent memorandums to the same effect to the 18th Congress of the International Red Cross.

Olympic Dialectics

The Olympic Games in Helsinki are over. The success of the Soviet sportsmen and those of its satellites, has received the unlimited attention due to it in the press of the world. After an absence of 40 years from the Games the presence of Soviet participants naturally aroused great interest.

The western press, besides the reports on the Games events, stressed the friendship between the two world spheres; that there was no Iron Curtain in the Olympia village and that everyone was welcome to come and go among the Soviet sportsmen. A fact which induced many newspapers to make spiteful comparisons with the politicians.

And then, as soon as the Olympic Games were finished, the Czech winner of three gold medals, Zatopek, at a "peace meeting" in the same Helsinki, attacked the "American imperialists" as responsible for the Korean war, in order to fulfil his duty and norm in that field too. Thus before spectators and athletes had scattered the Soviet government attempted to make use of the Olympic Games for its political purposes.

People for whom the infringement of the Olympic spirit seems tactless and unexpected, know little of the dialectic compulsion in communist thought. In the leading article by which the *Izvestija* announced the fact that Soviet athletes were attending the Olympic Games, it says: "This international event will favour friendly relations between the democratic youth of the states participating and further friendship among the nations." That was the day after the XV. Olympic Games.

When reading the above quotation one must bear in mind what sport means in the Soviet world and how far government help is concerned. The award for sport, the winning of which is almost obligatory, bears the motto "Ready for work and defence".

That is the dialectic perversion of the Olympic ideal. P. S.

Soviet-Russian Tactics of Conference

Accounts as to the beginning, course and number of discussions at the truce negotiations in Panmunjon, fall rather to the historian than to the journalist. The latter must, however, draw the conclusion that the discussions have led to no positive result because the communist negotiators systematically avoid any discussions that might bear fruit.

Their behaviour is an incentive to the study of the tactics of delegates of communist states at other occasions, where the object seems worth their sitting down to a round table talk.

The peace treaty for Austria could not be concluded with the victor states because the Soviet Union always obstructed negotiations, although the Soviet Union itself demanded its early signature, seven years ago.

The Congress of the International Red Cross at Toronto is not yet over, but the very first day it became evident that the participation of the communist delegates was dependent on their being able to use the Congress as a rostrum for communist propaganda against the western powers, and thus

A.B.N. Memorandum

to the Conference of the International Red Cross in Toronto

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and its representation in Canada beg to draw the attention of the estimable delegates to certain matters of supreme importance which should be placed on the agenda of the Conference.

The price paid for the survival of the communist system of government, which is contrary to the very nature of man, has been extremely high. It called for a complete repudiation of all human rights and for an utter disregard of human dignity and of man himself as a free-thinking and free-willed being. That is why the U.S.S.R. and its satellites continue to combat in such an obstinate way all attempts directed to protect fundamental human rights as well as all humanitarian institutions working for this objective. From among those, the U.S.S.R. treats with special hatred the International Red Cross as an organization which protects the code of humanity.

The U.S.S.R. ignores this institution and thus not only prevents it from giving help and protection to the people behind the Iron Curtain but also violates the elementary principles of truth, by accusing it of being partial and of willingly serving the interests of the powers hostile to the U.S.S.R. During the Second World War, the U.S.S.R. prevented the Red Cross from helping the Soviet prisoners of war, thus wilfully help-

frustrate the successful discussion of the agenda.

The rigidity of communist tactics at conferences plainly shows what delegates have been ordered to achieve. At every international conference the prestige question comes first, for the Soviet Union. If they do not succeed in making the negotiations a tribune for their propaganda thesis and influencing them entirely in their sense, the delegates have the order to prevent the working out of any practical result whatever, as no result is always better than a doubtful one. The tactics applied are aimed at smothering the real object in view by endless, wearisome debates on agenda and formal legal questions of procedure.

The truce in Korea, the peace treaty with Austria and the problem of investigation committees formed by the International Red Cross in warlike conflicts are, after all, "hot" political problems and their final regulation might place undesirable, binding obligations on the Soviet Union. But the Soviet-Russians extend their obstructive tactics to politically "cold" objects too.

An international meteorological congress took place at Zurich this year, at which, beside the two Soviet-Russians, a Ukrainian and a Byelorussian delegate took part. The two Soviet-Russians, supported by their two missions, delayed proceedings with questions of etiquette, — according to the alphabetical arrangement of delegates the U.S.S.R. delegates were placed next the Americans, — and thus upset the order of procedure.

ing Nazi Germany in a mass extermination of these prisoners.

This attitude of the communist government towards the I.R.C. and its humanitarian activity does not in the least reflect the actual attitude towards this organization on the part of all the peoples enslaved by Moscow. At the very beginning of their national independence in 1917-20, these peoples, acting through their national governments joined this estimable organization. After an obstinate and bloody struggle, these now national states had been conquered and reoccupied by Russia. Having lost their sovereignty, these peoples were unable to take an active part in the work of the I.R.C. However, their true attitude toward the I.R.C. and the moral right of persons authorized to represent these peoples in that organization remained unchanged. It is only through these representatives and not through the antinational government of oppressors and hangmen that the true desires and feelings of those peoples can be ascertained.

Likewise the peoples who once established their national states, later occupied by communist Russia, cannot be treated as integral components of the Soviet State, because their struggle for national and social liberation has never ceased. Since the Second World War, this struggle reassumed the form of an armed resistance which has continued for the last ten years. It is not the struggle of a separate political group, nor is it merely a resistance of the unsatisfied — it is the struggle of the whole people for its national freedom. The irregular character of this guerrilla warfare, based on the principle of voluntariness rather than on coercion, the limited number and particular character of the military contingents — all this is dictated by the circumstances and does not alter the true nature of this struggle. All these insurgent armies are the armed forces of the respective peoples and are fighters for the interests of their nations as a whole.

In their structure, subordination, outward appearance (uniform, equipment, etc.) as well as in their adherence to military laws, these insurgent armies do not in any way differ from the regular armies, since they are the armies of their nations in their struggle against the occupants for the restoration of their lost national sovereignty.

The limited range of the activity of these armies as well as the limited number of their soldiers are conditioned by the present situation. There is no doubt that, in the event of a clash with the communist world, these insurgent armies will become the centre

of gravity for all internal forces of resistance including the national contingents of the bolshevist armies themselves. They will be transformed into a mighty armed force, into regular national armies, who will create an internal anti-communist front. Even now the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is operating under the political direction of the underground revolutionary government — the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.).

The whole world is now aware that communist Moscow not only suppresses the armed resistance of the national liberation movements, but also conducts a policy of mass devaluation. Organized famines (of 1932—33), mass deportations to Siberia, Kazakhstan, etc., imprisonment of hundreds of thousands in forced labour camps, mass murders in jails and concentration camps — all this must be regarded as planned genocide.

Prompted by the above facts, we feel it our duty to submit to the Conference of the International Red Cross the following requests:

1) That the representatives of the peoples who, during their independence, were members of the International Red Cross, but subsequently were deprived by communist Russia, of all rights and possibilities to protect the interests of their peoples, be allowed to take part in this Conference.

2) That the insurgent armies of the peoples enslaved by communist Russia, and particularly the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), be recognized as warring armies with all consequences of such recognition implied by the Hague Convention, Articles 1 and 2 — 1899 (1907 edition).

3) That an investigation of the plight of the prisoners in the concentration camps of the deportees, of those forcibly repatriated in 1945—48, and of the soldiers of the insurgent armies taken prisoner, be launched by the I.R.C.; that the criminal methods of germ and chemical warfare used against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in Western Ukraine — and behind the Curzon line — as well as the spreading of epidemics among the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) be investigated; that massacres of prisoners before and during the Second World War, the slave labour camps and the mass extermination of peoples by famine be openly verified and confirmed before the forum of the whole world.

Hundreds of millions of people groan under the communist tyranny and the voices of these millions cannot be ignored by the International Red Cross, the organization which stands on guard of the principles of humanity and of human rights.

Toronto, July 29th, 1952.

(signed) Yaroslav Stetzko,
President of the Central Committee of
the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Resolutions

The mass rally as a part of the A.B.N. manifestation on July 27, 1952, in Toronto, states:

1) The antihuman Soviet regime is a combination of old Russian imperialism and communism and institutes a form of totalitarianism that is based on terror, genocide and the enslavement of free nations.

2) The Russian bolsheviks continue to commit the crimes they began on the

nations they enslaved thirty years ago. Since World War II they have done their utmost to spread their system of cruelty and hatred throughout the world.

3) In the same degree as they suppress with satanic determination all the liberation movements of the subjugated nations within their own borders, they are striking out with their fifth columns into all the free countries of the world, fomenting civil wars



Mrs. Edith Hyder

A Woman Works of on behalf of our Peoples

Our subjugated peoples have every right to complain of the "conspiracy of silence" in the West, regarding the political problems of their nations and their fight for freedom. Especially in the Anglo-Saxon lands it is necessary to overcome this idle and sometimes even unfriendly attitude of the publicists. It is therefore all the more pleasant a duty to bring to our friends' notice, those who are sincerely and selflessly exercising themselves about the fate of our peoples.

In Canada, we number among these Mrs. Edith Hyder, radio scripturier and commentator, who works for the association, C.H.M.L. In the popular series, "Humanity Unlimited", she speaks regularly on the concrete political, social and cultural problems of the post-war era. Recently, in a long radio talk from Hamilton, Ont., Canada, she spoke on the position, performances and the loyalty of the 500,000 Ukrainians who have settled in Canada. Proceeding from this Ukrainian emigration she went on to give her hearers a picture of the land of origin, of the history, culture, speech and fight for freedom of the subjugated Ukrainians. Shortly after this, she gave an exposition of the work of the A.B.N. of the aims of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states who are represented in it. On the occasion of the second national convention of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Canada, she referred, on June 26th, to the work and form of this association, which, in four continents and more than 19 countries, binds the Ukrainian youth together in loyalty to the fatherland.

Anti-bolshevist Manifestation in Chicago

On July 6, 1952 about 1000 persons, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Estonians, Latvians, Croats, Slovenes and other nations met to demonstrate under the auspices of different national organisations, as for instance, "American Friends of the A.B.N.", "United Croatian League of America", "Slovenian National Union of America" etc.

The participants passed a resolution in which they declared they would stand by their peoples at home in their struggle

and weakening them as a part of their plan for eventual world domination.

4) Since such Soviet activity is based on immorality and negation of all the humanitarian principles, the fight for freedom is at the same time the fight for the highest principles of humanity.

We appeal therefore to all those to whom these principles are dear and especially to the Toronto Conference of the International Red Cross:

1) The representatives of the Soviet Union at the International Red Cross Conference are the representatives of a state that is known as an organizer of mass genocide in a time of peace, an oppressor of non-Russian nations, a totalitarian police state; these representatives should be expelled



Mrs. Edith Hyder

Examples like that of Mrs. Edith Hyder give our peoples and the emigration, the hope that understanding of their situation and problems will finally come about. Among the Ukrainians in exile, the name of this Canadian commentator has with time become a symbol, and will be mentioned again and again with warm fellow-feeling and gratitude.

against bolshevism and for national independence. In the resolution they undertook to support this struggle without reservation and declared their willingness to defend the country whose guests they are, against any communist aggression and were it with their lives. Furthermore, they demanded a plan for psychological warfare which gives due consideration to the political aims of the subjugated peoples. The meeting declared its solidarity with the so-called Kersten Resolution and Kersten's proposal to support the liberation struggle morally and financially.

from the membership and the convention and the true representatives of the Moscow-subjugated nations should be admitted in their place.

2) The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and other Liberation Armies should be recognized as fighting combat units in accordance with the Hague Convention, Articles 1 and 2 of 1899 (edition of 1907) with the full rights implied by such recognition.

3) A judicial inquiry should be instituted to investigate mass genocide, deportations and similar crimes against humanity committed by Moscow in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states.

There will be no hope for peace and freedom while crimes are tolerated and criminals are admitted as partners of honest men.

Democracy Without Religions Freedom

In Tito's Yugoslav democracy all the schools are under government control. Neither private nor Church schools are permitted. Religion as an educational subject has long since been forbidden, yet the Communist dictators seem to think that is not enough. At an annual meeting of the Teachers Association at Belgrade, a resolution was passed demanding that the influence of religion and the Church on pupils should be energetically combatted in the schools, as "behind it hide the reactionaries with their political aims".

At the annual meeting of university teachers which took place at the same time, it was pointed out that recently — i. e. while Tito was begging for economic support from the West, — some ideologies emerged again which had been hidden until then. "It was also stressed that certain deans of universities and schoolmasters, on account of their reactionary religious conceptions, do not possess the moral qualifications to run an educational institution according to the socialist program.

Many a professor was discharged by the congresses because he still practiced religion "hereby giving a bad example to the pupils."

The representatives of the teachers 'and professors' congresses were received by Tito in Belgrade, who declared, "I know that the world throw stones at us for alienating children from God and the Church, but we cannot permit our people to cling to superstition... we do not persecute religion. Religion is the affair of the individual. But we will not allow children to be influenced by people whose opinion differs completely from ours. The state has the right to educate the children and must do so. We shall not give way to any pressure from outside in this matter."

Croatia Demands her Rights

In an open letter addressed to the President of the National Committee for a "Free Europe", Admiral Harold B. Miller, the chief editor of the Croatian newspaper, "Danica", published in Chicago, Dr. C. Majic, demands the full recognition of the right to self-determination of every people, by the National Committee. He draws attention to the fact that a similar motion had already been brought in in 1951 addressed to the former president of the National Committee, Ch. D. Jackson, without success or result, and that the expression "Yugoslavs" still haunts the committee. He therefore asked the president to give his Committee's official point of view on the national question.

On this occasion Dr. Majic draws attention to the so-called Williamsburger Declaration of 1952, which was signed by Dr. Miha Krek for "Yugoslavia" and he refers to the political past of that "Yugoslavian" representative. Dr. Majic expresses his opinion that a positive attitude towards the national question within the National Committee for a "Free Europe", would prevent men like Dr. Krek from speaking in the future, as the representative of peoples or states which have never issued them any kind of legitimization.

From behind the Iron Curtain

HUNGARY

ACTS AGAINST THE REGIME

The pitiless methods by which the farmers are forced to fulfil their delivery quotas must have deepened the discontent among them. Acts of sabotage increase, the peasants and their labourers use every possible means to escape the strict orders and regulations.

The State has the grain taken over and transported from the threshing machines by its own executives. The quotas are so high that the farmers are not even able to enjoy their legitimate rations. Deliveries are calculated on the area under cultivation, and outside influences, such as frost and inclement weather are not considered.

Since the beginning of the harvest, fires have increased in the country. The fire brigades having proved inadequate, the C. P. Councils officials have instituted special fire-fighting services in their areas. The organization "D.I.S.Z." has been called up for "voluntary" service with the fire-brigades. During harvest time, uniformed patrols and secret police keep a sharp look out for cases of sabotage among the peasants. But even they do not succeed in proving sabotage as reason for the numerous fires.

At a conference held behind closed doors by envoys from the Ministries of Justice and the Interior, the introduction of special courts for incendiarism was discussed. With regard, however, to the expected unfavourable political reaction at home and abroad, such stringent measures were refrained from.

LITHUANIA

CRISIS IN ECONOMY

The Moscow "Pravda" of July 13, 1952, announces that "The promotion of the national cadres to leading positions, in connection with the new administrative division of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic into areas and districts, has been considerable of late. The regional and district committees of the party have had to be partic-

ularly careful in their work of choosing able and politically mature persons for the work in their organizations." Then in another place we read "owing to negligence in the cadre work serious failings in the direction of economy have occurred."

This only proves that administration in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic has until quite recently been in the hands of Russians. Their contact with the Lithuanian population, among whom they are regarded as alien occupation, has called forth a crisis in the economy of the country. The Soviet government has been obliged to replace the Russian corps of functionaries by "national cadres". In spite of political schooling, they obviously lack "politically mature" officials, reshuffling being the order of the day, as the "Pravda" confirms.

POLAND

EARLY COMMUNISTS IN PURGATORY

In all secrecy a great purge in the Communist Party of Poland is going on which

is chiefly directed against people who joined the party before and during the war. The new members who were inscribed as party members between 1947—1948, are younger, uncritical and reliable. The older members still remember the pre-war line and do not easily succumb to the Russians. For that reason especially many young people were given high and important positions, quite frequently with the aid of Russian technical and economic instructors. This development is especially noticeable since 1951.

The reason for dissatisfaction with the older members of the Communist Party lies chiefly in a purely social question: The old communists cling to the equality motto, whereas the Russian tendency is directed towards a society of castes. For instance the old communists demanded a one month holiday for everybody. The Russians, however, made the holiday dependent on the production or transport of goods for Russia. The old communists opposed the favours granted to the technicians and managers, which give them all economic privileges, as, for the Russians, these people have an important influence on the increase or decrease of production. The old communists were enemies of the Russian exploitation of the land and fought it wherever they were able. This caused the Russians to send Russian economic instructors, who have the task of securing the requirements of the U.S.S.R. and seeing that the Poles do not sabotage them.

RUMANIA

SABOTAGE ON THE DANUBE-BLACK SEA CANAL

According to reports in the Rumanian communist press, the Rumanian Security Police have discovered a deviation-Black Sea Canal project. This group has made it their object to delay the building of the canal. Among those arrested are the heads of the planning department and machinery department. Their professional and political past alone would make them suspect in the eyes of the political police. Former independent contractors — therefore "capitalists" and men who belonged during Antonescu's regime to political parties — therefore "fascists".

In the bolshevist-system it is the custom to make sabotage responsible for the non-fulfilment of the too high demands on labour, and by intimidation to force greater achievement. When action becomes necessary the past decides who is to suffer for the sabotage and then former "capitalist" and "reactionary" elements are chosen. This procedure has existed in the Soviet Union since 1917.

SLOVAKIA

POPULATION PROTECTS RESISTANCE-FIGHTERS

A patrol of the "National Security" (Communist C.I.D.) of Dolny Kubin arrested a, — for them suspicious, — Slovak in the neighbouring woods and imprisoned him. At

night friends helped him to escape and in the morning the guard found an empty cell and a piece of paper, on which was written: "Good-bye! Thanks for your hospitality! Away with Gottwald and Czechoslovakia! Cheers for Dr. Durcansky and the Slovak Republic!"

The cases of Slovak resistance fighters escaping from prison are not so rare, and that proves that Slovak resistance possesses the support of the population.

SLOVAKIA BECOMES A SOVIET AIR-BASE

By Soviet command, new military air-fields are being established and the already existing civilian air-ports are being reconstructed for military purposes. At present there are air-fields near the following towns or villages: Bratislava, Holic, Malacky, Trnava, Komrno, Lucence, Trenčin, Partizanske (formerly Batovany), Nitra, Zilina, Krizna, B. Bystrica, P. Bystrica, Kosice, Bardejov, Sp. N. Ves, Poprad, Presov, Cierna n. Trisou, Humenne, Ruzomberok, Martin-Vrutky, in all 27.

The haste with which the plants are built lead one to the conclusion that the Soviets intend to turn Slovakia into an air-base.

C. P. SECRETARY-GENERAL ARRESTED

Since the end of February of this year the fate of the secretary-general of the Communist Party of Slovakia, Bastovansky, has been unknown. Now we learn that he is among the victims of the purge of the Communist Party in Slovakia and was arrested like Clementis, Husak and Novomesky.

TURKISTAN

UNSATISFACTORY CONDITIONS

The Soviet government now finds it necessary to take energetic measures against lack of discipline among the State and Party functionaries in Turkistan, just as in Georgia. Kolkhozes are being exploited for private purposes, "borrowed foodstuffs" etc. not returned and the resulting gaps hushed up. Hand in hand with all that, an apparently undesired isolation of the official bodies on the part of the population is being practised.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kasakhstan, which took place the beginning of July 1952, these failings were revealed and forced the secretaries of the regional and district committees to a "self-critical" report on the situations. The Communist Party papers, "Kasakhstan Pravda" and "Sozialistik Kasakhstan", as well as the radio news staff came in for a sharp reprimand.

UKRAINE

SINS OF OMISSION

A new scapegoat has been found in the Institute for Ukrainian Literature, a department of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The "Radyanska Ukraina" takes the occasion of the publication of the collected works of I. Kotlarevsky, not only to criticize the Institute, but also to make it clear to the Ukrainian intellectuals, what is expected of them.

Objection is taken to the introduction to the first volume of Kotlarevsky's work which was written by a member of the Institute.

What is openly complained of is, that "the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, have tried to conceal the inseparable bonds between the culture of the two peoples.

By keeping from the working classes the influence of the great liberation ideal which came from revolutionary Russia, by intending to destroy the revolutionary bond between the Russian and Ukrainian workers and subjecting them to the influence of the great landowners and capitalists, the bourgeois nationalist have ignored in the history of the Ukrainian people, and in their cultural history, all that binds the two brother nations, and not only that, they have even stooped to falsifications. Soviet history of literature must show the old relationships between the two peoples and their leading, progressive men with all their importance".

"Instead of that the author of the preface has given an account of the development of Ukrainian literature that have been written by any bourgeois nationalist".

Thus the author's sins are sins of omission. And further, "The characterization of Shevchenko's works in this article are equally unsatisfactory, it is contained in the statement that Shevchenko in his books depicts the struggle of the Ukrainian people as a constructive historical factor". There is no word as to what the Ukrainian struggle was about, nor against whom. Nor is it mentioned that Shevchenko was a democratic revolutionary and collaborated with the great Russian revolutionaries Chernyshevsky and Dobrolubov". Or: "It must be said that the author never refers to the works of Lenin and Stalin, nor does he follow the Lenin-Stalin principles when he writes of the problems of history, culture and national relationship between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples".

"RECOMMENDATION" TO UKRAINIAN ACADEMICIANS

"Inadequate organization and discussion" is the reproach thrown at the Ukrainian historians, by the "Radyanska Ukraina" of July 4, 1952, for the work still to be done" and for those "who do not esteem self-criticism". What that means may be gathered from the following recommendation. "It is time books were published on Stalin's linguistic theory, and new works should appear that are concerned with the important tricentenary of Ukraine's union with Russia".

Cossack Conference in Munich

On August 3rd ended the session of the plenary meeting of the Executive Council, which was convened by the Supreme Ataman-President, Geneneral Makeeff, in Munich.

The President of the Supreme Kosack Representation in exile who is a Civ. Eng. Glaskov, gave a detailed report on the present position of the Soviet-occupied Kosack country, on the condition of the organizations of the Kosack emigration, which is to be found in all countries of the free world, and on the progress of the fight for liberty of the Kosack people.

The plenary meeting of the Kosack Executive Council busied itself with all questions of the Kosack liberation policy and with the settlement of the basis on which the future struggle of the Kosack people is to be carried on, and with the co-ordination of this struggle with that of the other peoples subjugated by bolshevism.

View of part
of the platform during
the rally of the
Ukrainian Youth
Association (S.U.M)
at Toronto, (Canada),
on the occasion
of President of A.B.N.
Stetzko's Visit.
Among those on the
platform is the
Mrs. Mukha-Stetzko



The Kosacks are continuing the fight for the re-establishment of the national independence of their homeland—Kosackia.

In United Front

Between the B.D.J. (German Youth League) which is developing more and more into an effective anti-bolshevist power in Germany and which has set itself the task of rousing the German people to shake off Stalin's fifth column, and the A.B.N., there has been, of late, much mutual work, work that found expression in public meetings.

At the Whitsuntide meeting of the B.D.J. at Frankfurt on Main, at which 6,000 members took part, some A.B.N. representatives were present too, and also at the big demonstration on 27, July, 1952 at Essen. At both meetings Prince Niko Nakashidze (Georgia) was the chief A.B.N. speaker. His statement that "German youth has the honourable task of being the defence of the occident against the onslaught of Russian bolshevism" was met with hearty applause. "We, the representatives of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the so-called Satellite States, are proud" he continued, "to be able to tell you that the fighting spirit in our peoples has not been quenched and they are ready to sacrifice all to achieve the aim we strive for. That aim is the liberation of our peoples from bolshevist terrorism and Russian despotism and the setting up of free states independent from Russia, with democratic governments."

The second speaker at the Whitsuntide meeting, R. Ilnitsky (Ukraine) said: "We, here in the West, are often asked how we manage, in spite of the most dreadful terrorism the world has ever known, to keep up a successful underground struggle. Our answer is simple. It is only because we have set against the enemy's fanaticism for the bad, our fanaticism for the good, and because we have been able to inspire in the masses a high state of idealism and self-sacrifice... If the youth of Germany will save their people from immanent peril, they, too, must be filled with an idealistic fighting spirit."

At the Essen rally both Mykola Fil, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the representative of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) Yaroslav Pelensky, were received with applause.

Calendar of National Memorial Days of Our Peoples

August

August 15

Georgia: Day of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Georgian people. The Georgian Church is the only Orthodox Church that worships the Madonna. In Georgia the month of August is called Mary's Month.

August 20

Hungary: National holiday of the Hungarians in memory of St. Stephen, first King of Hungary (997—1038) who was the founder of the Hungarian State and furthered the conversion of his people to Christianity. The procession of St. Stephen in Budapest is the principal event in the celebrations. It was forbidden in 1948 and in its place a "people's democratic festival" was introduced.

August 29

Georgia: Georgian day of mourning in memory of the great uprising against the Soviet-Russian occupation, during which thousands of Georgian patriots were shot.

September

September 8

Lithuania: National holiday of the Lithuanians in memory of Vytautes the Great, and the Lithuanian State of the past.

September 9

Bulgaria: Black day of the new Bulgarian history: the forced breakdown in 1944 of the constitutional Bulgarian Kingdom engineered with the aid of the Red Army; the establishment of the Soviet Russian domination in Bulgaria; the beginning of the systematical genocide of the Bulgarian people.

September 12

Georgia: Day of mourning in memory of Georgia's annexation by Russia (1801).

September 15

Azerbaijan: On this day in 1918 the insurgents of Azerbaijan freed their capital Baku from the Bolsheviks who had occupied it.

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“Balkanization” or Stabilization?

Prejudices and Intrigues against the Liberation of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.

When talking with western politicians one often hears the objection that the realization of the A.B.N. ideas, i. e. the restoration of the independent national states of the oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union, based on ethnographic principles, would lead to chaotic conditions in eastern Europe and parts of Asia, because it would mean that more than thirty different states would arise which would be unfit to hold their own. These numerous states, it is argued, would have endless squabbles over frontiers, there would be continuous friction, disturbances, even belligerent conflicts. In the West, a muddled inter-state condition of that kind would be called “balkanization”.

Who “Balkanized” the Balkans?

What does the expression “balkanization” mean and how far is it fair to lay this discriminating qualification at the door of the Balkan peoples who are struggling for national union? To make it clear at once, let it be said that the unpleasant and confused conditions in the Balkans which the West dubs “balkanization” is neither a consequence of “small states policy”, nor a result of any organic quarrelsomeness or rivalry among the Balkan peoples themselves. All the conflicts and wars in that area have been, for the most part, nothing but effects of the imperialist aspirations of the Great Powers who have used the Balkan peoples as pawns, playing them one against the other as served their purpose.

To put it precisely. Russia’s never-ending desire for the Straits and the Great Powers’ efforts to thwart it was the reason why, in modern times, the Balkan peoples could never settle down and live in peace with one another.

A glance at the historical development of that south-east corner is sufficient to confirm the above statement. For centuries Russia has tried to realize Peter I’s will and lay hands on the Balkan peninsula, by exploiting pan-Slavic and Christian catchwords. A typical instance was the so-called Turk-Russian war of “liberation” 1877/78

when the Russian Tsar, in the harmless role of protector and liberator of the Christian and Slav Bulgarians, reached the Dardanelles and was able to dictate the armistice of St. Stefano. The reaction of the interested western powers was not long in coming. At the Berlin Congress the suspicion arose as to Russia’s intentions in the newly created Bulgaria. It was feared that the liberated Bulgarians from a sense of gratitude and loyalty to their Russian benefactor might become a spring-board to the straits. Bulgaria therefore was cut into

Continued on Page 10

Eisenhower Reveals the Wound

Portentous Controversies in the American Presidential Election

In the campaign for the presidential election, as was to be expected, a diversity of opinion has come to the fore between the conception of the Republican opposition party and American foreign policy as hitherto followed, which penetrates in medias res present world problems and is portentous for the future of all the peoples on our planet.

The Republicans at the Chicago Convention, as we know, declared for a strong hand towards the Soviet Union. In their platform they demanded that all secret agreements with the Soviet Union, such as that of Yalta etc. be cancelled in the future. The Republican candidate, General Dwight Eisenhower, crystallized that foreign policy before the Amerian Legion in New York, with soldierly lucidity. He said that armament production and the armed forces of the U.S.A. should be made so strong that they would act as a serious warning to the Soviets and fill Moscow with the fear of possible reprisals. The American government must calmly but forcibly make it clear to the Kremlin that it would never recognize the permanent domination of eastern Europe and Asia by the Soviets. “The day must come”, Eisenhower said, “when the enslaved peoples of those countries will have the freedom, in the full light of international publicity, to choose their own way into

the future”. Eisenhower put that as a categorical imperative to which the USA. must in the spirit of their great traditions, be loyal. He called every attempt to come to an understanding with Moscow at the expense of the subjugated peoples or remaining content with merely checking Soviet-Russian aggression, immoral.

Mr. John Foster Dulles the Republican expert on foreign politics, in a great election speech at Buffalo discussed the same critical problems, the gist of which was: there were only two possibilities of coping with Moscow, either to hollow out the communist world from inside, or to head for an inevitable and terrible collision. It would not be impossible to burst the bolshevist world from within, as even now it had become too large and cumbersome to hold together the 800 million people of 19 different nations for ever. Passive resistance was one means for the purpose and its support another. Mr. Dulles pointed out that the programme followed up to now, of merely halting communism had proved a failure and that America’s present foreign policy was simply suicide.

However the presidential election may turn out and whatever course future American policy may follow those words spoken by the two leading Republicans in America and the position thereby taken in the planetary conflict

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Eisenhower Reveals the Wound

with the bolshevist menace to the world will retain their historical importance; in particular for our subjugated peoples, who for years have lived and endured in blood and tears and who require almost superhuman strength not to despair of a world conscience and justice on earth. For them, utterances by Eisenhower and Dulles are sparks of hope and confidence, in the darkness of their misery. At last these peoples have heard from the lips of men of authority in America a declaration that gives them courage to live on and take up the unequal fight against the murderous Soviet-Russian regime.

All the greater was the indignation at the incomprehensible reaction called forth by these memorable speeches in some European countries and among some narrow-minded persons. Hardly were those words spoken, which must have made some impression on Moscow too, when the worldly wise lifted up their voices in warning and hastily watered everything down and protested that the Soviet Union must not be treated like that.

Although Eisenhower admitted only a fraction of what the free world owes our people to-day, and although Dulles only showed the alternatives which would just allow a world war to be avoided, a whole chorus of reproaches and protests was raised, sounding like a conspiracy of the faint-hearted for concessions to Moscow. Even important European papers such as "Le Monde" and "The Times" raised a storm and accused Eisenhower of a policy of sabre-rattling and of exposing America's European allies to intolerable risks. It went so far, that the leading article in "The New York Times" pointed out the shameful fact that "the General's statement concerning the liberation of the peoples enslaved by communism brought forth certain fears . . . among the nervous Europeans" . . . ! In the Kremlin, of course, there was much gleeful rubbing of hands and Radio Moscow seized the welcome opportunity to brand Eisenhower's war-mongering against the "peace-loving" Soviet Union and moreover to confirm how sensitive the gentlemen in the Kremlin are to such tones, and how "dangerous" it is to irritate the Soviets by such an attitude. Thus Eisenhower's western critics suddenly found themselves in idyllic harmony with the fair "Bratshki" of Moscow.

It would, however, not do to make light of this episode and the echo in the world of the policy announced by Eisenhower, as merely an election manœuvre, or a journalist stunt. It is much more an unpleasant interlude with far-reaching significance and it shows up the world in all its tragedy. This interlude has revealed so much pusillanimity, indecision, naive national egoism and

willingness to concede to and make compromises with Moscow that one is forced to ask oneself what the use of all the fuss about a "European Defence Community", "Campaign for Truth and Freedom" and the like is, in view of such short-sighted behaviour, if it is not to be made clear to Moscow that it is

Announcement

The secretary of the head organization of the Units Abroad of Ukrainian Nationalists (A.U.O.U.N.), is authorized to announce the following.

On August 22, 1952 Stepan Bandera resigned his post as Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and handed his authority over to the committee of the O.U.N. at home until a new election shall take place for a new leader.

After the resignation of Stepan Bandera, the head of the O.U.N. Units Abroad, Yaroslav Stetzko, who was elected to the office at the last conference of the O.U.N., resigned too and proposed that his post should be offered to Stepan Bandera.

Stepan Bandera declined, but accepted a position on the committee of O.U.N. Units Abroad under the previous chairman.

Headquarters, Sept. 12, 1952

Secretary of the O.U.N.
Units Abroad

seriously intended. Now, at any rate, "good old Uncle Joe" can sleep peacefully once more in the Kremlin and continue his mass murders of our peoples undisturbed. His main object, to gain time until the last round is due, seems assured. But when that time comes, as it will one day, his considerate partners in the West will stand before an accomplished fact with their fingers in their mouths as they did in the case of Korea.

We do agree with President in his anxiety not to throw our people uselessly into the adventure and make them victims of atom warfare, and we fully understand Stevenson's caution in not slamming the door on negotiations with Moscow. But why should they think that imposing military strength in the western world would bang the door to any pact with Moscow and not be the other way round? Why are people afraid, at least in their hearts, to win their way to that position which on the scales of realistic politics alone has weight?

Or, are our peoples pawns in the game by which understanding with Moscow may be bought? Is reserve towards Stalin maintained so that the western hemisphere may live in freedom and peace? If that is not the case, what is the meaning of the bitter criticism of

Eisenhower, who spoke from the heart of every right-minded and sober-thinking man. Even suppose the West should contemplate any such shady transaction with the fate of our peoples, the hoped for proceeds therefrom will never be realized. If the blood-stained flow of Russian domination in our lands is not checked and dammed back into its Russian source in time, it will be the turn of the whole free world to be inundated. Then the prophetic words of Dulles of "suicidal policy" will find their tragic fulfilment. Are there really so many Wallaces in America who, to-morrow, when it is too late, will confess, like him, that they have "misunderstood" the Soviet Union and above all Russian communism".

No, the free world has no choice, and not too much time left for further experiments. Those who have not the courage to face facts and, like Eisenhower, avow their principles on the question of liberating the peoples oppressed by Russia, will discover themselves on a track that leads to the slough of despond. Not only that, they are playing directly into the hands of the Soviets and fixing their own ropes to hang themselves with.

★

The statements made by Eisenhower and Dulles, whatever else they may have done, have exposed the kernel of the present world crisis. Their support of a policy of the strong hand towards Moscow, it is true, has brought down upon them, strange as it may seem, an outburst of disapproval that is a disgrace for the free western world and before which they have, to a certain extent, had to retreat. Nevertheless, with their statements they have laid bare the a deep wound in the body of the world that will not cease bleeding and admonishing America and the whole world till one day they descend to make common cause with our peoples, if only to avoid bleeding to death themselves.

Once the decisive step is taken there will be regret that so much valuable time was lost and people will find it hard to understand how a controversy such as the above mentioned could have possibly occurred. We only hope the world will come to its senses before it is too late.

Dr. D. B.

6 Dead, 32 Wounded, 1000 Arrests

Within the commandants'hip of Kumran, Province Saxon-Anhalt, between June 1, and August 15, six persons were shot by the frontier police when attempting to cross the zone demarcation illegally. The bodies were taken by the Peoples' Police. Thirty-two persons were shot at and some severely wounded when escaping across the border. Altogether in this district 1,021 persons who attempted to cross the demarcation line have been caught and imprisoned.

(I.W.E.)

Why Stepan Bandera Resigned?

In order to understand Bandera's action, which came as a surprise even to his fellow-workers, it is necessary to throw a glance at the present structure of the O.U.N. and Stepan Bandera's position in it.

After the war the O.U.N. was divided into two groups. The bigger group lives and fights in the home country, while the second was formed among the refugees abroad with sub-groups in different countries.

The organization is thus as follows:

1) **The O.U.N. at home.** Circumstances make it essential for this strongest and most important group to have its own legislative and executive body. Its leader, until his death, was General Taras Chuprynska who was also the political head of the U.P.A., after that another sprang into his place at home whose name cannot be disclosed.

Another feature of the National Ukrainian Liberation at home must be pointed out here. Political developments in recent years made it necessary to raise the level of the movement, i. e. to give it a state footing and so the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) was called into being to bear the political and military responsibility for the continuation of the resistance.

2) The territorial separation of the O.U.N. groups abroad, again made a legislative and executive of their own essential. Yaroslav Stetsko former prime minister of the government of 1941 was therefore elected as head of the foreign groups.

3) **Stepan Bandera's position.** Both the O.U.N. groups are, or rather were until August 22, 1952, united under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. During the post-war years Bandera has lived in forced concealment in different western countries. The heads of each O.U.N. group enjoyed the greatest possible independence, for Stepan Bandera regarded his position as that of an inspirer, i. e. one from whom inspiration must come. His tasks were to follow the general trend of world politics, to watch developments in the U.S.S.R. with especial attention to their importance for Ukraine, and the conclusions to be drawn from both, the setting of the general directive and planning the tactics for the Ukrainian liberation movement.

His resignation must therefore be regarded from the following points of view. The letter, which we publish in this number, from the O.U.N. leaders at home, shows that it was not their suggestion which inspired this step. It was, however, clear to all his fellow-workers that he regarded the present international situation as critical, that of the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine especially so, and that things were becoming more perilous from year to year. He expects no alleviation for the home country from the international efforts in the cold war but believes as he always has, that the centre of gravity of resistance against bolshevism and



The picture above we have taken from a pamphlet given out by the Underground Movement at home in Ukraine. It is entitled, "Who are the Banderivtsi and for what are they fighting",

Russian imperialism is Ukraine. From that standpoint he took his resolution to retire, in order to, give the O.U.N. at home, perfect freedom in its decisions in future eventualities. That means, of course, that decisions concerning western policy in the future must also be made by the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Ukraine, that is, behind the Iron Curtain.

With this step Stepan Bandera has shown that he places the interest of his Ukrainian home and its liberation before all else. At the same time he gives those Ukrainian "politicians" abroad who believe they can "co-ordinate" Ukrainian freedom with the plans of certain western agents, a lesson. His action disavows all those circles who think they must talk of a "leader's principle" in the O.U.N. In placing himself under the chairman of the executive of the O.U.N. abroad, Yaroslav Stetsko, Bandera has proved that the real requirements of the liberation struggle come first and foremost for him.

By his resignation, Bandera makes it clear that an O.U.N. congress must be convened to elect a new head, that he thinks it necessary and expects it. It will be the IV O.U.N. Congress. Should the congress elect him to take over direction of the O.U.N. he would not refuse.

Z. P.

There are no Russian Peoples!

Letter from the Scottish League to Pope Pius XII.

Editorial Note: The pastoral letter directed by Pope Pius XII "To the Peoples of Russia" has not only caused a wave of criticism and objections among the Ukrainian Catholics, but far beyond, many persons and circles interested in eastern problems have been concerned by the Pope's pronouncement which they regard as a misapprehension of the national problems in the U.S.S.R.

On August 27, 1952 the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, John F. Stewart, sent a long letter to the Pope, from which we give an extract below, as it contains some fundamental remarks.

Your Holiness,

We beg to refer to the Pronouncement of Your Holiness of 7th ultimo to the Russian Peoples. There are no Russian Peoples; in the Prison of Nations which is now the U.S.S.R., but was formerly entitled Russian Empire there are and were Russians and other peoples who are and were no more Russians than Your Holiness.

Your reference to the Russian Peoples and the "southern province of Russia, by which latter you obviously mean Ukraine, will, we are assured, cause much grief and sorrow as well as alarm among the Ukrainians, who, as Your Holiness apparently does not know, are a distinct nation of 45 million people, of whom a large proportion are Catholics, the remainder belonging to the Orthodox Church. But the one aim of all is sovereign and complete independence of their country, and the repudiation of any kind of subordination to Russia, whether Tsarist, Socialist, Bolshevik, Communist or Atheist. It is not a religious but a political and patriotic question.

As to Ukrainians being a distinct nation, centuries ahead of the Russians in civilisation and culture, a study of Russian history from the 12-th century, and of that of the Ukrainians much earlier, would convince you.

Sovereign Independent States in 1917

Coming to recent times, we would wish to point out that in 1917, when the Russian Empire disintegrated, and the various nationalities established their own sovereign independent Governments, that of Ukraine was recognised by Great Britain, France, Poland, Argentina, Germany and others, although, for reasons of French aggrandisement, they were not supported, and again fell to the Russian tyrant, this time Bolshevik.

But again, even United Nations recognises Ukraine as a separate and distinctive nation, and it has a seat as a Member Nation.

Exactly the same can be said of Byelorussia, which has been recognised as a distinct nation and has a seat in United

Continued on Page 13

"Panslavism in Bolshevik Attire"

By DDr. T. Baron de Collas

The expression panslavism frequently appears nowadays on the political scene as well as in the press. What is really the meaning of this half Greek half Slav word?

Panslavism means the union of all Slavs. This is not purely a slogan. Panslavism means a political trend of all Slav people, the transplantation of the racial and language problem to a political basis.

It is strange that Slav literature does not possess any book about panslavism and its history. German literature produced only one volume of a few hundred pages on this subject, written by Fischel and printed in Stuttgart in 1919, but this handles the subject only till World War I and is more of a historical survey. Besides that there are numerous small Russian, Serbian, Czech and French brochures, which deal also only with the history of panslavism. Slav philologists and jurists indicate all the different dates which in their opinion mark the beginning of panslavism. One of them found it the most practicable to trace the beginning of panslavism back to the two holy brothers Cyril and Method in the ninth century, who, by inventing the Cyrillic script, founded the unity of the Slavs. Another one stated, that the Tsar of the Russians established his legal claim to Byzantium and to the Balkan Slavs by the marriage of the Byzantine princess Zoe with the Grand-Duke of Moscow. Several consider Peter I. as the first panslav, others name John Kollar, whose wish it was that all Slav rivers should flow into the Russian sea.

Bulgaria and Serbia have always been the pillars of panslavism, here kinship with the panslav ideal and the Russian soul and ideology was most prominent. Both nationalities follow the Orthodox faith and use the same Cyrillic script as the Russians. Bulgaria even owes its liberation after the Turkish-Russian war, to Tsar Alexander II., whose statue as Bulgaria's liberator stands till to day in Sofia. (Compare with "The Bulgarians and their 'Liberator'" on Page 8 this issue A.B.N.-Corr., Ed.)

Among the Czechs there always existed russophile trends and growing sympathies within the Czech society. The Czechs constantly opposed the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's foreign policy. The two greatest fighters for panslav ideology were undoubtedly Massaryk and Benes. With the help of America and France and the British publicist "Scotus Viator", alias Watson, those two succeeded in demolishing entirely the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in creating the hapless "Small Entente" headed by Prague, at the expense of Hungary, which as non-slav, after losing World War I, had to yield half of its thousand year-old territory.

In the north-east, Poland opposed the Russian-panslav endeavours. The reason: its immediate neighbourhood with Russia and the long experience

with the imperialistic plans of Russia, which tried steadily to subjugate Poland. The growing controversies between Poles and Ukrainians and later the quarrel with the Czechs for the coal territories of Karvin-Teschen in Silesia added to the animosities.

It is of special importance today, in this period of the battle of ideologies, to pay more attention to panslavism, which deeply affects the people of Europe, for it is not impossible that panslavism as an accessory, will be used as a tool and means for its purpose by Moscow with Slav people, serving its plans toward world imperialism.

Panslavism was frequently believed to be the cause of historical events. A widely maintained opinion was that the outbreak of World War I. was brought about by the Russian panslav movement: the murder of the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince Franz-Ferdinand, i. e. the motives of this murder, sprang undoubtedly from the panslav ideology.

Stalin and his bolshevist clique are the direct heirs of the Russian tsarist-panslav idea. Stalin's Soviet ideology has considerably deviated lately from the Marxist-Soviet pattern, to follow an imperialistic panslav trend. The rulers of Moscow keep two irons in the fire at the same time. One is the weapon of world communism, the other under the pirate banner of panslavism, their imperialism being hidden behind these ideals, they use this disguise among the Slavs in the opponents' camps.

In 1945 Benes came from Moscow to Prague and not from Paris as in 1918. In the Slav countries, where the Russians were received first with great enthusiasm, the disappointment was great. The representatives of the panslav ideal of each Slav group soon found out to their own cost, that they had been only the tools of Moscow.

In Yalta and Potsdam the conquerors went even further, by giving free hand to the Russians, who as a result are now in Budapest and Vienna and do not show the slightest intention of giving up the spheres of interest thus gained.

Quo usque tandem Europa!

Who is Served, and by Whom?

Peculiar Radio Stations in West Germany

The American broadcasts set up in the German Federal Republic, allegedly with the task of serving the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain and to counter bolshevist tyrannizing of the ideal of freedom, are arranged and operated by a staff recruited from among the exiles from the countries in question. There are many such exiles in West Germany and more continue to trickle in.

But the way this important matter is treated and with how little insight in the choice of the staff, a few examples will show.

Emigrés from countries behind the Iron Curtain may, on the whole, be divided into two groups, those who have always been uncompromising opponents of communism and bolshevism and have always stood against Soviet-Russian despotism, and those who were at first friendly towards Moscow, marched in the "Fifth Column" in their countries and actively supported the communist regime till the ground at home got too hot for them and the communist despots kicked them out, as their work was done. Strange to say it is just persons of the second group who enjoy preference in the West, while the real political emigrés, proved fighters against Moscow, and often with a communist sentence of death in their pockets, are consistently overlooked, or even slandered.

The case of members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is a telling example for this discrimination. After a grueling fight against the Soviets in Ukraine, lasting till 1948, these men fought their way through Czechoslovakia to German territory. At that time the Czech regime was dominated by men like Ripka, Zenkl and other bolshevist favourites, who were later forced to seek asylum themselves in

Germany. At the height of their power these men ordered the Ukrainian fighters for freedom to be shot without mercy, to prevent them breaking through to Germany. Many of these U.P.A. soldiers found an early grave in the Bohemian forest, cut down by Czech minions. Then men of both fronts, — the former tools of Moscow, Ripka, Zenkl and their followers, and the U.P.A. soldiers they had fired on, met as guests, so to speak, of the American occupation forces, on German ground. And what was their reception?

Although the armed U.P.A. detachments had received orders to fight their way through to Germany in order to tell the world what was happening and to shake the west out of its apathy towards the cruel bolshevist tyranny, no opportunity was offered these brave men to fulfil their task by appearing before the public. Hardly any American office showed the interest due these men or gave them support. How different was the fate of the former collaborateurs of the communist Czech regime. Most of them sit firmly in various American agencies, receive salaries of over 300 dollars a month and are presented to the world as orthodox democrats and good anti-bolsheviks.

The American broadcasting station in Munich, Free Europe, which is intended as the bastion for a campaign for truth and freedom, has not been erected for the Slovak, Ukrainian or other fighters for freedom, but especially for those who fought against them. Their transmissions stamp them as tools of Benes imperialists.

A second radio station is to be erected in Munich with the special purpose of appealing to the peoples of the U.S.S.R. To that the men of the real liberation movements and organizations have no

Turkistan and Russia

By Dr. M. H. Ertürk

The Historical Facts

Tsar Peter I said, "Russia's dominion in Asia must be extended. Turkistan is the gate to the whole continent of Asia and consequently to India too." That utterance shows the aim and object of the century long endeavours made by Russia to conquer Turkistan at all cost, in order to secure Russia's position in Asia. Starting from Astrakhan, across the Caspian Sea, Peter I tried as early as 1717 to land at Chiva, to conquer the Turkistan coasts of the Caspian. Though that military attempt with its 5,000 men ended in defeat, Russia did not give up. The conquest of Turkistan remained one of the most important projects. It was 1884, however, before Turkistan came under Russian rule. The khanates Bukhara and Khiva retained their independence in internal matters until 1920. Since then Turkistan has been under the Russian yoke.

For 169 years the Turkestanians had sought to defend themselves against Russian conquest, but they were not able to protect their country when faced with modern weapons. Even after their subjection there were rebellions and uprisings aimed at driving the Russians out of Turkistan. The bolshevik historian, Galuzo, says in his book, "The Turkistan Colony", Omsk, 1934, page 155, that the Turkestanians rose 4,922 times against the Russians between 1899 and 1916. Besides which, between 1830 up to the end of 1916 there were twelve wide-spread revolts

access either, only persons belonging to Kerensky's clique, that is, to be exact, only Russian foster-brothers of the Benes imperialists. It is not difficult to realize that the second station will run in the wake of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia on whose initiative it is erected.

Taken as a whole, what does the work hitherto of that committee come to? Propagation of the ideology of Russian imperialism. A split in the anti-bolshevist camp of the non-Russian peoples. Financial support of lying propaganda by the Kerensky group against the non-Russian people's fight for freedom, dollar enticement for weak characters among the émigrés, those have been the methods up to now.

A typical example was the sudden and arbitrary appointment of the Ukrainian renegade, "General" Gulai to the "supreme command" of the Ukrainian movement for freedom, by which the approval of the Ukrainian people for this imperialist Russian manoeuvre was to be feigned. The Ukrainian exiles as a body rose against such provocation which could only have been launched with American approval, and protested in their press and by demonstrations. In contrast to that there is the case of three Ukrainians, one of whom, a member of the U.P.A., had just arrived from his home country, who could not constrain themselves from attacking the traitors and were condemned to seven years hard labour by an American court. An occurrence

which even Russian sources do not hush up.

As for Turkistan's resistance during the bolshevik era, it will be enough to point out the widely known struggles between 1918 and 1935 which history calls the fight for national liberation (*milli mujadila*) whereas the bolsheviks describe them as bandit movements. The Turkestanians did not succeed, however, in becoming masters in their own country. As the President of the Council of People's Commissioners of the Soviet Republic Tadzhikistan, Rahimbay, (shot in 1937 by the Russians) says in his book "Tadzhikistan", Moscow 1935, p. 13, the so-called "Basmachi Movement" in Turkistan ended in 1934. After that there were no more open revolts but acts of resistance as the occasion arose. The extent of that resistance is reported on in the journal of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, "Milli Turkistan", (National Turkistan) No. 68, pp. 20-23 (Ertürk, "The Political Basmachi Movement and its Present Position") and the American magazine "Ost-Probleme" (Eastern Problems) No. 32, 1950 (M. H. Ertürk, "What is Happening in Turkistan"). The struggle for national existence, for national independence, is still going on and it will not end until Turkistan has gained its freedom.

Against whom and for what are the Turkestanians fighting?

For Turkestanians Russia is external enemy No. 1 while bolshevism is inter-

which should give the whole world something to think over.

The impression gained by the present course of America's liberation policy, as far as it is reflected by personnel and general trend of the Munich broadcasting station is actually to maintain, the dungeon of nations as represented by the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, also in the future. Emigrants from the nations behind the Iron Curtain cannot understand how it is possible to propagate such out and out imperialist conceptions at the expense of other peoples, and merely combat imperialism when it is directed against the immediate interest of the United States resp. the western powers.

It is not to be wondered at that our peoples ask "What kind of free Europe is that" when men are to govern whose hands are stained with the blood of hundreds of thousands of Slovakian and Sudeten German men and women, and of thousands of Ukrainian anti-bolshevist fighters for freedom? (See the Sudeten German "White Book", and the Slovak Liberation Committee's brochure "Masks Off".)

"What kind of a free Europe is that in which the Ukrainian people, the Slovak people and a number of others are to be silenced?"

At any rate it cannot go on in that way, that American radio stations only send out the opinions of their chosen favourites who make the world believe they speak for a free Europe.

J. Zh.

nal enemy No. 1. It must not be forgotten that during the time of the tsars, as well as the Kerensky period, when they were fighting for liberty the Turkestans never dreamt of liberation just from the present regime, but above all to be free Russia's alien rule. In the same way, they are fighting against Moscow's dominion, not with the idea of ridding themselves of the bolshevik yoke in exchange for a "humanitarian" or "democratic" regime, but to be free from Russia for ever. It, therefore cannot be said that bolshevism is the first enemy and Russian domination the second. Turkistan wants to throw over both at once.

It is astonishing to observe that Russian emigrants whether they are followers of the tsarists or Kerensky, are bolshevists or anti-bolshevists, are never willing to renounce their imperialistic ideals. They are one and all determined to uphold their Russian empire. It makes no difference to them that the non-Russian peoples are being exterminated. Both the Russian democrats and Russian socialists are well — schooled imperialists.

What right has Russia to rule for ever over a country like Turkistan which was brought under Russian domination by force? Is it to be Turkistan's fate to bow to the power of Russia for all time because it once lost its national freedom? Is that justice? Has not God bestowed equal rights on all men? Those who know their history will regard it as mockery to expect the Turkestanians to fight side by side with Russians against bolshevism and then negotiate with their arch-enemy about their national destiny. In our era which is said to be the age of freedom, the national problems of the peoples subjugated by Russia cannot be solved on that basis.

Russia has no right to be the eternal ruler of other nations. Turkistan too, has the right to free itself for ever from Russia and to gain its independence. If it is intended to keep Turkistan chained to Russia, it is nonsense to talk about the natural rights of peoples and individuals. As long as a natural right for individuals is recognized by the civilized world, the right of peoples to form their way of life as they will must hold good.

Outdated Russian Terms

When we Turkestanians speak of secession from Russia, the Russians call us "separatists". When we stand up for our national rights we are "chauvinists". When we refuse to enter Russian traps we are decried as "radicals" and when we speak of our national unity, they alarm us by calling us pan-Turkists.

We are no "separatists". Our country's name is Turkistan and it is not Russian, nor does it wish to be a Russian province, therefore there is no question of separatism. We are not chauvinists either. We merely demand our basic rights back. We might be called radicals, but only in the sense that after all our bitter experiences we are convinced that we can only attain our end if we refuse all compromise with our Russian arch-enemies. The Russians themselves have brought us to that conclusion.

At the same time we cherish no hatred against the Russians. Our customs and ethics do not admit that. Neither have we anything against the Russian people as such, and we thoroughly respect its right to a free and independent life within the boundaries of its own territory.

But we do not admit that Russia has the right to retain its present territorial dominion at the expense of alien peoples. What we do hate, is Russia's alien domination and our bitterest antagonism is directed against its imperialism which has cost the lives of millions of Turkestanians. Whether committed by tsarists, revolutionaries, democrats or bolsheviks, such acts are not easily forgotten by the sufferers. That is why, for us, there is no difference in the aims of the bolsheviks and those of the Russian emigrants, when they are directed at an "indivisible great Russian imperium". Both are imbued with the same imperialistic principle. The only difference is the colour, one clothed in red, the other in white.

Russian emigrants work very systematically in this respect. They take up the solution of the national problem in the same spirit by luring the subjugated peoples with "cultural autonomy" or even "territorial autonomy" and just in that lies the snag. Turkistan has no desire to be an autonomous country of Russia's, but demands unqualified and full independence. Promises of that sort have been dangled before Turkistan before and the subsequent deception has not been forgotten by our people. Russian emigrants magnanimously talk of "self-determination" forgetting that the phrase is discredited in Turkistan after the experience with Kerensky's and bolshevik promises.

Treachery Plans and Worn Out Manoeuvres

In spite of the fact that Russians are regarded as oppressors in Turkistan and the people are undergoing unspeakable suffering under the Russian-bolshevik rule there, emigrés abroad are planning to handcuff Turkistan to Russia in the future too. During the last war General Vlassov with Himmler's help, tried to realize that dream. But neither Vlassov's endeavours nor Himmler's might, was able to get us Turkestanians into a common front under Russian leadership (see documents of Nürnberg Trials). Though there is no Vlassov to-day, still there is a Kerensky, a Melgunov and a number of others who are doing their utmost to promote the dream of a union of all non-Russian nations with the Russian in a "united front against bolshevism".

To-day too, the Russians have found outside support for that hopeless plan. The "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" has even been founded by a group of Americans. The refrain of that initiative is the same we have heard so long from the Russians, "First beat bolshevism, afterwards we shall discuss the national problems." Besides this leading motif, the Russian-American group make use of the usual catchwords. "Liberation of the peoples of Russia",

"United Front against Bolshevism", "Equal Rights with Russians", "Self-determination of the Nations", none of which are listened to by our much-tried people. The above mentioned Committee has become, consciously or unconsciously, a tool for the Russians. The latter gained with all their blandishments just seven Turkestanians for their plan, the same persons who collaborated during the war with Vlassov. The publicity campaign was no more successful among the other non-Russian peoples. These events will go down in history as tragic episodes, as witness

Field-Marshall Lord Ironside President of the Scottish League

Field-Marshal Lord Ironside, chief of the British General Staff in World War II, has been elected President of the Scottish League for European Freedom. His predecessor, the Earl of Mansfield, who gave his support to the cause of our peoples' liberation has taken the position of first vice-president. The good friend of the subjugated peoples, Mr. John F. Stewart, who has devoted himself, heart and soul to our cause, remains as before chairman of the Executive Committee of the League.

We are convinced that in the Scottish League for European Freedom, under the leadership of its new President, Lord Ironside, one of the best British strategists and military experts on eastern problems, and directed by Mr. John Stewart, the affairs of our nations will continue to receive the active support enjoyed hitherto.

We therefore wish the Scottish League for European Freedom the greatest possible success and the blessings of the whole world in their responsible and honourable task.

to the errors made by the West and a disastrous experiment to split up the unity of our national liberation movements in a critical hour.

All Russian efforts to force us Turkestanians into their "united front", whether by threats such as "Russia is great, what can you do against that power?", whether by money, oratory, promises or by winning a few renegades, or even libelling our national forces as fascists, have been fruitless. Not only that, these attempts have called forth an impressive reaction among our people. Thousands of Turkestanians have signed a protest against the Russian plan of amalgamating our national movement with the anti-bolshevik proposition under Russian leadership. (The National Turkestanian Unity Committee dispose of documentary material for everyone to see.) That unanimous counter-action is a convincing proof that for our people today the parole, and the only one is: liberation from Russian domination of every and an sort. As long as the Russians fail to understand that the time was passed when one could live at the

expense of another, it will be impossible to sit down with them at one table, or to negotiate with them.

Illusion and Reality

It is much to be regretted that the Americans allow themselves to be misled, and get their information on the psychology, way of life and political will of the Turkestanians from the Russians. If it is supposed that bolshevism can be opposed by the creation of a "Union of Russian peoples" it is a great mistake. Bolshevism cannot be crushed by such illusions, but alone by the support of the national freedom movements of the different subjected peoples striving for independence.

As already stated, we Turkestanians are not haters of the Russians, but long experience has given us a proverb, "If you have a Russian as a friend, always carry an axe around with you." That is just what it is, we do not trust any promises of friendship from that quarter any more. Any organizations or persons in the West who believe it is an easy solution of the matter simply not to hear the voice of the subjugated peoples and go on propagating an indivisible Russian imperium, it is nothing short of the strangulation of the freedom of the oppressed peoples, and will never be forgotten by history.

Turkistan needs its national independence from Russia and to achieve this end appeals to-day for the help of all freedom-loving people in the world.

Meeting of the Croatian National Committee

There was a meeting of the Croatian National Committee on August 23 and 24, in Munich. Members were representatives sent by Croatian exiles from all the western countries. Several resolutions were passed.

The praesidium of the Croatian National Committee is constituted as follows: President — Ivan Brozovic, former commander of an army corps; Vice-President — Prof. Hadzic; Secretary-General — Dr. Stepan Buc; Committee men — Dr. Omercan and Dr. Jelic.

Communiqué

The Croatian National Committee at the Meeting of August 23 and 24, 1952, in Munich resolved that:

1) The intense activity now being carried on to liberate Croatia from the present communist dictatorship is to continue undaunted.

The fact that this regime, to-day under the mask of socialism, is appealing to the Western Powers for material help and offering its army, — whose fighting morale, owing to the insuperable differences among the peoples arbitrarily thrown into it, is questionable, — for the struggle against the communist states of the East Bloc, should not mislead the west into basing their political decisions on such vague suppositions, especially as the regime clings firmly to its communist principles.

2) All the strength of the Croatian People is to be put to the service of its liberation within its ethnic-historical borders and the setting up of an independent Croatian state in common with the other sovereign states of a united Europe.

Soviet Language Policy

By Professor V. Derzhavyn

Dialectic Zig-Zag Course

The fluctuations and changes in Soviet language policy correspond, on the whole, to the dialectic zig-zag lines of the Soviet national and cultural policy, and may without much trouble be fitted into the historical course of the whole internal, and in part the foreign policy, of the U.S.S.R. There are, however a number of false conceptions in circulation to-day, based on out-dated reports, or such as have arisen from ascribing to the Soviet language policy motives and intentions which have full value in the West but which, at best are merely meant as propaganda forms or have no significance for Soviet-Russian class views.

A meritorious book by Heinz Kloss „Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950“ (Pohl & Co., Munich) which has recently appeared is a striking example in this respect. Kloss maintains not only that “the land that seeks more than any other to subordinate irrational forces and impulses to the rational, — the Soviet Union, — has gone far in its consideration of the languages of the minor nations“ (p. 11), but he ascribes this supposed attitude of the Soviet government towards the languages of the “minor peoples“ to its regard for “social justice“. The author does feel obliged to admit that with Yiddish at least the Soviet Union has apparently gone over to “compulsory assimilation“ (p. 47). But the author does not say that Yiddish is not the only exception.

Particularism through Languages of Minor Nations

Actually, however, the *languages of the minor nations* are only treated with “consideration“ in so far as their particularism stands in the way of the formation of “major language groups“ i. e. fits in with Moscow’s centralist russification policy. Thus the promising beginnings of a common north-west Turkish language were nipped in the bud when the Soviets raised several north-west Turkish varieties to the rank of recognized languages, although the divergencies between Kazan, Tartar, Bashkir, Khakan, Shor, etc. almost entirely have

3) The Croatian National Committee rejects any political solution whatever that includes Croatia in Yugoslavia, no matter in what form. Events of the last decade have sufficiently proved the impossibility of any such combination and the danger it is for the peace of Europe.

4) The Croatian National Committee accepts the demand made by the German minority in Croatia that the people may return to their homes when Croatia is free and that their property be restored to them and that equal rights with the other citizens of the future democratic Croatian State be accorded them, as justified.

the character of dialects and in no way go beyond the standard of linguistic peculiarities of any Great Russian, Polish or High German dialects. But it is a question of preventing the growth of a vital national language and breaking up the bonds of a common language by supporting the dialectal disintegration by every means at the disposal of a totalitarian state. At bottom, it is the same policy followed by the Polish State of 1918—1938 towards West Ukraine by lending support and sub-

off against the common national Turkestanian language. In North Caucasia where small communities, ten or twenty thousand strong, are “blessed“ with an independent language of their own with the exclusive right, — alongside the official Russian, of course, — of a public, written and cultural existence. That means that the least linguistic deviation in favour of a natural inclination towards union can be interpreted by government and party as “bourgeois nationalism“, pan-Turkism, reactionary trend or treason, and punished accordingly.

Russian alone Gains

Great care is taken that the unquenchable desire for language association which, owing to intense industrialization, has increased considerably, is turned to the advantage of the official Russian language while, on the other hand, the native languages of North Caucasia are subjected to more splitting than in the last century when in the first half the Avaric and in the second half the Georgian served as a practical means of communication between mountain races having different languages. Now, however, Russian seeks the upper hand and will get it too. The greater the language isolation becomes, the easier the russification of the individual dialects will be.

A specially glaring example of the divide et impera policy in the sphere of language is the treatment of the Finno-Ugrian of the upper Volga where three closely related remnants of what a thousand years ago was a compact Finno-Ugrian population, — the Mariyans or Chermisse, north of the Volga (somewhere between Gorkiy and Kazan) and the Mordvins, south of the Volga, separated from the Mariyans by the Chuvash, who speak Turkish, although they too are of Finno-Ugrian descent. It is a matter of course for the Soviet policy to make the differences there permanent, even to increase them, and all is done for that purpose.

Each of the three peoples received its autonomous puppet state and a corresponding language, officially equal to the Russian state language. The joke of it is, that the half million Mariyans have to be content with one “national language“ while the million and a half Mordvins have been burdened with two; the Soviet government having taken advantage of the existence of two slightly divergent dialects to divide them into Erzya-Mordvin and Moksha-Mordvin and thus to make any cultural development based on the native Mordvin language impossible. Where the Mordvin cannot make himself understood with his peasant dialect he is expected to resort to Russian and, of course he does so.

Thus the maintenance of an artificially divided dialect becomes a drastic factor in the permanent denationalization and rus-

The O.U.N. Leaders to Stepan Bandera

“To the Leader of the entire O.U.N.—Stepan Bandera“

“We send to the leaders of the O.U.N. Units Abroad, to all friends and Ukrainians in foreign countries our revolutionary greetings.

“We, decimated by the rabid enemy of all humanity, Rusian bolshevism, still proudly uphold the banner of the Ukrainian Liberation Revolution. We are glad to know that our friends are with us.

We firmly believe that the banner handed us by the greatest of our heroes, General Taras Chuprynya, will soon float over the golden spires of Kyiv.

Friend, Leader! we firmly believe that at the decisive moment and under your guidance we will lead the Ukrainian people to final victory.

Ukraine, Spring 1952

For our leaders:
(Signature)

siderizing the spoken and written use of little known Ukrainian dialects (e. g. Lemkian, of Western Galicia as well as the almost antique sounding language affected especially by the Russian-friendly fragment of the West Ukrainian intellectual classes, the so-called “Yazychiye“, a strange mixture of Church-Slavic, Russian and local dialects) as a means of checking the all-Ukrainian national and cultural language. The Czech government of 1918 to 1935 took a similar attitude towards the Ukrainian Carpathian population. The means at the disposal of these two officially “parliamentary democratic“ states were slight and their zeal in respect of language policy was but lukewarm, so that their anti-Ukrainian language policy had no great effect. The Soviet government, on the other hand, disposes of immeasurable cultural and police methods of coercion and applied them ruthlessly in the above mentioned north-west Turkish area, as well as in Turkistan where the closely related dialects of Kasakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kirghizia, etc. are consistently played

sification. Chuvash which is also spoken by one million and a half persons would probably have been treated in the same way, but it is a Turkish language and therefore has little tendency to split into dialects. For its very uniformity it had necessarily to be recognized.

Regional Variations

That brings us to the second main feature of the Soviet language policy, a feature that very much complicates matters i. e. its diversity within its boundaries, and regional variations. A Turkish language cannot be handled, or mishandled, in the same way as a Finno-Ugrian, still less can a non-Slavic language, for instance the Moldavian dialect of Rumania in Bessarabia be transformed like Ukrainian or Byelorussian, to say nothing of the enormous structural differences between Arian and the viraous languages that are not Arian.

The Slavic languages of the Soviet Union are being step by step reduced in grammar, lexicology and phraseology to the level of a poor phonetic imitation of the official Russian language. On the other hand the non-related languages are being submitted to a flood of words and expressions borrowed from Russian because any serious encroachment on the morphology and syntax would make the language in question simply incomprehensible. The present position of Kasan-Tartar is described as follows by one whose mother-tongue it is:

"In the Tartar and Bashkir press, various Russian and other words are constantly cropping up, words like "predsedatel'" (chairman), "vlastj" (authority), "verchovny" (supreme), "disciplina" (discipline), etc. Such words are used not because there are no equivalents in Tartar, but because the press which is absolutely under the control of Soviet government and party is really not able to prevent their infiltration. In that way the party seeks to achieve its russification policy. These words are, however, not taking root among the people ("Asat Vatan", Munich 1952, No. 3 p. 15).

The Russian alphabet which was made obligatory the end of the thirties is most unsuitable, even in its changed form for non-Slavic speech, for instance for Turkish, Mongolian, Finno-Ugrian, Caucasian, Rumanian, and is not much better than the Arabic alphabet which originally had no vowels. On the other hand it promotes the russification of the aforesaid peoples most definitely and isolates them from the Osman-Turks of Asia Minor who have gone over to Latin letters, as well as from the other Islam peoples who cling to the Arabic alphabet: quod erat demonstrandum.

Georgians and Armenians, and the Jews who for political reasons are less disturbed, are the only non-Slavic peoples in the Soviet Union who have been able still to retain the alphabet of their forefathers against Moscow's russification policy. The Armenians, it is true, at the heavy cost of the apparent simplification of their system of writing, the object of which is to make it much harder for them to understand their national literature of by-gone centuries.

The Bulgarians and their "Liberators"

A Myth that has Vanished

A noteworthy lecture was held under the above title by Mr. Michail Balsamoff, Vice-President of the Bulgarian Society for a United Europe, in Munich on August 7, this year, before the Stuttgart Society for the Study of East European Questions, under whose auspices the monthly periodical "Ost Europa" is published. Below we give some extracts from the lecture which are of special significance with regard to the ideas of the A.B.N. and its aims.

"... When at last through the Russian-Turko war of 1877/78 Bulgaria gained its freedom it soon became evident that the "liberators" and also the West, had a false conception of the Bulgarian people and their determination to be free and independent. Subsequent developments proved that the optimism of Petersburg in the matter of Bulgaria's annexation in order to reach the Straits, as well as the pessimism of the western diplomats who suspected, unjustly, that Bulgaria would willingly serve Russia's expansion, were equally wrong...

Russia's thirst for conquest with a view to gain the Straits, was disguised as championship of the all-Slav idea, as protection of Christianity, or a liberation to dupe both the West and the Balkan people concerned...

The Berlin Treaty mutilated the newly created Bulgaria, not because the frontiers after the preliminary peace of San Stephano did not correspond with the ethnographic extension of the Bulgarian people, but because western diplomacy refused to believe that the Bulgarian principality would be able to maintain its independence in the face of Rusia. It was regarded from the beginning as a future Russian province and care was taken to keep it as small as possible. By its attitude, however, the Bulgar-

ian people surprised both its "liberators" and the whole of Europe by setting resolutely to work to create a constitution to guarantee the State its independence.

After the constitution had been suspended, under pressure from Russia and a Bureaucracy had been set up with the Russian General Ehrenroth as president, the country was flooded with pan-slavic tracts and pamphlets written by satellites of pan-slavic ideas as propagated by Russia, Aksakoff, Katkoff and others. These pamphlets said, for instance,

"Bulgarian nationality does not mean separation from us. Bulgaria can only have a future as part of the great Slavic whole, only as a member of the planetary system whose centre is Russia, that source of light and warmth. We must take an active part in the inner life of Bulgaria", or

"The Bulgarian State has been resuscitated and baptized with Russian blood. Thus we can never give it up. The elder brother has the duty to lead the younger. The Bulgarian prince is the symbol of the Russian victory over 500 hundred years of slavery. The simple people understand that very well, but the intelligentsia, ruined by the West, are renegades from Slavism, traitors to the same fatherland. Russia is chosen to be the natural, legal centre of the whole Slavic world" (Aksakoff).

These quotations give some example of Russian imperialism camouflaged as pan-slavism, and reveal better than anything the situation at that time in Bulgaria.

The effect of that "enlightenment" undertaken on such a grand scale was exactly the opposite from what Moscow expected. The people were really enlightened and saw through Russia's real intentions. The result was that conservatives and liberals made friends and party differences dis-

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Bound to Russian

There remains the third main feature of Soviet language policy, its variation according to its function. By that we mean the functional subjection of all non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union to the official Russian language, — a matter which has been overlooked, not only by the western world but also by the anti-Soviet emigré press, — and consequently their treatment at the hands of the Soviet government and all-powerful party. The political role of the Russian language as the only generally understood means of intercourse within a consistently totalitarian state is so tremendous that it is hardly possible to grasp the ever-changing attitude of Soviet policy towards the non-Russian language groups, without taking into consideration what one might call the internal language policy of the Soviets, towards their own official state language.

The chaos of the first years of the revolution (1917—1920) when on the one hand the equality of all languages of the world was proclaimed, while on the other, even high functionaries in the communist party were in danger of being shot in the streets by soldiers of the Red Army,

because they had carried on a conversation that was not in Russian, may be explained by the uncertain attitude of the Soviets towards the Russian literary language itself, which was regarded on one side as a tool of capitalist exploitation, while at the same time it seemed indispensable. The following period, embracing the years 1921—1928, may be said to be a time of experiment in linguistics directed at "proletarianizing" the Russian state language and ridding it of its "bourgeois" flavour, that is depriving it of its European values in order to turn it into an unimpeachable tool for communist class warfare propaganda; simultaneously the non-Russian national languages were experimented with and a certain freedom to develop was granted them. As soon as the Russian language was "Sovietized", however, in one way or another, the so-called external language policy was changed and in 1929 the gradual russification of the non-Russian peoples and races began to be tightened up and that went hand in hand with a ruthless mutilation of their languages. The process has lasted with few interruptions until to-day. We hope to review its detailed and chronological characteristics in the near future in another connection.

The Liberation is Indivisible

***The Liberation of the Soviet Satellites is Impossible Without Simultaneous Freeing
of the Peoples of U.S.S.R.***

By Professor Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Concluded from No. 8 of "A.B.N.-Correspondence"

Offensive in the Cold War

In the course of the cold war, when the free world decided to defend the positions of freedom against the expansion of Moscow's imperialism and communist tyranny, the necessity became obvious to have the help of the subjugated nations and to make a common effort. The cold war in its present form brings all the advantages to Moscow without corresponding risks. In fact it means a further communist effort to subjugate more nations. As long as Moscow is on the offensive, the free world remains on the defensive. The only risk Moscow has is that she may achieve her aim. But the sacrifices which the free nations must bring are so great that their material basis, i. e. financial balance and healthy economic development, is threatened. All this only creates conditions for a further spreading of communism.

To speak of a cold war in connection with Moscow's pressure and the free world's position, would require an equal mutual attitude. If the free world does not want to have only risks but also to have the possibility of winning the cold war, it must exchange the defensive for an offensive, as Moscow endeavours to extend tyranny to the West, so should the free world — making use of all its resources — carry freedom to the nations behind the Iron Curtain and in the U.S.S.R. Only in this way can the West secure for itself favourable conditions for ending the cold war victoriously.

In its own interest, the free world should stop compromising with Moscow, and take a consistant attitude in favour of securing freedom for those nations which long for it. Only in this way can the confidence of the subjugated nations towards the honest aims of the free nations be renewed. The free world should decide for an integral and general application of the principles of freedom. It should stop using the tactics of acknowledging the right of some nations to freedom and denying it to others. It should stop classifying the nations into privileged nations and second class nations. One cannot ask sacrifices and the utmost exertion of power from the nations in the fight for ideals, the fruit of which it is intended to deny them. Humanity must draw the conclusions from the fact that freedom is one and indivisible. Otherwise there will remain the threat that tyranny will rule over some nations and will be strong enough to create uncertainty and endanger world peace.

From Moscow's aims and methods it would follow logically that the subjugated nations should find such universal support for their liberation

efforts, as those find in the Kremlin who strive to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world. It is not then a question of forcing freedom upon the subjugated nations, or of the free world fighting for freedom for them, but merely for the free nations in their own interest and in that of a just world order, to support the efforts of the subjugated nations which really want to be free. That means that the free nations should, in the spirit of the centuries-long striving of humanity after freedom, support the struggle of the subjugated nations against the Kremlin's bolshevik despotism.

Only by a united front of the free nations and the restoration of freedom to the subjugated can Moscow's despotism be brought to a fall.

The Nation as Foundation

One of the building stones of the present social order is the nation. On them rests international order. Moscow's imperialism, helped by Communist ideology strives in every possible way to destroy this building stone — the nation. In every patriot it sees its enemy, and in the fulfilment of the nation's right to self-determination it feels its death. Therefore it is in the interest of the free world to demand the fulfilment of these principles in the territories ruled over by bolshevik despotism. It is indeed difficult to understand the lack of interest or the even negative attitude of the free nations towards the national idea and its application. As Moscow sees in the disintegration and destruction of the nations a condition for maintaining her despotism, in the same manner the preservation and development of the nations should be a primary aim of the free world.

If it is still possible to avoid the war which is hanging over us like Damocles' sword, undoubtedly this possibility lies in supporting the Liberation Movements of the subjugated nations. Only in this way can the conglomerate of the U.S.S.R. be disintegrated, or at least its aggressiveness weakened, and its expansionist aims frustrated to such an extent that it could not plan war.

The liquidation of bolshevik despotism represented by Moscow, is a condition for maintaining world peace. This condition can be fulfilled only if the subjugated nations cease to be objects about which Moscow decides, and become subjects deciding their own fate for themselves.

Guarantee for Victory and Peace

In the case of war, it will be the vital interest of the free nations fighting for freedom and progress, to include in these efforts all the nations having the

same ideals. The nations behind the Iron Curtain and within the U.S.S.R. after their experiences of the past and present, await this moment as their only means of rescue. It is for the free nations to understand the mission which will have to be fulfilled. The sacrifices of a war catastrophe will have to be made good at least partly, and this can be done only when the principles which enabled the development of the free world are brought to fulfilment in the territories ruled today by Moscow.

Having this aim the free world will be able to change the destructive effort to an effort to disintegrate the slaveholders' domain. Applied properly, the national ideas will perform the function of a certain kind of atom bomb. This will save the nations from great suffering and will also help to establish a just order which is a condition for lasting peace.

The present crisis is growing because numerous European nations have been deprived of freedom, and Europe, as a whole, cannot fulfil its historic mission. The European forces which were the bearers of progress for many centuries, have been put into the service of tyranny to a large extent. It is thus in the general interest of humanity that Europe should, as soon as possible, start to fulfil its function and the existing vacuum be removed.

Europe must Rise Again ...

Though geographically, Europe extends to the Ural, the despots in Moscow succeeded after World War I in weakening it by 50 per cent of its area and 25 per cent of its population. After World War II, the free part of Europe became limited to one third of its area and one half of its population. The results of this are the more catastrophic in that what can be regarded as inland Europe is ruled by Moscow, and only those territories remained free which geographically can be regarded as marginal territories.

Without removing bolshevik despotism with its centre in Moscow, Europe will not be able to take that place in the world which it is called to fill in the interest of humanity. Only if this is done will new economic possibilities and new political horizons be opened to Europe.

Freedom is Indivisible

The efforts of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) are concentrated not only on removing the evil which threatens to overflow the whole world. It fights, not only against Muscovite tyranny, but it fights for the ideas which secured the rise of humanity, for their fulfilment in the territory of that huge prison called the Soviet Union. The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of

"Balkanization" or Stabilization

Continued from Page 1

half, — a sovereign north Bulgarian principality and a south Bulgarian land under the Sublime Porte, with the name East Rumelia, while Thrace and Macedonia were left under Turkish rule. Dobruja was joined to Rumania as compensation for Bessarabia, which fell a victim to Russian imperialism, and finally, the west Bulgarian areas of Pirot and Nisch were incorporated in Serbia. Thus the foundations stone for the subsequent disorders was laid, later known as "balkanization" and distained by the very West that had been its founders.

The Serbo-Bulgarian war of 1885 instigated by Russia against the union of north Bulgaria and east Rumelia, the inter-allied Balkan war of 1913 over Thrace and Macedonia, again sponsored by St. Petersburg the various uprisings in Macedonia against alien domination and all the antagonisms and conflicts on the Balkans were only the consequences of that same "balkanization" in which many a European great power and above St. Petersburg, — replaced in our times by Moscow, — were not exactly what one might call disinterested.

Had all those interventions in Balkan matters not been, and had unbridled Russian imperialism not attempted again and again to break through the Balkans, calling forth reaction on the part of Great Britain and the Danube monarchy etc., the small Balkan peoples would certainly long since have found a normal, peaceful life together. Instead of that, nationalist tendencies were incited, neighbour enmities were inflamed or arbitrary state structures like Yugoslavia were called into being, all of which tended only to increase the tension in the Balkans.

The moral of the story is, that it was not the number of peoples and small states in the Balkans that were to blame for the "balkanization", but the interference of foreign powers, first and

Nations (A.B.N.) has in mind the ideals of progress, it strives to bring mankind to understand that not partial solutions, but an integral solution is necessary when confronted with the Bolshevik danger, a solution which both corresponds with the interests of mankind and the longings of the subjugated nations. We endeavour to persuade sincere people that no nation can feel secure and live in peace, when hundreds of millions of human beings live in slavery.

For this noble endeavour which answers the interests of all mankind and is based on the ideals of progress and general welfare we want to win the understanding of freedom-loving nations and individuals.

foremost being Russia, with its ruthless imperialism, which caused the chaos and gave rise to disorders.

National States or Imperium in the East?

Now to come to our actual subject. The bolsheviks spread the legend with intention, and are supported in the theory by Russian emigrants, that if the principle of national states within the Soviet Union were applied, at least one hundred peoples claiming no less than one hundred sovereign states would arise. In that way, the solution of the most important problem of our time, the problem of the restoration of the national independent states of the peoples in the east is thrashed out ad absurdum and brought into discredit.

Others take the fact that A.B.N. comprises the representatives of 20 peoples, so that if our demands were fulfilled, there would be 20 new independent states which would mean a ruinous splitting up. One might suppose from such talk that the peoples in question had never had states of their own before, and as if they would be cultivated like mushrooms after bolshevism was crushed, only to please an exaggerated conception cherished by the A.B.N.

The answer to that is, that among the peoples represented in the A.B.N. there is not one that has not already had its own state at some time or other, and that cannot look back on a tradition of centuries.

It is apparently forgotten that among the 20 nations belonging to the A.B.N. who joined it from a sense of a common fate, not only for the present but also for the future, there are countries whose right to a sovereign state is beyond discussion. They are Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Albania, Czechia, Slovakia, Serbia and Croatia. In the West, probably through the influence of Russian imperialists, the future of those peoples who were already behind the first Iron Curtain is said to be problematical. They are the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, the Caucasian peoples, the Cossacks, the Siberians and the Idel-Uranians. What right has anyone to say that these last named peoples, who had the misfortune to be overwhelmed by Russian imperialism at an earlier time, must remain dependent and be slaves for ever. What right has anyone to propose giving back the satellite states their independence, yet deprive the others within the U.S.S.R., who have just as good a right to sovereignty and can claim a culture that is just as high, of their basic right to freedom and independence.

Does anyone seriously suggest degrading these peoples to second rank? In our century which claims to be the age of humanity,

and in view of the crusade for truth and freedom to which the leading World Powers with America at the head have ascribed, such a wicked idea should have no place.

Another question: why was the existence of the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and now the Benelux States no "balkanization", yet the restoration of Ukraine with its 45 millions, Turkistan with its 20 millions etc. is termed "balkanization"? How is it that no one dreams of raising objections against the restoration of the sovereignty of the satellite states, but rejects the independence of the non-Russian in the U.S.S.R. with the hypocritical complaint of "balkanization"?

Worse than Stalin?

After the subjection of our peoples even the bolsheviks were obliged to recognize their claim to their own states and national independence, even though only on paper, it was at least officially recognized. Stalin himself, who in reality manages the genocide in the Soviet sphere, consents to the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republic taking part in the U.N. as fully qualified members, and acknowledged by the West just for their state independence. Another thing, according to the Stalin Constitution the right has been formally conceded to Ukraine and Byelorussia to secede from the Soviet Union.

That being so, we may be allowed to ask how it is possible that there are people in the West who doubt that right and wish to put an end to it, when the principle of independence for Ukraine and Byelorussia is not only acknowledged by the U.N. but even by Stalin himself. Do the "democratic" Russian emigrants want to be more inflexible than Stalin?

It is clear that no one and no power in the free world, if they have any respect for that term, can take a retrograde step in this. There is only one solution and that is, what has been conceded Ukraine and Byelorussia, though only theoretically, but still officially and publicly, this right to their own state must be conceded to them and all the other oppressed peoples in the U.S.S.R. in future and in practice. Otherwise, after a victory of the West over Moscow's tyranny, Ukraine and Byelorussia, which in the Stalin era were members of the U.N. would have to be thrown out of that world aro-pagus. That would indeed be a strange beginning to a new era of freedom and justice . . .

How the "Balkanization" would really be

How many states would arise on the ground of the present Soviet-Russia when one day the Russian imperium ceases to be.

Besides the Baltic states whose annexation is not recognized at all by the West, besides the satellite states whose liberation counts as a matter of course,

and besides Ukraine and Byelorussia whose independence is internally and legally assured, there are in all only five or eight states whose peoples cannot be deprived of their rights by any divine, historical or human law.

Turkistan, the Caucasian peoples (North Caucasia, Georgia, Armenia, Aserbaijan who have already united in a common state complex), the Siberian state, Cossackia and Idel-Ural. That is all. The Karelian-Finnish question will be automatically solved by the inclusion of these people in Finland which the West surely recognizes.

That being so, where is the "frightful mutilation" and that chaotic "condition of small states" that the champions of the Russian imperium make such a noise about and set up as a bogey-man against us.

Our opponents maintain further that such a number of states without any guardianship will never be able to exist. Anyone, however, who knows the history of these peoples and their blessed state life in the past will easily understand that those who maintain any such argument if they really believe it themselves should be put under restraint as weakminded.

To Brush-Up History

As in the discussion on the above problems, especially those concerning the claims of North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Cossackia and Siberia to state independence, a faulty knowledge of history is frequently met with, so some dates and facts of the later history of these people may be useful to leave no doubt as to the legitimacy of those claims.

North Caucasus: December 21, 1917 the National Committee of the Peoples of North Caucasus broke off all relations with Petersburg. May 11, 1918 the National Assembly of the Peoples of North Caucasus proclaimed the country an independent state. In February 1920 the bolsheviks invaded North Caucasus and erected a Soviet-Republic in Dagestan. In February 1921 a rebellion broke out in Dagestan against the bolshevik-Russian rule. June 1922 Kabarda, Karachay and Cherkesses were Sovietized. July 7, 1924 the bolsheviks proclaimed the "autonomous" Chechenko-Ingus Republic.

Idel-Ural: November 12, 1917 the National Assembly of the Turko-Tartars and Finno-Ugronians proclaimed the Idel-Ural Democratic Republic and elected Prof. Sadri-Maksudi as their president. April 12, 1918 the Idel-Ural Republic was occupied by bolshevik troops. March 23, 1919 the bolsheviks set up the Bashkir and on May 27, 1920 the Tartar Republics, instead of the Idel-Ural.

Cossackia: After the all-Cossackian Congress and after the proclamation of the Soviet-Don Cossackian Republic the Cossack Council for the Rescue of the Don proclaimed the state independence of the land of the Cossacks on May 5, 1918. In the following years 1918—1920

The Bulgarians and their "Liberation"

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appeared. The nation was indignant, and united under the slogan "Down with tsarist dictatorship!" The Prince bowed to the will of his people and defied the Tsar by reintroducing the constitution. The breach with Russia was thus a fact and what followed was the logical consequence and a deepening of the gulf between "liberator" and "liberated"

The lecturer went on to describe the union of north and south Bulgaria against the wish of the Russian Tsar which further widened the breach, the Serbo-Bulgarian war of the same year which was caused by Russia's inciting Serbia to attack Bulgaria, and the victory of the latter which aroused the anger of the Tsar.

"The victorious end of the war inflamed the Tsar's hatred even more. The Prince who had dared to act against his will had to be removed. It was Russia's aim to leave the Bulgarian people without a leader and force them to their knees, so they would have to beg the Russian Tsar for forgiveness and protection. Russia succeeded in forcing the King to abdicate almost before a year had passed. The echo called forth by that step is best demonstrated by the remarks made by Bulgaria's competent men of the time. When asked by Prince Dondukov, the Russian High Commissioner, if it were not splendid to see Bulgaria freed from Turkish dominion, the Bulgarian Exarch, Antim I, promptly answered, "course it is splendid, your Highness, but it would be still more wonderful if we knew who would free us from the Russians."

At that critical time after the abdication of the King, the Russian paper, Moskowskij Wedomosti, which was under pan-slavic influence, said, "Who would oppose Russia if she decided to take over the administration of Bulgaria? Surely no one! Why should we hesitate?" Then the fate of Bulgaria depended alone on the attitude of

the people. The West could do nothing, because Western Powers had undertaken at the Berlin Congress to respect the right of national self-determination. The Russian diplomat, Baron Klaubars went as special envoy to Bulgaria and tried to incite the people against their own government. He approached the garrisons and did what he could to organize a revolt which would serve as an excuse for Russian intervention. He demanded the election of a new king and when Sofia did not submit he left the country, taking all the Russian consuls with him and had warships cruise in Bulgarian waters as a threat.

The leader of the liberals, Stefan Stambuloff, first as a member of the regency council and then as prime minister, was the prime mover in directing the people's will to resist. He was the boldest, most inexorable adversary of Russian imperialism disguised as pan-slavicism. No threat from Petersburg was able to weaken his opposition. Under his leadership the little Bulgarian lion showed the big Rusisan bear its teeth. With the conditions then prevailing there was nothing for the latter to do but retire.

An incredible thing happened: the nation which had been regarded by Europe as a ripe victim of the pan-slavic liberation policy, managed to maintain itself without Russian help and even against Russia, merely with its own resources. Bulgaria's emancipation was demonstrated further by the choice of Ferdinand von Saxony and Coburg-Gotha as the new sovereign, by the great National Assembly in Tirano, 1887. In spite of sharp Russian opposition the new ruler was unanimously called to the throne amid wild enthusiasm

(A further extract concerning the second "double liberation" of Bulgaria by Moscow in our times, will appear in the next number.)

a regular war raged between the Soviets and the Don Cossacks who were fighting for their independence.

Siberia: May 25, 1918 the autonomous government of West Siberia and Ural with its capital in Omsk, arose. August 15, 1918 American troops were landed in Siberia. December 14, 1918 the Russian general, Kolchak, drove the government out of Omsk. In 1920 Kolchak was killed. April 4, 1920 the Democratic Republic of the Far East arose, and state independence followed. On October 25, 1922 the last Japanese troops left Vladivostok. In November of the same year the Russian-bolshevik invasion of the Republic of the Far East began and its territory was incorporated in bolshevik Russia.

Stabilization through National States

This systematic listing of events alone, points out what the people whose future fate is under discussion, desire from the bottom of their hearts. The fact that even Russian bolsheviks were forced to grant a number of peoples within the Soviet Union their state independence, at least theoretically, shows how deep the idea of a national

state is among all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. Even the bolshevik revolution was not able to overcome that and the Soviet state had no other alternative but to build up a "Union", though it was only formal, to hold the peoples together.

Final stabilization of the relations in the Soviet-Russian sphere of power cannot and will not be achieved by a retrograde movement of creating a conglomerate of peoples.

The A.B.N. conception does not mean any "balkanization" of the Soviet Union, but on the contrary, it forms the only condition for ending the insatiable expansion of the Russian imperium, oppression and extermination of peoples. It is the only basis for the stabilization of political relations, not in that area alone, but over and beyond that for the security of the whole world from the steam-roller of Russian imperialism.

Our appeal to the world is, therefore: *Support our struggle for the restoration of our independent sovereign national state on the ruins of the Russian Empire.*

Side-Lights

The Moscow Party Council

The XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has been postponed again and again for the last ten years, has now been convened by the Central Committee for October 5. There are five points on the agenda:

- 1) Report of the Central Committee (Malenkov).
- 2.) Report of the Revision Committee (Moskatov).
- 3) Directives for the Five Year's Plan (Sabarov).
- 4) Amendments to the Statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Crushchev).
- 5) Election of the central corporations of the Party.

The Polit-Bureau and Organization Bureau chosen by the Central Committee are to be dissolved and replaced by a party "praesidium". In the party badge the usual "Bolsheviks" is to be dropped.

Since the announcement of that by the Pravda, the world's press has published a flood of commentaries. The dissolution of the Politburo, especially, has given rise to much speculation.

It would be better, neither to treat the coming changes as sensation and create uneasiness, nor to underestimate them.

The dissolution of the Polit-Bureau and the Org-Bureau and the amalgamation of their functions in a "praesidium" of the Central Committee does not come as a surprise. It represents the conclusion of a development which began practically several years ago i. e. party heads and heads of the state being identical had often been the case, as the members of the Polit-Bureau were usually deputy chairmen of the council of ministers, and the members of the Org-Bureau (party secretaries) were also members of the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviets. The reorganization of what actually existed in fact thus means a tightening up of the political and administrative authority and stricter control of execution.

The time chosen for the referendum may be of more importance, for doubtless outside and internal circumstances have been taken into consideration. In view of the growing isolation of the Soviet bloc and the strengthening at the same time of the non-communist world, based on the increasing recognition of the world menace of bolshevism, the Kremlin regards a demonstration of its determination and strength as necessary. Developments in home politics and economy have not reached the position desired by the Soviet government, not even the self-glorification on the occasion of the opening of the Volga-Don Canal can conceal the fact, that the total production in 1955 is double that of 1940 but only half as much as America's will be for 1951. Hitler Germany showed, however, what a totalitarian state can get out of economy and the strength of its people

when friction between party and state is reduced to a minimum by the greatest possible concentration of command and control in one body. Even the Russian press has not been able to ignore, in the last two years, that there is more social discontent and more fermenting agents than the Kremlin likes.

The intended changes in the party statutes may well have some such connection. For the ideological conquest of the masses the orthodox communist slogans have had to give way for the mottoes of "Soviet patriotism". Resorting to ideological expedients from the time of the "great fatherland war" shows that the regime is aware of the social discontent. One need not be a prophet to say that with increased danger from outside, caused by the Soviets maintaining their foreign policy, the stress on "patriotism", rather than communism, will be more accentuated. The omission of the usual preamble to the party statutes and the new framing of its first article is interesting in this connection.

It is idle to speculate from the fact that Malenkov is the chief speaker at the XIX Party Congress, whether that means he is to be Stalin's successor, for he has deputized for him in party questions for years. It may be more important that the future directorial constitution, in case the question of succession should become acute, excludes such a struggle for power as Stalin had to fight, in order to avoid any disturbance of government apparatus should a serious crisis occur.

P. S.

Veto Policy of the Kremlin

The Security Council recently, decided to place Japan's application for membership of the U.N. on the agenda of the plenary meeting, on October 14. Russia's vote was withheld. The Soviet delegate thereupon declared that the Soviet Union would prevent the acceptance of new members by veto until its proposed 14 new applications had been consented to.

At the coming October session the world will once more be shown what value the participation of the Soviet government in international institutions has, where they are not inclined or strong enough to force the Kremlin to conform to their principles.

The occasional sharp retorts made by western delegates cannot conceal the fact that by the careless and wrong estimation of the Soviet Union's political aspirations, the U.N. has not become an instrument of peace, but a rostrum for the political diplomatic struggle of the two world blocs and one which is obviously subject to the Soviet's veto policy. The cul-de-sac into which the war in Korea has run does nothing to alter that opinion, though it is the first important thing undertaken by the U.N.

The membership of Albania, Outer

Mongolia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, desired by the Soviet Union is rejected by the western bloc led by U.S.A. while Finland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Jordania, Austria, Ceylon, Nepal and Lybia, the members proposed by the West bloc, are refused by the East, led by the Soviet Union. Now, besides the application for Japan there will be those for North and South Korea, Indo-China and some other states, before long the German Federal Republic will express a wish to be a member and then the application from the German Democratic Republic will automatically follow. All that stiffens the two opposing sides.

Any attempt at compromise on the part of the West would only make matters worse as it would strengthen the Soviet's methods of obstruction in other international meetings and in other places. The argument, as long as negotiations are going on, there will be no fighting does not hold good with a power having a whole gamut of subversive means of campaigning at its disposal and never hesitating to use them.

The Powers in the western camp should make up their minds at last to consider their own potential forces and take the counter-measures that every constituted state uses towards criminal elements, breaking the law.

V. O. D.

The Bane of Collective Punishment

The collective punishment practised by the Germans on the populations in the countries they occupied in World War II, proved ineffective in the long run. In the struggle between the interests of the occupation forces and the feeling of legality and fairness in the indigenous population, the party which disregards the natural rights of individuals and nations always loses, quite apart from the political motives of the one, or the ideological aims of the other. That is a law of life. If it had not been so the French, Belgians, Dutch, and Norwegians would have had no success against the National-Socialist occupation policy and practices, and the struggle of the peoples oppressed by bolshevism, for the most elementary right, that of freedom, would have no prospect of a final victory. The western powers of late have repeatedly declared their solidarity with the desire for freedom and the efforts to attain it, of course from the realization that it also contributes to their own security.

Occupation policy, especially in areas infiltrated by bolshevism brings with it, it is true, hardships, acts of terrorism, counter-actions, but to apply the last collectively is a fatal disregard of the experience that in the place of the victims who cannot defend themselves, others take up the fight from a sense of loyalty. There is a fact in the underground movements of the freedom-loving which needs no denial. The National-Socialist occupation policy in Norway prepared the French, heart and soul for resistance, that in Poland and Ukraine was not without influence on the east European Peoples.

What the British are doing today in Malaya will have its reaction too, es-

pecially as the bolsheviks from "colonial" practice will cleverly draw their own advantage.

General Templer, the British officer sent to fight the partisans in Malaya is known from his time with the Occupation Forces in Germany, as a hard man: "Firm to unmercifulness". In his new field of activity he is proving that saying to be true, for he has now had the whole population of a village, Permatang Tinggi, men, women and children, sent to a concentration camp and the village destroyed. A Chinese official of the British colonial administration had been murdered and the population had ignored the ultimatum to give information as to the murderer.

That resembles the use and practice of certain German police officers in the East during the second world war to a T. It is of little significance here that they were condemned by the Nuremberg Tribunal set up by the victor nations, but that their actions stiffened resistance and closed the front of the then enemies of Germany more rigidly. It is easy to guess for whose mill General Templer's actions will bring the grist.

P. S.

Admiral Kirk's Successor

According to a press report Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens, Naval Attaché in Moscow from 1947 to 1949, will take over the chairmanship of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (abbreviated form, A.C.L.K.R.). The previous chairman having been appointed chief of the office for Psychological Warfare in Washington.

It is too early to comment on this change in the Committee. One must wait and see on what political standpoint Admiral Stevens will base his work there. We can, therefore only repeat what we said in our April number on the occasion of his predecessor's taking office. We welcomed the fact then, that he had expressed a knowledge of the many peoples in the Soviet Union, whose longing for liberation and hatred of Moscow he had experienced on the spot, but continued:

"His words, however, are weakened by us by the fact that he only speaks of the yearning of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for liberation from the yoke of bolshevism, for that is only a half truth. There can be no freedom for the Soviet peoples without their national liberation."

Admiral Kirk, unfortunately, disappointed our expectations. He was not able to free himself from the opinion that our peoples' struggle was being carried out alone against the bolshevist system, and, obviously influenced by Russians he let the essential factor of the struggle, the striving of our peoples after independence from Russia, slip into the background. It was not even found necessary to alter the name of the Committee so that the claim of our nations, which are included under "Peoples of Russia", to state independence might not be prejudiced.

Admiral Stevens, the new chairman, like his predecessor, has seen service in Moscow which justifies our expectation that he knows the problems of our peoples better than Admiral Kirk

There are no Russian Peoples!

Continued from Page 3

Nations. The Byelorussians are also struggling to throw off any kind of Russian yoke, and Your Holiness' language will be a shock there also, as well as to the sincerely Catholic States of Croatia, Slovakia, Lithuania and others.

Your Holiness refers to "brilliant and heroic deeds" of Russians in the past. The present writer has given intensive study to Russian history from the time these people appeared in history, and, as far as his information goes, these "brilliant and heroic deeds" consist without a break for 700 years in savage aggression, conquest, massacre and spoliation of weaker neighbours. It is a very terrible record, unbroken by a single ray of the light of humanity. The hunger and misery to which you refer was inflicted by Russia for centuries.

A Catholic Hierarchy only in Ukraine

Your Holiness is mistaken in saying that the Catholic Hierarchy in Russia has been destroyed; there never was a Catholic Hierarchy in Russia, at any stage of history, and so it was not destroyed. There was, however, a Catholic Hierarchy in Ukraine which has been destroyed by Russia, a very different matter.

The Hierarchy in Russia was that of the Orthodox Church which never at any time acknowledged Rome, and, indeed, was always hostile. The Supreme religious Head of the Church was the Patriarch; the Head of the Church was the reigning Tsar who governed through the Procurator of the Holy Synod and it was just a Department of the Government.

So far from any Russian Government recognising Rome, for centuries back it has been a declared ambition of Russian rulers to establish Russia as the "Third Rome".

This describes the action of Russian rulers in the past, but the present writer is able to implement it from his own experience. In the early 30s his professional work took him through extensive districts of Russia far from the beaten track — indeed, where probably no other foreigner has been permitted to go since the Revolution. He lived with countless peasants in many homes as one of themselves for varying periods. He also attended Church on every Sunday he was in Russia — in Churches in Moscow, in one great Cathedral far east, and in many churches in many small towns he passed through. He also had the advantage of (secret) talks with priests. On no single occasion among these priests or the old and devout peasants was there the slightest suggestion of adherence

did, and that his knowledge will be to the good of the Committee over which he presides. If he succeeds in freeing that institution from all Russian imperialist tendencies and calling upon real representatives of our peoples in order to achieve a common front against bolshevism, in that case Admiral Stevens may be assured of our support and co-operation.

P. A.

to or recognition of Rome or Roman Catholicism.

We fear Your Holiness's reading of Russian history and the present situation are equally wrong, and we trust Your Holiness will amend your Pronouncement and give hope, not only to Ukraine but to all the other subjugated peoples, many of whom, like the Lithuanians, are almost wholly Catholic.

It is useless to try to tell these peoples that once the emigrés step into Stalin's shoes they will have freedom; the non-Russians simply disbelieve this, as their whole experience entitles them to.

The present writer spent a good part of each year in business in the States on the western borders of Russia and was able to imbibe the atmosphere as to Russia among these peoples.

Professor Manning on Present Situation

We would draw your attention to the recent words of the first authority in the world on Ukraine and Slavdom, Professor Clarence Manning, the distinguished Professor of Slavic Studies at Columbia University. He says:

"The West still listens to the siren-song of the anti-Bolshevik Russians. Those of the Conservative-military class and of the Social Revolutionists and their allies both agree that Russia is one and indivisible, that all of the various peoples that exist within the territory of the once Russian Empire must be treated as a unit. It makes no difference that Stalin proclaims the dangers of the various nationalisms within the Soviet Union... The West hears only the voice of some Tsarist or Kerensky who proclaims the opposite and they forthwith believe that a free Russia, one and indivisible, is the only solution. It makes no difference that Stalin proclaims the annihilation of whole groups for their opposition to Russia, that he announces that it is only the Great Russians who are loyal to the Soviet and are responsible for Soviet Victories. That means nothing as compared with the word of a Tsarist general or a Kerensky who proclaims the opposite."

What Litvinov said in an Interview

We would also draw your attention to the remarkable interview given not long before he died by Litvinov to an American correspondent, in which he emphasised that the Russians could not be trusted; so think the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. And they know!...

... The writer has the closest association with their leaders, and he sees nothing impossible in such a termination. All these non-Russian peoples are in serious earnest, and are fighting and dying, both men, boys, women and girls, for their cause. If Your Holiness will not help them I am sure God will.

Yours faithfully

(Sgd.) John F. Stewart
Chairman

From behind the Iron Curtain

BOHEMIA

DANUBE—ODER CANAL

Now that the two largest enterprises of heavy industry in the C.S.R. "H.U.K.O." (Foundry Aggregate at Kasic) and "N.H. K.G." (New Foundries Kl. Gottwald near Ostrau) with the supplementary reconstruction of Neu-Ostrau. The strategically important building of the Danube—Oder Canal is to begin (from Theben to Kosel in Poland, 30 km.). To this canal, two tributary canals are to be added joining the Elbe with the main canal (Prerau—Pardubitz) and Brunn with the main canal (Brünn—Landshut). This gigantic strategic project is said to have been taken in hand at Moscow's instigation. Construction, which is to cover 8 years, will cost the C.S.R. annually 1% of its whole capacity of iron production (including the production of newly built foundries) and 5% of the whole production of cement. It is already expected that the work on the canal will be done by labour slaves reinforced by thousands of victims liquidated by the regime for opposition. The red barbarians never ask how many working slaves perish in the construction of a project.

COSSACKIA

"OPEN LETTER" OR OPEN LIE

At the close of the elaborate ceremonies on the occasion of the official opening of the Volga—Don Canal the official papers of Russian occupied Cossackia published the thanks of the Cossack people to the "great leader, the beloved father, Stalin etc." Not only were celebrations held all over the Soviet Union, but also in the satellite states to mark the building of that "grand, magnificent construction accomplished by communism".

All the Soviet newspapers published an open letter from the Cossacks to Stalin on the first page of their August 26, numbers. In the letter (dictated by the Soviets) it speaks of "deepest love" "boundless loyalty to the creator of our happiness", "beloved Stalin". All these tirades ring false, and even Stalin and his henchmen know that. The real attitude of the Cossacks is too well known, especially from the mass uprisings which have had to be crushed with so much violence. At the forced collectivization, in the years of artificially created famine, mass persecutions, for instance, all of which cost the lives of some 4 million people.

The Volga—Don Canal has been built—but at the cost of great sacrifice: men, women and children had to work on it day and night in summer heat and winter cold. Besides, there is no doubt about it, the canal will not serve the Cossack population but first of all the military, strategic aims of Moscow's imperialist policy, the exploitation of the Cossack land. Even the electric current from the great hydro-electric works Zymianskaya is supplied first to the factories in central Russia before the Cossack houses have a chance.

The "open letter" dictated by the Russians contains a curious thing, viz. that the

men and women of Cossackia promise "father Stalin" from joy and gratitude, to bring in the harvest in twenty, days to do more than their best and deliver the corn before the stated time. That must be a slip, in reality the harvest was over, two months ago, everywhere in Cossackia, and the forced deliveries were fulfilled too. That is the best proof for the "genuineness" of the letter, which is nothing but a brazen propaganda manoeuvre by the Soviet-Russian rulers in the land.

LITHUANIA

ORGIES OF RUSSIFICATION . . .

In the Soviet press in Lithuania the following headlines, citations, catchwords and sentences may be read:

"Let us learn the great Russian language—the language of Lenin and Stalin."

"The Russian language, the language spoken by Lenin, the language in which Comrade Stalin talks to his people. It is the patriotic duty of every young Soviet person to learn it."

The papers teem with expressions such as "the great Russian people" in countless variations till it becomes nauseating.

"Gratitude to the great Russian people."

"The leading role of Russian people."

"All peoples have rallied round the Russian people."

"All follow the Russian people."

"The Russian people has given us the great Lenin."

"The Lithuanians call the Russians their eldest brother and their best friends."

"The support of the great Russian people is essential for the prosperity of each Soviet republic."

"The people of Lithuania will be eternally grateful to its leader, the great Russian people."

There are also verses:

"Billows of the sea cease their tossing,
The clouds disperse,
The sky above shines
When the wonderful man
Rises from Russian earth."

Moscow, the holy town:

"Moscow — our joy, our bright morning,
the lighthouse of our harbour."

The Russians are said to be the first people on earth:

"Wherever we go, wherever we cast a glance, everywhere we see the Russians leading, the great Russian people."

"There is no power on earth that can turn the Russian people from their path."

The Russians are the inventors of the radio. The best radio in the world is the Russian, so there is no cause to listen to any other. Russia is the "home of broadcasting", Popoff invented the radio and Marconi stole his invention, etc. etc.

Soviet propaganda is just as impudent as it is naive and surpasses everything that made the Tsar's Empire notorious.

SLOVAKIA

"REACTION RAISES ITS HEAD"

Gen. Bacilek, Minister of the Interior in the Prague government, said at a press conference on August 8, according to an official broadcast, that: "Durcansky, former foreign minister of the Slovak Republic, is in Austria. Reaction is raising its head. I wish to point out that the security services have enough power to suppress any bourgeois nationalism".

The Moscow "Pravda" of August 10, 1952, No. 223 repeats the General's remarks on the President of the Slovak Liberation Committee with some propagandist frills.

Radio "Free Europe" had a commentary in Czech on the same theme without, however, mentioning Dr. Durcansky's name, a proof that the "Czechoslovakian" department of that station never loses a chance of turning everything concerning the political situation in Slovakia to fit its imperialist conception of Czechoslovakia. Slovakia wants to be free and independent and that does not suit the people in that department of Radio "Free Europe".

CHURCHES ROBBED AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

According to a decree of the communist government all gold objects and other valuables in the churches, such as pictures, books, etc. are to be handed over to the state. Further, church attendance is declared to show a hostile attitude towards the state resp. the people. Now those who are not party members will be persecuted for attending church. A great number of churches have been closed altogether. Most of the priests have been sent to prison or to concentration camps. Only the few priests who have placed themselves in the service of the communist party are tolerated. All the monks and nuns have either been taken in custody or sent to forced labour.

TURKISTAN

TURKESTANIAN YOUTH OFFERS RESISTANCE

On August 7, 1952, the Moscow paper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" published a report from the capital of the Kirghizian Soviet Republic, Frunze, on the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the communist Youth Organization, Komsomol, there. The report reveals how stubbornly the young Turkestanians are offering resistance to Moscow in every sphere, even within the youth organization and defy the Russians. Below we give some extracts:

"In the course of the last two years nearly all the functionaries of the Komsomol in the Kirghizian Republic have been removed from their posts and other men put in. In six areas of the Republic seventeen secretaries of the organization have lost their jobs. In one half of the district committee all the Komsomol functionaries have been replaced... Sometimes by chance, morally unreliable and politically doubtful men got into leading positions in the organization... Functionaries who have been found guilty of misdemeanours are often removed from a high post and put in a position no less responsible... Comrade Borbyev, first secretary

of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, was no example for other secretaries and members of the Committee bureau... The bureau of the Central Committee and the Regional Committee of the Komsomol of the Republic have been too indulgent to functionaries who have taken the question of raising their ideological-political and general standard too lightly, who were none too sure in Marxist Lenin theories, in questions of policy, literature, and art and who made mistakes in their practical work.

The low theoretical standards of the Komsomol functionaries can only be explained by the fact that in the districts of Oshsk, Laylaksk, Leninks, Kochkorsk, the ideological work among the young was disastrous."

UKRAINE

THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

In a leading article on August 6, Moscow "Pravda" writes: "The delivery of the grain quota should be carried every day and it must always be remembered that ~~exempt~~ fulfilment of obligations towards the state is the first commandment of every collective farm."

"Obligations towards the state" consist of taxes which in the form of grain fall upon every hectare of land in a collective farm, and of payment, also in the form of grain for the work of the tractor pools. After meeting those "obligations towards the state" every collective must lay aside a certain quantity of grain for future sowing and for fodder, while only what remains after all that has been done may be distributed to the labourers for their work.

The grain tax is not the same everywhere. For example, the collective farm of the Henichesk district of the Kherson area brought in a harvest from 821 hectares, 759 tons of grain was given to the state i. e. 924 kg. of grain to a hectare.

The state pays the collective low prices. Before the war the state paid 6—7 kopeks per kg. grain, while in the government shops 1 kg. of bread cost 19 kopeks. All the mills and bakeries without exception belong to the state.

For their own consumption there remains . . . the collective labourer as a rule only maize, buckwheat, millet and perhaps rye. When nothing remains from the harvest for the workers the state is not much interested, the main thing is that the quotas are fulfilled. The threshed corn which is collected in machines on the fields is sent direct to the government granaries and silos and carefully guarded. No one is allowed even a pocketful to take home though he has no bread in the house.

The property of the collective labourer, who was a peasant before, is now the property of the Russian-bolshevik state and the workers on the collective farms are its slaves.

For every 100 to 200 collective farms there is a model farm. These model collective farms and "collective farm millionaires" have been formed mostly where deserving "Soviet heroes" have lived. The Soviet press makes great use of the model farms for propaganda purposes and boasts of them, "see what success good work and prompt fulfilment of one's obligations towards the state brings!"

"OPERATION B"

The Soviet-Ukrainian newspaper "Radanska Ukraina" reported on August 1, 1952 concerning the first showing of the Czechoslovakian film, "Operation B" in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv:

"The film tells the story of the destruction of the remnants of Bandera's band of traitors and murderers who, after the defeat of Hitler, tried to break their way through Czechoslovakia to western Germany."

With the help of that film Moscow is trying to represent the Ukrainian revolutionaries who for years after the end of the second world war fought a "shooting war" for the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian yoke, as a "band of traitors and

murderers". The very fact, however, that a whole film is made behind the Iron Curtain for the purpose of defaming the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is the best proof that the Ukrainian struggle for independence has an importance that can neither be concealed nor crushed. The film is intended by the Kremlin to convince the Ukrainians that their fight for freedom has been defeated, in reality though it will convince the world at large of the contrary. It is interesting to notice that Moscow has not dared to entrust the production of the film to Ukrainian authors or actors. Moscow apparently feared that Ukrainians would make the Bandera men too heroic and thus promote resistance rather than discourage it.

An Unvarnished Russian Conference

The Russian emigré newspaper "Masha Strana" (Our Fatherland) which appears in Buenos Aires, publishes a letter from a Russian woman in its May 10, 1952 number, in which among others, the following pious wishes and ideas are expressed:

"See! Russia that used to form a sixth of the whole world now forms a fourth. The Danube has become a Russian river. There followed the union of almost all the Slavs. Stalin has wiped away the disgrace of the Russian defeat in the war with Japan in 1905. Russia had no such prestige, even in the time of Catherine the Great . . .

. . . When war breaks out, as I am sure it will, Moscow will lay America in ruins so that no stone is left upon another. See! France is done for, three-quarters of the population are communists; Belgium will not fight; Holland is

only swamp and tulips; Luxembourg with its 300,000 inhabitants will have to hang its head in humility; England? — a beggar with only one egg a week; Italy out of the running through the floods; Scandinavia? — Swedish steel goes to Russia almost for nothing as indemnity for its independence; Denmark will do whatever Moscow wants because Stalin has his eye on Kiel. Who can rise against Moscow in Europe? — No one! . . .

. . . I hate the Anglo-Saxons as much as the bolsheviks and do not trust them at all . . .

My parole: God, Russia and an orthodox state system.

As you see Papa Stalin is all right, only his colour does not suit the exile Russians!

To realize that we only need a white Stalin!"

(From the magazine "The Caucasus" No. 8 (13) of August 1952, appearing in Munich.)

Stalin's New Five Year Plan

The Neue Zürcher Zeitung of September 16, contains a noteworthy comment on the above, from the pen of someone who knows bolshevism from theory and practice. In the commentary a characteristic feature in Stalin's declaration is pointed out which, from all appearances, will be the focus of the coming congress of the Communist Party in Moscow.

Stalin announces that the chief task of the party in the next five years will be the change over from socialism to communism. In the author's opinion this hint is of deep and symptomatic significance.

According to the theories of Marx, Lenin and Stalin the structure of socialism is only the first stage. The actual aim and final phase is the realization of a genuinely communist society in the whole world. The first phase is designated as the lower and the second as the higher and highest step of the socialist ideal. The masses are told that in the first phase each person is paid according to his efficiency, whereas when communist economy is realized each is to get what he needs and likes. The hardships of the socialist stage are made palatable by the prospect of better times in the second.

To our Readers!

In every number of our paper you will find an appeal to pay the subscription to the "A.B.N. Correspondence". That does not, of course, refer to those readers who have already sent in their subscriptions.

We must remind our readers too, that for technical reasons our French edition will not appear for the present, so in the meantime we ask our readers not to subscribe for it.

Its reappearance will be duly announced.

We are forced by our heavy financial burdens to request our readers to send in their subscriptions by December 31, 1952 at the latest; otherwise, much to our regret, we shall not be able to continue delivering our Correspondence.

Subscriptions should be addressed to the Bayr. Creditbank, Munich, account No. 10707 (for Dr. Wintoniak).

The Means like the Cause!

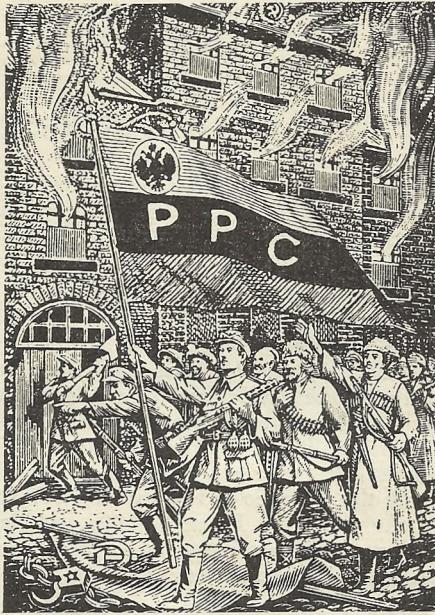
An Impudent Russian Fraud

The Russian exile imperialists, as we all know, are making every effort to falsify reality and hush up the non-Russian oppressed peoples' urge for freedom. The usual method adopted is to drown the cry of the subjugated for independence by their own loud shouts against bolshevism, in order to throw

sand in the eyes of the world. For the latter purpose any and every means is permissible, it seems. The latest, act by a group of Russian emigrants, calling themselves "Russian Revolutionary Forces" beats everything undertaken up to now and exposes a guilty conscience as well as the improper cause they serve.



Ukrainian original



Russian falsification

The cliché reproduced here is of a woodcut by the best known Ukrainian artist Nil Khassevych, whose pseudonym is Bey Zot, and which he executed at home in the underground. At the end of 1949 it was taken by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) all over Ukraine for a leaflet and circulated everywhere. (See "A.B.N. Correspondence No. 1/2, 1951). It symbolizes the struggle of the fighters for freedom united in the U.P.A. for the liberation of the subjected peoples from the Soviet-Russian dungeon of nations under the banner of the U.P.A. with its motto "Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals". The leaflet enjoys great popularity among the peoples in the U.S.S.R. Now the above-named "Russian Revolutionary Forces" have stolen that leaflet which has become the national symbol of the Ukrainian fighters and altered it for their own purposes. As will be seen in the illustration, the motto and the Ukrainian arms on the banner have been replaced by the Russian double headed eagle and the initials of the "Russian Revolutionary Forces", while the stormed building representing the dungeon of nations, with the names of the nations imprisoned there, have been simply erased. With this altered placard the strange Russian "revolutionaries" are seeking to win souls for their imperialist aims in Ukraine and among other oppressed peoples.

This extraordinary case is not only

a mean plagiarism and forgery, it shows how poor the Russian anti-bolsheviks are in ideas, arguments, self-reliance and imagination. It also serves as an authentic proof of how far the Ukrainian underground movement, and the fight for freedom of the other non-Russian peoples have advanced. The Russian imperialists have apparently no other resource but to attempt to reach these peoples by forgery and fraud.

Fraudulent manoeuvres for a fraudulent "liberation campaign".

The A.B.N. in Canada and Australia New Branch Organizations

Parallel with the consolidation of the A.B.N. and the strengthening of its position in the world there has been intense activity of late which has resulted in the foundation of branches in different parts of the world.

First of all the A.B.N. branch in Toronto must be mentioned. In the last few months, during President Stetzkó's visit and under his personal auspices, sub-groups have been set up in all the large emigrant centres of Canada, right out to the Pacific coast.

Great activity has been evinced of late in the Australian branch of the A.B.N. and there, too, several new groups have been formed. At the initiative of the Byelorussians, the Society of Byelorussian Veterans and the Slovaks, from the local organization of the Slovak Liberation Committee for Queensland a local A.B.N. committee

Calendar of National Memorial Days of our Peoples

October

October 2

Georgia: The brother martyrs David and Constantine. Georgian knights and heroes in battle against the Arabs in 6th century. Their remains were kept in the monastery of Mozamethi (Prov. Imerethi) until the Soviets closed the monastery and removed the remains to the People's Museum.

October 6

Hungary: The result of Goergey's surrender, Aug. 13, 1849, was cruel reprisals, the execution of 13 Hungarian generals in Arad and many politicians (Battany among them) in Pest. An Austrian reign of terror set in and the leaders of the revolution were to be imprisoned. Led by Kossut, they escaped into exile, to Turkey, France, Italy, England, U.S.A. and Switzerland.

October 14

Cossackia: National religious festival and commemoration of the capture of the fortress of Asov, 1639.

October 14

Ukraine: Army Day and also the day on which the U.P.A. was founded. Oct. 1942, U.P.A. batt. began fight for liberty against national-socialist as well as Russian-bolshevist conquests.

October 28

Bohemia: Day of Czech independence 1918.

November

November 1

Ukraine: (1918) Proclamation of Ukrainian independence at Lviv.

November 17

Bohemia: Day of mourning in memory of the execution of Czech students in 1939 and the closing of the universities by the Nazis.

November 21

Byelorussia: 1920, at the initiative of the Council of Sluch (Rada Sluchchyny) the fight began against the Russian-bolshevist conquerors.

November 23, 1943

A.B.N. At the suggestion of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), under protection of different national liberal detachments, the first conference of representatives of the peoples subjected by Russian-bolshevism took place. At this meeting the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was founded.

has been formed in Brisbane, with Mr. Damat Jackevic (Byelorussian) as chairman and Mr. Josef Kuruc (Slovak) as secretary and manager. The main object of which is at first to make known the aims and ideas of the A.B.N. to the general public there.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE
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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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The Anniversary of Tyranny and the Moscow Party Congress

(Text of the declaration made by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. at the press conference held in Munich on the anniversary of the bolshevik October Revolution)

Vanished Revolution-Myth and New Strategy / Revised Edition of Marxist Doctrine / Double-tongued Bolshevik Propaganda / Comfort for the Famished and Suffering in the East / Appeal to the Inexperienced and Gullible in the West / Perfidious Avowal of Nationalism and Democracy / Strengthening of Russian Imperialism / Deception on a Large Scale — A Cry of Warning to the Western World

The 35th anniversary of the bolshevik October revolution is predominated by the Kremlin's new strategy, announced at the recent Party Congress in Moscow by the first representatives of Soviet Russian dominion.

As early as 1937, Stalin, in his book "On the Shortcomings in the Party Work", expressed a warning against losing contact with the broad masses, comparing the bolshevik party with the Greek god Antaeus who remained undefeated as long as he was in touch with mother Earth, but who was conquered and strangled by Hercules when he succeeded in tearing him away from the earth. What the earth meant for Antaeus, as an invincible source, the constant contact with the people according to Stalin, was to be for the bolshevik party.

That metaphor and with it the express warning seems to have been the pole star at the Moscow meeting. Thirty-five years after the rise of bolshevist dominion, it has become perfectly clear, apparently, to the party leaders how far reality is from that Stalin "ideal" and what deadly peril threatens bolshevist rule through losing feeling with the millions and with the different peoples who have been governed only by force and deceit for 35 years.

The despots in the Kremlin appear to have no illusions, now that the realization of the truth, which is dawning more and more among people on both sides of the Iron Curtain, threatens to crush their regime with Herculean power. Taken as a whole the speeches and publications at the Congress were nothing but desperate attempts to revive the vanished bolshevist revolution myth on which the Kremlin has lived for 35 years, and win back the confidence of the masses. The resolution to drop the once proud epithet "Bolshevik" which was bound up with the much praised October revolution, alone points to the fact that the word for the world means brute force, slavery, fraud and genocide and that it has thus become an unbearable burden

which even the chiefs wish to shake off.

Stalin's remarkable publication, appearing under the innocent guise of "Remarks on Economic Questions" and ostensibly intended as a directive for the congress, was actually meant to be a grand piece of propaganda which was, at the same time, to give its stamp to the new Soviet "Manual for Political Economy". It would appear from Stalin's directives that that "Political Economy", a still unfinished work, is a new gospel and weapon in the service of world communism, in which the much weakened doctrine of Marx is to be repaired and the worn-out thesis of bolshevist ideology to be freshened up and the Kremlin's whole strategy for psychological warfare adapted to present needs.

Moscow's new strategy is two-sided and double-faced. On one side it is to take effect on the people and nations within the Soviet sphere of influence and on the other is directed at the free western world. The confused doctrine and the impudence of the new dialectic thesis cannot conceal the fact that the bolshevist rulers depend on the endurance of the ground-down masses, while in the free world they appeal to the gullibility of inexperienced people and the blindness of naive political leaders.

The trump card in the social section is the announcement of an imminent change from socialism to communism. For anyone who is familiar with bolshevist doctrine and practice, that move is easily understood. The direct object of the announcement is to comfort the miserable masses in the U.S.S.R. in that the hard transition time of "building up" socialism, when each was rewarded according to the work achieved and the strength of the workers drained by the Stakhanov system, is over at last, after 35 years of deprivation, and is giving place to a new era of actual communism when each is to be rewarded according to his ability and his actual requirements, so that everyone will have as much as his heart

Stepan Bandera

No Common Language

Labour in Vain

All attempts, whether open or disguised, to put the Ukrainian cause in the service of Russian imperialism have met with a decided failure, because it is contrary to the firmly fixed Ukrainian policy. In Ukraine, as well as in exile, the whole national community reacts as one man against any such endeavour to break through the united front, making it futile from the off set.

Nevertheless, some American groups have undertaken to alter the consistent Ukrainian attitude, for the sake of psychological warfare against bolshevism. By every possible means the attempt is made to couple the national liberation struggle of the peoples subjected to Moscow with the opposition in Russia against the bolshevist regime. The prospect of a political system tinged with democracy is to serve as the foundation of the unity aspired to; the Russian imperium, however, incorporated to-day in the U.S.S.R., is to remain with the inclusion of Ukraine and all the other oppressed peoples. The possible "concessions" to be granted the nations in the future debolshevized imperium are only to be discussed at some later date. The first object to be attained for the moment, is the overcoming of the bolshevist system of government, for which our peoples are expected to shed their blood, without being allowed to question the "indivisibility" of the Muscovite empire.

Unanimous Resistance

Such catchwords and aspiration uttered by Russian emigrants, backed by certain American patrons, have, from the very beginning, aroused the opposition of Ukrainians of all political directions, as well as the national representatives in exile of the other subjected peoples, in spite of which the American patrons insist on a one-sided russophile conception which, in course of time, is likely to become the official political course of the United States. It has gone so far that all kinds of political pressure has been exercised to break the unanimous national resistance and win weak individuals among the emigrants, for the Russian cause. Finally, America's attitude towards the political emigrants of those peoples,

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desires of the good things of this earth. For the satellite states which are in the process of "socialist construction" the announcement is to induce them to endure the ordeal of "people's democracies" and follow the example of the Soviet Union blindly and eagerly, in order one day to enter into the joys of communist "ideal economy".

In the national section the Congress in Moscow outdid everything bolshevist propaganda has achieved hitherto in deceitfulness, lies and cynicism. While representatives and members of the enslaved peoples of the U.S.S.R. and vassal states are arriving in their thousands in concentration camps for "national deviationism", Beria boasted in his great speech of the equality and enviable prosperity of these peoples, prepared and given them by the Soviet government. Stalin himself played the part of standard-bearer of the national idea, appealing to the national feeling of colonial peoples and even pretending to be troubled at the limited sovereignty of the free nations in the West, without being at least disturbed by the gallows standing everywhere in the satellite states of the Soviet, erected there even for "national communists": Nationalism which till yesterday was despised in the doctrine of Marx and defamed in the west by bolshevist propaganda as fascism, is now to be a weapon for world communism and exported to help restore bankrupt bolshevist enterprise.

That move in strategy and tactics on the part of the bolsheviks, should be the focus of public interest in the West, as a lasting lesson. Recognizing the inexhaustible power of the national idea Moscow is trying to seize it from the West and turn it as weapon against the western powers, regardless of the fact that within the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet sphere, everything is done to extirpate all national characteristics and the last trace of national independence.

Finally, in the strategic section Stalin and the other speakers at the Congress threw some more trumps on the scales, such as; war between the Soviet block and the western world was not unavoidable. Communism and ca-

pitalism could very well live peaceably side by side. The old Marxist thesis of capitalist encirclement which had to be broken through to help the proletarian world revolution to victory, was dropped. Stalin assured his hearers the Soviet block need not wage a war, as the capitalistic world would break up through its own discord and that the capitalist countries were heading for a war among themselves. What these speakers are driving at is obvious: Political leaders in the West must be convinced of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union, to promote a conciliatory spirit and readiness for concessions towards Moscow, encourage the pacifist atmosphere in the West and lull it in the illusion that war with Moscow is not unavoidable, so that all the defence preparations, and the self-sacrifice and restrictions entailed thereby were in vain. In this way Stalin expects to gain time until the western production and armament potential has been caught up with and, if possible, surpassed. By quenching the thought of war, all hope of any imminent salvation for the enslaved peoples in the Union and satellite states will be crushed and the spirit of resistance paralysed.

The suggestion that the establishment of a western defence under America's direction carried a hidden peril with it because it limited national sovereignty, reduced the nations to vassals of the United States and exposed them to exploitation by "American imperialism" was another trump card. The reconstruction of Japan and Germany and the restoration of their potential forces was an acute danger in itself, which the western world had unnecessarily brought to pass against its own interests, simply because it had fallen into the error of imagining itself menaced by the peaceful Soviet Union. These whisperings aim at sowing suspicion and discord and frustrating any effective combination of forces for the subjection of Soviet Russian tyranny.

Still another trump was Stalin's championing democratic freedom and civil rights which to-day in the West were being trampled under foot. To save "threatened" democracy and the freedom of the West, the bolsheviks once more call upon the "progressive" democratic and socialist forces, as well as the peasant parties, to co-operate, with the pious assurance that the bolshevist party, in spite of all its power is not arrogant, but on the contrary needs the support of all these forces and offers them its hand in their common cause. That is a new edition of the threshed out parole of the so-called "peoples front", regardless of all the experiences of so many burnt sacrifices for collaboration with communists, and is not only an irony but also reveals at once the weakness and isolation of the communist fifth column in the West. Should any one in the West still require authentic instruction let him read Lenin's will, for that is what is most consistently followed in bolshevist practice. "Victory can only be achieved for the proletariat by the most revolutionary party of Marxism and by a ruthless campaign of extermination against all other parties."

In spite of all the assertions of equal rights among nations, Stalin was not able to refrain from pointing out Russian priority, not alone in the Soviet state but in the bolshevik world altogether, for he emphasized that the October revolution could never have taken place if it had not been for the Russian communist party and thanks to the special qualities inherent in the people by which victory was so systematically achieved. Emphasis on Russian messiahship, in spite of all contrary considerations was not a random shot. It was evidently necessary as a reason for and strengthening of bolshevist russification policy and is another proof of the fact that bolshevism in reality is merely another and stronger form the traditional Russian imperialism.

A summing up of the bolshevik congress in Moscow in the 35th year of Soviet rule, must not be closed without a word as to the achievement of its leaders; a tremendous array of subtle dialectic and rhetoric, all bent on one object: to make the world this side and that of the Iron Curtain believe words which the speaker himself knew to be froth to deceive the world.

In view of all that, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) looks upon it as a duty to warn the world once more against falling into Stalin's trap. The representatives of the national and liberation movements of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states, wish today to place before the governments and peoples of the West the following warning:

Give no heed to the hypocritical assertions of peace made by the bolsheviks who are arming day and night for war, but prepare seriously to put down the never-ceasing Soviet Russian aggression, if you do not want to be a victim too.

Against Moscow's new ideological weapon in the form of the coming "Political Economy" with its dissembling thesis of national equality, peace and democracy, set your own ideological weapon with a real avowal of the national idea and social justice and real guarantees of national freedom and independence.

Do not allow the bolsheviks to sow discord and dissension among you, but hold out your hand honestly to one another and seize the hand offered by our subjugated peoples in time, by active co-operation with the competent bearers of the immortal national idea.

Do not allow the greatest slave owner of all time, Josif Wissarionovich Stalin, in whose concentration camps more than 20 million people are languishing and in whose dungeon state more than 25 nations are facing dissemination or russification, to boast of being the patron of national sovereignty and surety for civil rights, only in the end to hand out the same fate to your own peoples.

Do not allow bolshevist propaganda to knock your strongest weapon in the fight against bolshevism, — the national ideal, — out of your hand, and use it against you in the service of a satanic world conquest.

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Christo Stateff, Former Bulgarian Minister

The Echo of a Political Myopia

A Question of "Fascism" and "Fascists"

The most decisive permanent factor for the success of Soviet policy is propaganda. The Soviet regime has succeeded in convincing the peoples of the U.S.S.R., as well as communists all over the world, that it is no business of theirs to know what Stalin and his friends are planning, but rather that they should believe what they are told. The fundamental aim of Soviet propaganda is to camouflage the secret intentions of its policy, to keep up certain basic errors, to preach Soviet-Russian messiahship ad absurdum and, at the same time, to incite conflicts, mutinies and war. One of the preliminary bases in the U.S.S.R.'s fight against the West is so-called "anti-fascism". That does not mean Italian fascism or German national-socialism. When the war ended that was all a closed chapter. Soviet propaganda has given these expressions quite another sense, without touching their real character at all.

In false, bloated form the words fascism and fascists have been forced upon the public as a metaphor of a political pest which must be exterminated, and yet not so very long ago Stalin himself was a partner with Hitler and Mussolini.

This post-war campaign "against fascism" was only to conceal the political trend which was actually directed against the West. At the time it was not convenient to take up a position and make a frontal attack, nor was the time ripe for calling a spade a spade. All the lances had therefore to be pointed at fascism. At the same time, however, communist propaganda marched against institutions, social forces, cultural institutions, economic and political programmes, charitable movements and Churches, in fact against everything that did not harmonize with the interests of the Soviet Union. To bring discredit upon all such institutions it was enough to label them "fascist". In that way a real mass psychosis was produced. Due to that propaganda the term fascist has come to be used to express everything that is perfectly mad and accordingly every "fascist" would be despised, ostracized and even liquidated.

Having ascribed every vice to "fascism", Soviet propaganda proceeded to generalize all opponents of the Soviet Union and communism under the common denominator "fascist", and to-day Moscow attacks indiscriminately with this artificially constructed new weapon, everything that does not suit her. Churchill and the English Queen, even the Pope are branded as "fascists", i.e. enemies of progress and the working classes. They are no longer "bourgeois", "capitalists", "reactionaries", but something very much worse, "fascists".

During the weeks and months after the "victory" in the west this far-reaching agitation was given practically no serious attention. When the western allies needed the co-operation of the Soviet Union for organizing peace, many leading politicians, especially in the case of coalition governments with communist members, adopted that agitation. The activities of a number of committees and public organizations were scrutinized in that light and many vied with one another in that direction in



order to appear more "progressive". Those unhappy people never dreamed that the conception of "anti-fascism" thus forced upon them would one day become a kind of guillotine, not only to cut their heads off, but also for the intellectual and

material achievements of all Christian culture and western civilization.

While for some of the misled politicians the abolition of fascism meant merely the abolition of a system which was contrary to democratic principles, the catchword "Death to Fascism!" maintained the sense given it and was carried out in practice by all dictatorial communist regimes. Tens of thousands of innocent people became victims of the masses systematically stirred up and incited against them, merely because their political conceptions were different. In town and country people were beaten to death as "fascists", people who had never heard the word and who had no idea what it meant. Even political activists who had been prominent in fighting against fascist regimes were driven to the wall.

"Death, Death, Death!" was the cry of the masses, the gist of resolutions passed at meetings, the inexorable will of red prosecutors who turned over their victims to the executioners, many of whom had been delivered up by the West for the purpose.

The campaign contrived by Moscow against fascism is still going on and, paradoxically, the Yugoslav radio stations close

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depends entirely on the position they take concerning that Russian-inspired action.

Our answer to that is to declare unequivocally that our attitude towards all initiatives, plans, actions, respecting the future of our people depends alone on the standpoint of our national liberation policy. The rejection of Russian dominion and the sponsorship of our nations by an indivisible Russian state, no matter what its form of government may be, has become vital for our peoples and an irrevocable injunction for their leaders. No tactical consideration for combating the bolshevist system can outbid the fundamental element in our political will and action. The American plan of collecting all parties on the basis of an indivisible Russian empire is consequently doomed. The national liberation struggle with which our peoples are engrossed, makes that idea of "indivisibility" impossible.

Our attitude towards the various Russian groups and plans can only be determined in conjunction with the national fate of our peoples. There can be no deviation from that principle, much as we estimate the best possible relationship with the powers and forces supporting that Muscovite bias, as it would appear merely from tactical opportunism.

In the question of our liberation policy we brook no compromise and can approve of no adaptations, because that would be fatal for the future of our peoples. Co-operation with the supporters of Russian imperialism, no matter how much they oppose commun-

ism would be an antinomy based on the absolute difference between the "partners" as to fundamental aims. Our peoples who are striving for national freedom and independence, with which they include the fight against bolshevism, and, on the other side, the Russians whose object is the retention of the Russian empire and for whose anti-bolshevik aims and campaign our peoples are to be harnessed and who presuppose their sponsorship for us in the future.

The objectives of our liberation struggle are crystal clear: Absolute freedom from brutal domination by Moscow in general and from its present bolshevik system of government in particular. Destruction of the communist regime and establishment of our independent national states on the hereditary ground of each people, far away from Moscow, and free from any commitments with the Russians.

Lasting Lessons of History

Historical facts teach us that traditional Russian imperialism without regard to state policy or social system, has remained unaltered in its thirst for the conquest of alien peoples and lands. In every epoch and under every regime all possible means have been taken to bleed and crush our peoples and keep them under subjection, and never have the Russian people raised a hand to prevent it. On the contrary, the political powers and systems were only sure of their support when they were successful in their championship of imperialism.

The Russian state in all its different forms, tsarist, democratic or bol-

shevik, has again and again employed cunning and perfidy to transform every kind of federation into the dreadful oppression of Russian dictatorship.

Irrevocable Aims

Independent national states, that is the irrevocable aim and object of our struggle, and it cannot be substituted for anything else. The mere change of the ruling system, with the retention of dependence on Moscow, will not lead to that end. The anti-bolshevik struggle of the present cannot be separated from the struggle against the Russian empire, because, at bottom, bolshevism is only another phase of the same imperialism.

There are no Russian elements, even to-day, who would be willing to give up imperialism and accept our national liberation plan. Rather do they affirm our subjection and only seek to draw a veil over it for present purposes. The various Russian organizations and parties in exile are concentrating all their efforts to combat our movement for independence and its representatives in the free world. As far as the integrity of the Muscovite empire is concerned, they are tugging at the same rope as the bolsheviks, and carry on the work of the latter in places they cannot reach.

The gloomy spectacle of 1917/20, when red and white Russian forces, in spite of their ideological antipathies, joined hands to wreck the independence of Ukraine and the other restored national states, is being repeated. The resources of the West, which were put at the disposal of Denikin to fight against the bolsheviks, were employed by him against the Ukrainian army, although it, too, was fighting bolshevism. In just the same way, the Russian imperialists in exile, under the plea of a common front, are trying to influence the policy of the western powers in favour of the indivisibility of the Russian empire that will not only undermine the liberation of our peoples but must infallibly weaken the forces fighting bolshevism.

The Russian centres are working to blot out the national problems from the political field and the public in general, by saying that the solution of the present world crisis is only to be achieved when the bolshevik regime is abolished. The integrity of the Russian empire is to be taken as a matter of fact.

The Vital Condition

The world to-day must realize that there are forces in the Russian camp which reject the cause of freedom as a stabilizing factor in the present situation, are even enmical towards it, whether they call themselves bolsheviks or anti-communists. Thus every attempt made to co-ordinate the liberation policy of the West with the Russian anti-communist course, is to deny that policy itself and capitulate

DDr. T. Baron de Collas

About "Free Europe"

Reading always with great interest the articles about world politics, finance and economy in the American Press, I follow with special interest those dealing with our mutual enemy World communism. The press of the whole world reports the subversive activity of the Fifth Column. Unfortunately features discussing this question thoroughly and in detail, relating what is happening to the people behind the Iron Curtain are rare. In my country in Hungary for instance, since their occupation in 1945, the communists have driven away, imprisoned and liquidated 95% of the intelligentsia. Where is that to lead and what will become of this country in a few years under such circumstances? The Korean war has awakened the world at last and has shown America the danger of communist aggression. Without sparing expense and entirely with American funds the "Free Europe Committee" was created, with Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens as president.

This Organization is intended to awaken the people behind the Iron Curtain by way of broadcasts, to keep them alive by proving to them that free people still exist in free countries and to strengthen their hearts by fostering their hope for a free life in the nearest future. For this reason, with high expenditure, this transmitting station "Free Europe" was built in Munich, Germany. As that is the purpose it is meant to serve, it is of great importance, who the political leaders of the different sections are. We are grateful to the American people for their sacrifice and I feel the American taxpayer has a right to know how the money he has contributed is going to be used. I also declare it to be the duty of all concerned to criticise in order to help, to point out possible faults to the public, before it is too late to remedy.

We Hungarians, who within one generation have experienced communism twice (first in 1919), we know that no compromise with it exists. I am a Hungarian refugee myself, and have experienced personally

to Moscow's imperialism. As far as our peoples are concerned, any connection with the enemy on any such basis would be a betrayal of our liberation work and a crime against our national destiny.

The fight against Moscow, against bolshevism and every sort of imperialist plunder will continue implacably till the Russians give up the attempt to act as guardians of Ukraine and all other oppressed peoples, till they consent to full independence and declare themselves willing to take up peaceful relationships on a basis which respects the sovereignty of all. Until then there can be no common language with the Russians. There can be no co-operation or co-ordination of the exile forces and no discussion of same, until politicians in the Russian camp recognize our irrevocable rights and approach us with a positive programme in that sense. That is and remains the vital condition.

(Based on an article which appeared in Ukrainsky Samostiynyk No. 42 [143]/1952)

the atrocities during the first communism in my country, and also recently I was imprisoned for years, before my escape.

The public does not know, that Rakosi, who since the Russian occupation in 1945 until the present day rules in Hungary, held already under the regime of Bela Kun in 1919, during the first communism there, the important position of a People's Commissar. *For this activity he was sentenced later to 15 years imprisonment.*

Some naive men (who called themselves politicians) sustained the opinion, that they could compromise with communism and lent themselves as tools to Rakosi and his comrades. This was more than an error! The "Small Landowners Party" which under the regime of Admiral Horthy (head of the Hungarian government from 1920 to October 1944) represented an opposition, gained an absolute majority at the elections of October 1945. Together with the communists and the social democrats they created the ill-famed "People's Court". Ferenc Nagy became prime minister. With the active collaboration of the "Small Landowners Party" the People's Court passed thousands and thousands of sentences, among which many hundreds were death sentences. The most highly appreciated intelligentsia, the best patriots, ended their lives on the gallows. The methods of the "People's Court" have become especially well known through the ill-famed process of Cardinal Mindszenti. Most of the condemned are still languishing in Hungarian prisons, if they are still alive or have not been deported to Russia. The "Small Landowners Party" sent a magistrate and even a prosecutor to each session of the "People's Court". The abhorrent sentences were pronounced and the atrocities went on with the consent of the president of the Government Tildi, of Ferenc Nagy as Premier, of Monsignore Varga, President of the Parliament (the head of the "Hungarian National Committee" in New York at present), who were the rulers at that time. They watched with open eyes what was going on. They confirmed the death sentences. Ferenc Nagy, official representative of his country, traveled to Moscow, to be received by Stalin, who for his valuable services presented him with an automobile. Nevertheless, in 1946, together with Rakosi, he took a trip to the U.S.A. and broadcast a speech from Washington, in which he proclaimed, that Hungarians are free people, living in a free country, denying thus before the whole world the subjugation of the Hungarian people by the Russians.

Later Ferenc Nagy and his colleagues the ministers became superfluous, it was their turn now to be tried by the "People's Court". One by one they took a poser to save their skins. Ferenc Nagy, who not so long before in his speech in the U.S., when talking about a free Hungary, praised the Russians, escaped overnight through Switzerland to the U.S.A. in the same car Stalin had given him as a gift. The leaders of the "Small Landowners Party" are at present in the U.S.A., where, sponsored by certain official American places, they created the so-called "Hungarian National Committees" in New York.

The lack of a clear political programm is a reproach raised against "Radio Free

Turkistan's Immortal Fight for Freedom

By Dr. M. H. Erträk

Under the Russian Yoke

Since Russia conquered the country of Turkistan by force and robbed the Turkestanian people of their independence, there has been a continuous struggle for independence in Turkistan. By his superior military power the Russian conqueror tries to transform the Turkestanians into slaves, without any will of their own and to enforce a rapacious colonial government on their country. The systematic Russian policy of extirpation and the tenacious resistance of the Turkestanians, that in the course of history became apparent again and again in sanguinary rebellions and wars, has roused on both sides a hostility, which lasts undiminished up to this day. This explains the fact that by the Turkestanians the Russian is considered the arch-enemy, with whom there is neither peace nor reconciliation before the independence of Turkistan is restored.

The impulse for the numerous and sanguinary rebellions in Turkistan, lies not only in the brutal acts of violence of the Russian government, but principally in the deeply founded national self-reliance of the Turkestanians, which was strongly marked by a century-old national and political tradition. So the Turkestanians demonstrate again and again their love for freedom by a self-sacrificing resistance against the alien government of the Russians, a resistance, which is furthered by the knowledge that the Russians are not only undermining Turkestanian independence, but are, moreover, aiming at the destruction of the treasures of civilization, at the annihilation of the Islamic spirit and the plundering of Turkistan.

By an elementary impulse of self-preservation the Turkestanian people rose in mass-revolts against the alien government of the Russians, no less than twelve times during the Tzarist period only, that is in the years:

"Europe". Well, how could those people, who have in such way cheated and deserted their country and their countrymen, indicate a political programme through "Radio Free Europe"? Can those so-called exile politicians, who now play at political leadership, have credit at home or in exile, could they be trusted? Those men have badly disappointed and betrayed their people. The fact alone, that they saved their own hides is bad enough propaganda for them among their compatriots.

As manager of the Hungarian section of "Radio Free Europe" at Munich a Count Julius Dessewffy has been appointed. It is not irrelevant who the political director of such an important propaganda office is. This count is a newspaperman. He also belonged to the "Small Landowners Party" and before the war to the "Kiss Ujsag" (Little Newspaper), a daily paper he took over after the Jewish owner was evicted

- 1805—14 under the leadership of Sultan Qaraty
- 1836—38 under the leadership of Isatay Tayman
- 1837—46 under the leadership of Sultan Kenasary Qazim
- 1856—57 under the leadership of Cahān Hodsch Normuhammed
- 1868—69 in the district of Samarkand
- 1860—70 in the districts of Ural and Turgay
- 1874—76 under the leadership of Pulat Chan
- 1892 in the district of Taschkent
- 1889 under the leadership of Ma-dali Eschan
- 1916 under several leaders.

In the time from 1898 to 1916 the Turkestanians accomplished, besides these mass revolts, altogether 4,922 sorties and plots against the foreign alien dominion of the Russians, which were, however, only of local character.

Turkistan Faces the Tsar

The last great rebellion against Tsarist Russia occurred in the year 1916. It originated in the refusal of frontline service in the Russian army. To carry through the order of the Russian Tsar, by which all the "foreign people in Russia" had to be mobilized as frontline workers, the male population of Turkistan was pulled by force into the barracks. Yet the erroneous belief of the Russians that the long years of a policy of russification had made the Turkestanians compliant instruments for the service of the "greater Russian brother", was profoundly disappointed. Moreover, the Turkestanians were not at all to be frightened by the force and brutality of the Russian army, which was shown them more than once. In July 1916 a mass revolt broke out in the whole country. The whole population of Turkistan, young and old, men and women and even children, went to attack with all available means, even the most primitive arms such as woo-

and which he had to return to the same after the Russians marched in. Dessewffy was allowed to keep 500 acres of his properties, as a premium for his personal attitude towards the regime at times (1946) when 100 acres were the maximum a land-owner might own! Where are the requirements, the knowledge qualifications and necessary principles for such a responsible job at "Radio Free Europe"?! Gone are the times when the title "Count" itself meant a political programme.

At present such men work at "Radio Free Europe". Is this the proper propaganda? Should the patriotic national idea be proclaimed among Hungarians at home and in exile by the same individuals who from 1945 to 1951 broadcast communist propaganda and who now overnight have become active collaborators of "Radio Free Europe" at Munich.

den sticks and stones, prepared for any sacrifice and with firm decision met Russian military forces, with their modern equipment. The balance of this legendary revolt says: 4,725 Russian corpses, 2,683 Russians missed and 9,000 houses of the Russian invaders burnt down. The exact number of the killed Turkestanians is nowhere officially stated. But it is possible to make an approximate estimate on behalf of the fact that, according to Russian statements alone 337 leaders of the rebels were condemned to death and about 168,000 Turkestanians were sent into exile to Siberia. In the Jetti-su district not less than 205,000 Turkestanians fled for eastern Turkistan. 50 villages in the surroundings of the historical town of Samarkand and, according to an explicit order from the district governor, it was forbidden for all eternity to mention their names any more. The Kirgises in Issyköl, in the valley of Tschu and Narin were driven from their home-country.

After the revolt of the year 1916 had been suppressed Kerensky came with a commission of inquiry to Turkistan and seeing the corpses of thousands of hanged rebels in the ruins of the destroyed historical town of Dschizzach, even he could not refrain from weeping.

Kerensky's Faithlessness and Cunning

The February revolt of 1917 did not change the fate of Turkistan. The sentence of death against the 347 leaders of the revolt in 1916 was neither annullled nor mitigated, but cruelly executed. By this the Russian "democracy" showed its chauvinistic features, that resembled exactly those of the suppressive government of the Russians. The promise of Kerensky that "Turkistan should be given its independence" was forgotten and his declaration, that "Russian democracy has no responsibility for all that happened in Turkistan" turned out to be a lie. During the seven months reign of the provisional Russian government the revolts in Turkistan continued. Kerensky, who had grown up in Turkistan, who knew the language like a native and who was said to be a great friend of the Turkestanians, gave order for new and very rigorous measures to prevent any national revolt, measures which adjusted exactly to the plan of General Kuropatkin, the sanguinary suppresser of the revolt in 1916.

Cunningly Kerensky now promised to solve the Turkestanian problem by the legislative assembly of Russia and by this he gained confidence of the larger part of the Turkestanians, who expected that a territorial autonomy with a government of its own would be established.

After the bolsheviks seized power, the Turkestanians tried to make use of the Soviet catchwords of national freedom and equal rights, and put the central government before accomplished facts. In the former Turkistan "Ge-

Communiqué

The Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) on the Establishment of the so-called Co-ordination Centre of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign in Munich

After a thorough study of the resolutions passed at a conference of the four Russian and five non-Russian splitter groups, (10, to 18, October, 1952, in the Regina Palast Hotel in Munich), at which the establishment of what is called a Co-ordination of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign was announced, we, the representatives of the liberation organizations of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, have to say the following:

1) We beg to call the attention of the whole free world to the danger inherent in the political principles with which certain American groups are approaching the problem of the U.S.S.R. These principles are likely to cause the hundred million non-Russian peoples to waver in their friendly attitude towards the West, which they regard as their natural allies in the struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

General Gouvernement" as well as in the former Steppe-General Gouvernement, an autonomous government of Turkistan was proclaimed, in December 1917, which requested Petersburg to dissolve the Soviet commission in Tashkent, and to withdraw the Russian forces from there. This demand was answered by Stalin, then commissioner for the nationalities, literally by the following perfidious declaration: "If the working masses have enough power at their disposal, they shall expel the Soviet commission of Tashkent themselves".

That was the first open breach of the demagogic bolshevist promises to the "nationalities". For it was certain from the very beginning that the unarmed Turkestanians were not able to attack the heavily armed Soviet Russian military forces. The congress of the Moslems of Turkistan in the town of Kokand, decided to discuss the question of national independence of Turkistan at the planned constitutional assembly of the country the following spring, 1918. Shortly before that assembly was due to meet, the Red Russian troops opened fire on the government buildings and occupied the whole town of Kokand. Attempts were made to defend and reconquer the town, but the Soviet forces, superior in number and well armed, as they were, gained the day. Thus in February 1918, in the town of Kokand, the fight of the Turkestanian nationalists against the alien bolshevik regime and the forced dissolution of the autonomous Turkestanian government introduced that inexorable fight for freedom waged by the Turkestanian people and known in history as the "Basmachi" movement. The intention of the bolshevists to discredit the Turkestanian fight for independence by that name (Basmachi means "robber") failed, for the name

2) We consider the political platform and structure of the Co-ordination Centre as an expression of complete misunderstanding of the actual situation in the sphere of national conditions in the Soviet Union. We therefore stand in strict political opposition to this Co-ordination Centre.

3) We call upon our peoples to look upon this Centre as a dangerous attempt of certain American groups which doubt our hard-earned right, granted us by the natural order of things, to re-establish an independent national state, or wish our peoples to give up their rights in favour of Russian imperialism, within the limits of the year 1939.

The fact alone, that the great majority of the emigrants belonging to these peoples have taken a stand against the programme of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, throws a light on the pos-

remained to become the symbol of Turkestanian heroism. For the western world, too, the name means to-day essence of national resolution for the liberation of Turkistan, a fact, that has had to be admitted even by the Soviets.

Supporters of the National Revolution

To sum-up the history of the Basmachi Movement, even concisely, as a bearer of the national fight for independence in Turkistan, it would be necessary to write whole volumes. The effect of the movement which has lasted through decades of heroic fights for freedom, may be summarized in the following five periods:

1.) 1918—1919 — The beginning of armed resistance. On the initiative of the population itself the rebellion spreads spontaneously;

2.) 1919 — Mass revolts with a distinct political aim: the independence of the country;

3.) 1923—1926 — The fighting units are suppressed by the Red Army;

4.) 1926—1937. Retreat of the fighting units and of single fighters for freedom into the steppes, woods and mountains. Single attacks on railways, munition depots and N.K.V.D. officials;

5.) 1938—1952. Underground work and organization of passive resistance.

In the period from 1940 to 1945 there were different rebellions as a protest against mobilization for the Red Army. Specially to be mentioned is the revolt, organized by Usman Batur in eastern Turkistan, the revolt in March 1951 in the trans-Caspian district and that in the Pamir Mountains, under the leadership of Rahamanqul.

The resistance of the Turkestanians against Soviet Russian policy communist party machine and the bolshevik propaganda system have never ceased.

(To be continued in the next issue)

sible effects of such a policy. The Committee only succeeded in winning over, for money, a small number of emigrants who declare themselves willing to co-operate in that programme, also the fact that the Co-ordination Centre resp. the American Committee, in spite of all efforts, has been unable to find a single Ukrainian organization which would be ready to work with it politically. The Ukrainians have the largest population among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union.

In particular we note:

a) In the political platform of the Co-ordination Centre, a new sort of right to self-determination for our peoples is demanded as the first condition of their separation from Russia, viz. by way of a general plebiscite of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly or National Assemblies of our peoples.

To that it may be stated, that our peoples, through their long uninterrupted and selfless struggle against Russian subjection have already expressed their determination, and most clearly in 1917—1918 when they founded their independent states.

It may also be mentioned that national state in all history has ever been founded by a plebiscite. That was not the case, either with the United States or the liberation of Ireland or Belgium, and the same may be said of the restoration of the Polish, Rumanian, Greek and the Baltic States. Recent examples are, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, the Philippines and Indonesia.

b) The platform of the above Centre claims that the whole territory of the Soviet State must be freed from bolshevism before the self-determination of our peoples can be set in motion. In that demand we detect a mental reservation, to have self-determination effected under the pressure of a strengthened, post-bolshevik Russian state. The suggestion that the self-determination should be undertaken by an all-Russian assembly points to the real motive behind it all.

c) In the structure of the Co-ordination Centre we see a tendency to give preference to the Russian people before the non-Russian.

Of the 60 seats in the council of the Co-ordination Centre, 50% are reserved for Russian organizations and 50% for the other five non-Russian peoples, which means that the Russians dispose of a 50% influence, while the single non-Russian peoples have only 10% each.

That preference does not correspond to international custom, or to the efforts of the Russians in the struggle against bolshevism. The "Co-ordination Centre" rejects the idea of equal rights among the nations, while A.B.N., by contrast, maintains that to every nation, whether great or small, the same unconditional rights should be accorded and respected, without discrimination as to race, religion or riches.

d) We should like to remind the free world that the non-Russian peoples can only become allies of the West if the right to national independence and definite separation from Russia is granted them unreservedly.

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Ten Years of Heroic U.P.A. Fighting

By M. Wernyhora, Captain of the U.P.A.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) celebrates the ten years of its existence in October this year. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), the underground government of Ukraine, has named October 14, as the festival of the U.P.A. and Ukrainian weapons, and thereby the U.P.A. and the Ukrainian people are to be associated, for all time to come, in the fight for independence. Although the liberation struggle of 1918 to 1921 led to no result, it has become a motto of the young generation who are carrying on the fight in various forms and with varying intensity, in spite of alien occupation.

The beginning of World War II and the subsequent occupation of almost all the Ukrainian countries by bolshevist Russia and later by Hitler Germany, gave the Ukrainian people the opportunity, by the act of June 30, 1941, — the proclamation of an independent state, — to manifest its will before the occupation authorities and the whole world. This will for a free life in a national state was so strong and so determined that it could not be broken by the terrorism of occupation, by the storms of war, or by the "logic of facts" i. e. by the mighty ones of this world, who grudged Ukraine its place in the sun.

In the autumn of 1941 small armed detachments of the O.U.N., the largest political organization, began to take action and that was "the commencement of the new form of the revolutionary liberation fight, the setting up of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army". The U.P.A. grew rapidly, people of different political views joined

up, people who realized that the plan of the U.P.A. was right, people who wanted to take an active part in the liberation of their country." (From the U.P.A. Chronicle).

The ten years of fighting were passed under incredible difficulties. "The U.P.A.



O.U.N. - Fighters nerve themselves to new action.

were faced the whole time by vastly superior numbers and technical equipment. Five years they have fought on in peace time, when the enemy is held by no war front, and all know that the U.P.A. receives no help from outside, that they are dependent

entirely on their own resources" (U.P.A. Chronicle). When one considers Soviet reality with all its peculiarities, the N.K.V.D. with its unlimited powers, mass arrests, deportations to Siberia, collective responsibility, individual terrorization and mass terrorism, shrewd methods of provocation, the blockade of whole areas, the razing of forest villages and combing the woods etc., as well as the stricter collective system, hunger and forced evacuation of the west Ukrainian frontier area, the mobilization of the young for labour in canal construction and socalled afforestation and the floods of lying propaganda, all of which is intended to bring about a change in the psychology of our people; when one realizes all that, one may gain some idea of what the Soviet reality means under which our revolutionary underground forces have not only persevered in their lonely struggle, but have perfected their tactics and methods and even widened their sphere of activity.

And the source of strength from which they draw? The strength of the U.P.A. lies in that, that it is an army of the people, of its own people, and is fighting for its vital interests, national and social liberation and for an independent state. "The strength of the U.P.A. lies in the support it receives from the people who are fighting heart and soul with it. The strength of the U.P.A. lies in its courage, in its perseverance, in the heroism of its soldiers and commanders and in its able partisan tactics". (U.P.A. Chronicle). That alone made the unequal fight possible during the last ten years and also explains the success. General Taras Chuprynska, its Commander-In-Chief, wrote: "The successes achieved by the U.P.A. have surpassed all the ex-

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A Warning to the World

400 Years Since the Conquest of Kazan

By Ayas Ishaki Idelly, Chairman of the National Centre of the
Turko-Tartars of Idel-Ural Abroad

Exactly 400 years ago, on October 15, 1552, the capital of the Turko-Tartar state Kazankhanat, the legendary town of Kazan, fell into the hands of the Russian conquerors. Russia seeking expansion to the east and south was firmly determined to make of that key position of the Turko-Tartar country a spring-board for imperialism and began a policy of ruthless denationalization and assimilation. Despotism, expropriation, deportation, forced labour eviction resp. settlement and russification were the principal features of Russian terrorization in conquered Kazankhanat. The usual means of government exercised by tsarist-Russian imperialism.

In spite of all the brutal measures that were in force, the subjected Turko-Tartars never lost their national feeling and sense of belonging together and they have carried on an unceasing struggle for liberation ever since, a struggle which has many historical dates. Their love of freedom was manifested too, in the last two world wars when the Turko-Tartar prisoners of war combined in volunteer units against tsarist and later against red Russia. During the years of the revolution 1917/18 this brave people went actively to work to organize its national and state independence. In June 1917 the autonomy of Idel-Ural was established and a few months later the independent democratic Republic of Idel Ural was proclaimed by the National Assembly ('Kurultaj) of the Turko-Tartars at Ufa. There, too, the national government (milli Idara) was chosen which ruled the country until its occupation in April 1918 by red Russia. Part of that government still exists in Turkey as exile representation.

Even to-day the Turko-Tartars commemorate the fall of their capital, Kazan, — October 15, — as a day of national mourning. We have taken this occasion to ask the well-known Turko-Tartar statesman Mr. Ayas Ishaki Idelli to let us have an article for our paper. We are publishing his article with special pleasure as, coming to-day 400 years after those events, it may be a portent to the world and instructive for many a western politician.

The author is known as a Turko-Tartar politician and writer, he was deputy in the National Assembly at Ufa and an authoritative member of the national government. He is one of those statesmen who called the Turko-Tartar state into being again in the revolutionary years. From 1928—1941 Ayas Ishaki Idelli edited the paper of the Idel-Ural emigrants "Jana milli jul". The Kurultaj (National Assembly) of the Idel-Uralians in exile



Co-founder of the U.P.A., Chairman of the 1st Congress of the U.H.V.R. and of the 1st conference of the subjugated nations. Fell in 1946.

which met before the second world war in the Far East, elected him as chairman of the National Centre. The more recent political emigrants and their liberation organization founded during the last war, "Fighters for the Independence of the Turko-Tartars of Idel-Ural" which has directed the armed resistance of 40,000 Turko-Tartars, acknowledges Ayas Ishaki Idelli's leadership, for he is working for the independence of Idel-Ural.

Historic Performance of Duty

The numerous wars between the Khanat of Kazan and the princes of Moscow arose from various causes but were fought for definite political and economic aims. By succeeding to the heritage of the Turko-Tartar state, Altyn-orda, the Khanat of Kazan was called upon to defend the way to the rich countries of Nagay, Astrakhan, Crimea and Siberia, — the populations of which were of the same nationality, — from the advance of the Russian conquerors. It was the fall of all those Khanats that made the Russian occupation of Turkistan and Caucasia possible.

The warriors of the Kazan Khanat, involved as they were in incessant fighting against attacks by the Russian armies, well knew that they were defending, not only themselves, i. e. the countries which had belonged to them for centuries, but were guards on the main Russian route to the wealth of their kin in the Orient and as such had to prove their worth. When they met the furious onslaughts of the Russians and launched desperate counter-attacks themselves, their one object was to throw the enemy back at all cost, not alone to save their mothers and fathers, wives and children from a slave's lot, but also the peoples of the same race in the other Khanats. Thus victory was a duty imposed by history and which the warriors of Kazan honourably fulfilled for 115 years until their fortress fell. In the course of that



Ayas Ishaki Idelli,
Chairman of the
National-Centre of
the Turko-Tartars
of Idel-Ural
Abroad

performance of duty the Kazan soldiers had carried out 15 victorious campaigns, though suffering terrible losses and enduring unthinkable privations.

Unequal Struggle for a Key Position

The Turko-Tartar Khanat with its mighty fortress, Kazan, dominated the valley of the Volga, thus forming a perfect position for the defence, both of the roads to the treasures of the Urals and Asia and the road from the east to the Caucasus. For that very reason the Muscovites considered every means justified that would destroy that bulwark against Russian expansion. In order to give their marauding incursions striking power, the Russian princes incited the religious feelings of their followers, starting wars of conquest as crusades against Islam. Churches and cloisters were put into the service of extravagant propaganda against the "Tartar infidels" and Russian priests exhorted the soldiers to "do their duty as Christians" and utterly destroy the Tartars. Where religious exhortation failed, Russian propaganda resorted to other "convincing arguments" and sought to arouse the poverty-stricken Russian peasants by illusory ideas of Tartar wealth in "chickens and geese", in order to make the raiding campaigns savoury.

In spite of that "psychological" preparation, however, at all encounters with the superior numbers of the Russians, the Kazan Tartars proved morally superior in their desperate fight. Although they, like the Turko-Tartars of the other Idel-Ural khanats, were a peace-loving people ready to live in concord with their Russian neighbours, they showed boundless courage and self-sacrifice when it came to defending themselves against the invaders. The men of Kazan who had only been trained for purposes of self-defence, displayed more endurance, discipline and pluck than the Russian masses put in the field against them. That may be explained by the fact that the former were fully conscious of the justice of their cause and the historic responsibility for the fate of the neighbour lands of their brothers, while the Russians were filled with a lust for gain from which they could not even free themselves on the field of battle. That is why, too, that their ranks were often broken at the first impact with the Tartars and they suffered such heavy losses, so that more than once an army fled, panic-stricken.

Although the repeated attempts made by the Kazan Khanat to get help from the

Khan of Crimea and the Turkish Sultan, against the inroads of the Russians were in vain, the Kazan Tartars kept up the unequal struggle till it reached the limit of endurance.

Russian Treachery and Intrigues

Besides the invasions of armed forces the Russians tried to achieve their plans of conquest by all manner of treacherous, crafty political manoeuvres and court intrigues, above all to break the succession of the national dynasty by having the direct successor of the Kazan Khanat dynasty, founded by Olug Muhammed, Prince Abdul-Latif, murdered. When in 1519, on the death of Muhammed Emin Khan, last heir of the dynasty, the throne was left vacant, it was offered to Prince Sahib Girey of Crimea. The new Khan was also a descendant of Olug Muhammed and was related to the Turkish Sultan, Chuis Selim, so that a connection with the ruling house of the Turkish Empire, then regarded as the first world power, was formed. Shortly after, the Sultan was acknowledged as Khan, i. e. King of Kings, by the peoples of Kazan and, at the same time, the Mohammedans of the Khanat recognized him as the head of all Mohammedans. By these events the Khanat of Kazan seemed to be protected from further incursions from the Russians, as it was so closely connected with the Crimea and great Turkey as regard dynasty and religion.

The interruption of the dynastic line, however, and the succession of the Prince of Crimea to the throne of Kazan caused disquiet, envy and competition among the rulers of the other Khanats. Russian princes took advantage of the occasion to make trouble in Kazan and drive the Girey dynasty from the throne through a favourite of the Muscovite court, the Khan of Kasim, Sheikh Ali, an adventurer and upstart.

The Muscovites then developed great activity on the Bosphorus, where just at that critical time for Kazan, the wise statesman Sultan Selim died. His successor was Sultan Suleiman.

Mistakes followed by Nemesis

The new Turkish ruler made the fatal mistake of burdening himself with a useless war with Austria. Russia availed herself of the opportunity to forward her affairs with Kazan behind Turkey's back. Through the daughter of a Russian priest, who under the name of Karam Sultan and as the wife of the Turkish ruler, reigned in the palace on the Bosphorus, the Russian wire-pullers, by means of gold and intrigue, managed via Constantinople to gain influence over the Khan of Crimea, so that he should "live at peace with Russia". From that time on all the Kazan delegations who wished to lay their political and military cares before the Sultan were sent away as "mischief-makers and useless visitors".

Thus Russia succeeded in isolating the Khanat of Kazan from all friends and protectors. At that critical moment Khan Safa Girey, too, suddenly died and the throne was again vacant. The people of Kazan begged the Sultan to place a relation of the late Safa Girey, Prince Bulak-Girey on the throne, but their request was refused.

The indifference of the mighty Turkish Empire towards the Khanat of Kazan encouraged the Russian princes in Moscow, who in the meantime had declared themselves the tsars of all Russia, to stir up all

The Declaration . . .

Continued from Page 2

Support the process of national liberation in the U.S.S.R. and wherever the Soviet system reigns, in order to shatter Russian imperialism from within.

Root out the fifth columns from your countries and isolate the Soviet Russian war-machine from all the sources which are still open to it, or from which supplies are still flowing surreptitiously in quantities.

Give no support to any new imperialistic initiatives started by Russian emigrants in the West, or collaborators and profiteers of a communist dictatorship, as that will only have the effect of laming the liberation movement. Give no protection to artificially constructed states where independent civilized European nations, such as Croatia, Slovakia etc. are forced to live under duress. Make an end of the domination of national minorities by alien states.

Set up, at long last, a common front with the victims of Soviet Russian imperialism on the basis, freedom for all peoples and the unconditional recognition of their future independence.

See that the anniversary of shameful bolshevist tyranny is not celebrated much longer in Moscow as a day of freedom, peace and equality of nations, as it is an insult to civilized mankind.

Freedom-loving peoples and individuals in the whole world unite in the struggle against bolshevism and for the freedom of nations and individuals!

the malcontents in the Khanat so that when in 1551 the Russians once again approached the frontier a revolution was started by russophile elements, giving the ambitious Sheikh Ali the chance to seize the throne. Without any outside support, with no resources but their own, the Kazanians gathered their last national forces, deposed Russia's minion and called Prince Yadkar Khan of Nogay to the throne. Under his leadership Kazan prepared to offer determined resistance to the imminent Russian menace.

The Fall of the last Bastion against Russian Expansion

By 1552 the time had come. From Moscow, Tsar Ivan IV started the fifteenth war against the bastion of Kazan. Under his personal leadership an army of 200,000

Kazan will rise again as an Outpost

It is 400 years since that tragedy overtook the Turkish peoples and to-day it appears as if the unbounded imperialism of the Russians in bolshevik garb, is preparing to bring the same tragedy to the whole world.

During the past centuries no generation of the Idel-Uralians has left a stone unturned in the attempt to shake off the yoke and regain the liberty of the country. By revolts and availings themselves of momentary international complications they have succeeded in restoring Kazan's freedom at times, but it was always short-lived. The Tartars of Idel-Ural, however, never lost hope or confidence and have belied the words of Russian rulers that "there are no more Tartars, there are only Russians now" by maintaining their national sense all



After blowing up the fortress wall of Kazan, murderous Russian hordes burst into the palace garden.

(Historical picture by an Estonian painter)

men attacked the peaceful countryside of Kazan and soon the fortress, with its 30,000 brave defenders was invested.

Attack and counter-attack lasted 40 days. After having lost nearly half of their whole army, the Russian hordes poured into the town on October 2, (15,) 1552. In order to spare the peaceful population the battles had been fought by the defenders outside the town. Nevertheless the Russians wreaked their vengeance for the heroic, stubborn defence on the citizens, not even sparing women and children.

Once the fortress of Kazan had fallen the way was open to all the riches of Asia and the Caucasus. Two years later the care-free Khanat of Astrakhan was destroyed, the shores of the Caspian Sea reached and the Caucasus threatened. In 1561 the Russian army occupied the Khanat of Siberia and began to threaten Turkistan. 1773 the Khanat of Crimea was destroyed and Constantinople in danger. In 1864, having broken Dagestan's 30 year resistance, the Russians entrenched themselves in the Caucasus and menaced Turkey from still another side. Finally in 1884 they took possession of Turkistan and threatened India.

Thus the fall of the fortress of Kazan removed the last obstacle to the occupation of all the other Turko-Tartar Khanats and led to a dangerous expansion of Russian domination over Turkistan and the Caucasus, right to the frontier of Turkey itself. The neighbour Khanats, the Turkestanian and Turko-Mohammedan Caucasians who failed to aid Kazan in its distress thus, so to speak, themselves made the bed of Russian subjugation upon which they have been forced to lie.

Dr. D. Donzow

How to become a Dictator

My old schoolfellow, an old communist whom I have not seen for 50 years kindly disclosed to me last night the great riddle: how to become a dictator?

— All the dictators, I asked, ascend from the poor people. How do these little men suddenly become so powerful?

— The little ones, he answered, become great when the great become little.

— When the great become little?

— Yes, and then we overthrow them.

— But why was your revolution successful?

— By proceeding step by step.

— You mean?

— We made the revolution against the tsar, then against the landlords and the great bourgeois; then against the petty bourgeoisie and rich peasants, who became meanwhile the exploiters of the people, then . . .

— And when is the end of this movement?

— It is not so easy to stop. In Russia and abroad we call to our aid every kind of oppressed people: the "have-nots" against the "haves", the women against the men, the children against their parents, pupils against teachers, soldiers against officers, the bald against the shaggy, the illiterates against the educated, manual workers against the intellectuals, the idiots against the psychologically normal, the black and yellow against the white, and so forth.

— Until?

— Until the issue finally becomes a war of all against all, and then the common cry will be for a salutary dictatorship or a dictator armed with a big stick.

— The late Roosevelt spoke also of the big stick. . .

— But did not use it, and we do.

— And from where do you get this stick?

— From where?! The people itself has given it to us — sometimes by its own vote to crush down its enemies, and once in our hand, we never let it go.

— "We"? Who is that, this "We"?

— Our party, the party of the people, the defenders of the poor, its acknowledged leaders. As such, we become managers of all property of dispossessed people's enemies, endowed with all executive power of the state. We give to this regime the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the new democracy, but really. . .

— But really I don't see any difference between new and old. Your dictatorship doesn't differ from the overthrown absolutism, except in name!

— Oh, it makes a great difference. To rechristen one thing means to deprive it of all its *odium*, to make it more appetizing for the stupid masses. The same *aqua distillata* with a different label on the bottle can heal or kill a credulous man.

Our dictatorial government is called the government of the workers and peasants, and it is no more a tyranny! Our political inquisition is called the People's Court of Justice and it is no more an inquisition! Our Empire, moulded according to old Atilla patter, we called the association of free nations! The inner order of our immense prison state we called the most democratic constitution of the world, and it is no more a prison! Our new serfdom of

A Milestone on the Way to Byelorussia's Freedom

The Insurrection of Sluzk

November 27, 1920

The young Byelorussian National Republic was forged from the first days of its existence in the fire of battle. The insurrection of Sluzk is written in golden letters in the history of that struggle.

In November 1920, when the Polish-bolshevist plan to divide Byelorussia became evident, preparations for an armed struggle were made. In that, the Byelorussian National Committee played the most important part, in close connection with the council and government of the Republic.

A national militia of 500 men was organized in the cause of self-defence. In order to carry on, on a wider basis, the Committee decided to call a meeting of the whole Sluzk area. It took place on November 14, 1920 in Sluzk, attended by 107 delegates from 15 districts and in the presence of Paweł Zawid, authorized by the government of the Byelorussian National Republic for Sluzk.

It was a critical time and every minute precious. The Assembly hastened to finish its work on the same day. A Council of Sluzk (Rada Sluchchiny) was chosen which took over the administration of Sluzk.

slaves we called the free cooperation of workers and our new tyrant we call — the beloved protector of all classes and nations exploited by bad western capitalists, and millions believe us! To give a new name to old things that is . . .

— But that is a terrible lie!

— Many western newspapers and politicians voluntarily repeat this lie every day. Don't forget that the persuasive force of a perpetually repeated lie is immense. *Plebs vult dacipi.*

— But if the deceived masses should, after years, realise that under the attractive label on the bottle you offer them, you are giving them a poison? Would they not make a revolution against you?

— A revolution against us, who liberated the people from execrable capitalism? It would be a counter-revolution! Besides, don't forget one thing: the people would have no possibility to make a new revolution. . .

— No possibility?

— You see, to achieve socialism the masses have to work all day and sometimes the night through. Then they must attend our meetings and theatres; the fulfilment of this duty takes all their leisure, so that they have no time to contemplate their situation or to imagine a new idea against us. And without a leading idea there can be no great political movement, no revolution. We have directed all thoughts of the masses to such a degree towards their stomachs that they think only of food and amusements — *panem et circenses* — and all that is under our control.

— And why do they still run after that promised golden future of socialism, which they can never obtain?

— Why not? They run as the dogs at greyhound races run after a false rabbit. By our promises or terror, by their stupidity or fear. You see, having made them dependent on us for their physical existence; having deprived them of their

The assembly passed the following resolution:

"The first Byelorussian Assembly at Sluzk welcomes the Council of the Byelorussian National Republic and declares that it will do all in its power for the building up of the country. The Assembly protests against the occupation of our country by the alien and illegal Soviet power."

Long live the free and independent Byelorussian National Republic within its ethnographic borders."

Then the preparations for an armed insurrection began. The young people followed the call of the Council and the forces grew. Very soon the first regiment of Sluzk was organized and after a few days the regiment of Hrozaw and other small military formations. They, altogether, formed the Sluzk division of ten thousand men. The peasant women of Sluzk gave each military organization a flag with the inscription "We march to die, so that our country lives". The division was commanded by Colonel Sokal Kutylovsy who fought in World War II in the Byelorussian formation against the bolsheviks and was after-

courage, we can terrorise them; having killed in them every habit of free thinking, having deprived them of their wisdom we can easily deceive them; having made them vile, miserable, materialistic creatures without a notion of conscience and of God's commandments, having deprived them of every nobleness, we can corrupt them. What force in the world could break our power on this mob? It is true, there is in our Empire a bad resistance — movement. . . But do you support it? Have you enough courage for that?

— But there are still free peoples outside of your gigantic slave factory!

— Oh, outside. . . Outside. . . There is our 5th column. There is our 6th column of the so called "neutrals", who label as imperialism, chauvinism and reaction every attempt to prepare any mental or physical resistance against us. There are Endilots, Johnsons, Fuchs, Hiss, Rosenbergs and millions of others. There are some newspapers and films which systematically disarm the people intellectually and morally. . . There are pubs and bars full of people and there are empty churches. . .

At these words I was so furious that I cried:

— Stop this nonsense! With our freely elected leaders we will not let you terrorise or deceive us!

But while I was speaking so, I noticed my friend gradually becoming red as Walt Disney's Donald Duck when the devil invaded his soul and brain, and he began to shake with laughter. This laughter became as deep as the laughter of Mephistopheles in Gounod's "Faust" and awoke me from my terrible dream. . .

In the streets, in the new magazines I saw the happy laughing faces of lucky people, and their leaders. The picture theatres were full of a smiling crowd. Apparently the international situation was not so bad as it seemed to me after my conversation with the red ghost.

wards handed over by the allies to the Soviets and liquidated.

On November 26, 1920, part of the Sluzk division engaged the enemy. The battle developed along the line of the villages of Bystryzi-Charnahubowa-Dashnava. The insurgents took the little town of Zimkavich, the bolsheviks suffering heavy losses in dead and wounded. Some of the red soldiers surrendered. Thereupon the bolshevist command put their most faithful communist detachments in against the insurgents and mass arrests and executions began among the population. In spite of the enemy's superior numbers and terrorism, the insurgents defeated the bolsheviks at the small towns of Kopyl, Zimkavich and Wyzna. Only lack of arms and munition forced the insurgents to retire to the river Lan, where they succeeded in making a few counter-attacks, but they were not able to save Byelorussia from the bolsheviks. It was an unequal fight, the insurgents were forced to leave the fields of Sluzk and cross the river Lan and were disarmed by the Polish and interned in Byelostok. Another group retired into the woods of Sluzk with their arms, organized themselves into detachments and kept up the fight for a whole year with incredible endurance.

32 years have passed since those November days when Byelorussian blood was shed for the home land by its faithful sons. The heroic example which they gave will be followed by a future generation in the fight against the enemy for an independent Byelorussian state.

Free and independent Byelorussia for which the insurgents fought and died will be the monument erected to them by their spiritual descendants, one day. A. W.

The Echo of a Political Myopia

Continued from Page 3

their broadcasts with the words "Death to Fascism, Freedom for the People!" and are thus in this point still in harmony with Moscow.

The threat concerns the whole western world, wherever the communists succeed in putting up the sign "fascists". The ladder up which the Soviet propaganda has been able to climb so high, was supported for a long time by short-sighted western politicians.

Gradually, it is true, realization dawned, but even now not too clearly. The effects of that political myopia, trouble the consciences and convictions of many a member of the different committees, diplomatic chancelleries and intelligence services which are still making microscopic investigations concerning emigrants in the west, in order to detect that poisonous germ "fascism".

The importance ascribed to the national idea in our times and the driving power within it, was made manifest once again, paradoxically, by Stalin, at the last bolshevik congress in Moscow when he tried to pose as the protector of the "national sovereignty" of the peoples.

That may be a lesson to the world and it is to be hoped that the western democracies will take note in time that the hour has come to revise their attitude and no longer fail to realize the role the national idea plays in the struggle against bolshevism, otherwise Stalin may seize the trump card in this historical conflict.

The Tragic Fate of Rumania

A Noteworthy Lecture by General Ion Gheorghe

Ion Gheorghe, a well-known Rumanian general and a member of the Rumanian National Representation in exile, gave a striking report to the Stuttgart Society for East European Problems dealing with the past and present situation of his oppressed native land. The extract published here gives a survey of present conditions in Rumania. (Ed.)

The Rumanian people is a victim of the geographical situation and the strategic importance of its country. At present the Soviets aim at turning Rumania into a huge arsenal. As the Rumanians were probably fully aware of Soviet intentions, they fought on the side of Germany in the last war, not as a result of German pressure, but by their own free will and because it was to their own interest to do so.

The issue of the Battle of Stalingrad and the subsequent retreat of German and allied troops had repercussions on the internal situation in Rumania. Representatives of the parties in opposition to the government tried to extricate Rumania from the war, and, as they put it, to lead the country back into the camp of the Big Democracies. But the Soviet Union was then in that camp and democratic politicians in Rumania knew all too well what that meant, which did not make their decision any the easier...

As early as spring 1943 the leaders of the parties in opposition — particularly Julius Maniu, chief of the Peasants' Party — had put out feelers through Prince Barbu Stirbă and Constantin Visoianu and with the support of King Michael to the Western Powers in Cairo. Their demand that the Western Powers should guarantee the independence and integrity of Rumania as a condition of laying down arms was refused. Nor were the Rumanians able to convince the Western Powers of the danger of allowing the Soviets to be sole and supreme rulers of South Eastern Europe. Soviet resistance to the Western Powers exercising any influence at all in that area threatened to be so strong that the Western representatives finally supported Moscow's demands; they even persuaded the Rumanian spokesmen to drop their fears and to end hostilities immediately. Rumania then capitulated on August 23, 1944. The entire country being occupied by Soviet troops, an armistice was signed in Moscow, the severity of whose conditions far exceeded anything that had been discussed in Cairo. The Soviets had thus secured all they wanted, and very cheaply. Even at that time there was no repairing the damage done by the short-sighted policy of the West and the thoughtlessness of Rumania's representatives.

After the Potsdam Treaty was signed, the Soviet dropped all pretences. Vyhinsky arrived in Bukharest, curtailed the powers of the King, who was still under the illusion that he could exercise his constitutional rights, dismissed the comparatively democratic government and installed a purely communist regime under Petru Groza.

After the King had been forced to abdicate and a communist dictatorship had

been introduced, a vigorous purge, which did not even stop at the democratic politicians who had signed the armistice in Moscow, nor at all leaders of business, journalism and cultural life, Church and Army...

The Soviets are systematically trying to give the Rumanian people a Russian coat of paint as quickly as possible. The mastery of the Russian language is essential to any advance in life; Russian is constantly gaining ground in the Army, the schools and in offices. The fact that the Rumanian people and their language are Latin in origin is considered a crime, and they are made to suffer for it...

The masses in Rumania have lost all interest in life. The resistance in the mountains and the forests, which began so hopefully, is to a great extent paralyzed, and all hope of help from the West or elsewhere has vanished. The Soviets de-

Press-Conference of the A.B.N.

35 Years of Bolshevik Tyranny Enslavement, Genocide, Concentration Camps and Forced Labour

Under the above motto, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) called a press conference on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the October Revolution, on November 6, at 4 p. m. in the rooms of Café Deutsches Theater, Munich.

The conference was attended by more than 50 representatives of the press agencies and newspapers of Germany and other countries, as well as the emigrant press, and presided over by Prof. Wilhelm von Szepesvaralyay-Haendel, representative of the Hungarian National Delegation. After his short introductory speech, the A.B.N. declaration, given below, was read by the secretary general of the Central Committee, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny. The declaration pilloried bolshevik tyranny and at the same time contained a warning to the western world of the new deception as practised by the bolshevik despots at the recent Moscow party conference.

The following representatives of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. were present at the press conference: President Yaroslav Stetzko, former premier of free Ukraine, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, secretary general, and vice-president of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Tursunbay Dehkanbay, representative of the National Turkستانian Unity Committee, Prof. Wilhelm von Szepesvaralyay-Haendel, representative of the Hungarian Liberty Movement, Prof. Dudolf Wierer, vice-president of the Czech Democratic Federalists, Major General Hinko Alabanda, vice-president of the Military Commission, as representative of the Croatian army, V. Glaskov, Chairman of the Supreme Cossack Representation in Exile, Kyrill Kamenoff, member of the National Bulgarian Delegation, J. Gytis, editor, leader of the Lithuanian Regeneration Movement, Sergei Hokh, member of the executive of the Byelorussian National Committee, Dr. Stjepan Buc, secretary general of the Croatian National Committee.

liberately keep the standard of living of the people as low as possible so as to kill their interest in politics and make them forget the past...

In the meantime the bolshevization of Rumania has made huge strides, for which the complete indifference of the West is much to blame. And still the despots in the Kremlin are not content. There are still many headaches for the regime. The peasants, whether collectivized or not, are a constant thorn in the flesh. Memories of Western culture surviving in various classes give the secret service some trouble...

Although the annual production of oil is still over 5 million tons, oil for lighting purposes is still exorbitant. Bread is still strictly rationed in an agrarian country like Rumania. The low standard of living is leading to the complete proletarization of all classes... Increased production is not intended to raise the standard of living, but to satisfy the requirements of Soviet economy...

Rumanian youth is being systematically influenced in schools and Rumanian youth organizations, though they by no means turn out convinced and enthusiastic communists. And still that influence is the most dangerous feature of the bolshevization of Rumania...

The peasantry are more or less passive. It might be more serious for the regime if the interference with church life goes deeper, for in that respect the Rumanian peasants are most sensitive.

That is why the regime takes care to leave externals of ritual apparently unchanged. Dignitaries of the Rumanian Orthodox Church have long since been sent to prison on all sorts of pretexts... Some of the clergy have yielded for the sake of their positions, but there were many others who have gone to prison, and even to death, for the sake of their faith. The clergy of the Greek-Catholic Church, the Uniates, have been particularly courageous...

The Rumanian peasants being suspicious by nature are more or less immune to propaganda... Although workers get favoured rations, there is a great deal of discontent, in consequence of increased targets...

The regime is particularly concerned about the army. In spite of purges it has not become the willing tool the Kremlin desires... The period of conscription is not long enough to win the sympathy of peasant recruits. The decision not to use the army at the front in case of war, but only as an occupation force in the rear, shows how much the Soviet command relies on it. The most reliable instrument of state, on the other hand, is what is known as the People's Police, a troop composed of tried communists, and the real support of the regime. It is better equipped, fed and paid than the army...

The People's Police regard former non-communists, whose leaders have long since been imprisoned, as possible cells of resistance. The same may be said of the officers who were dismissed in the course of army purges. Nor do the Soviets trust the minor clergy or the former intellectual classes. Even the opportunists among them are not sure of their position or their future. By degrees all former intellectuals are being replaced, by those who are trained communists. This process is advancing slowly but surely...

A Myth that has Vanished

(Continuation of the lecture held by Mr. Michael Balsamoff before the Stuttgart Society for the Study of East European Questions, on "The Bulgarians and their Liberators" of No. 9/10 of "A.B.N.-Correspondence".)

II

After the experiences they have had, the Bulgarians have become immune to all pan-slavic slogans. But in Europe, the public continued to cling to the alleged "liberation myth" in connection with Bulgaria, which made the Bulgarian people in the eyes of their diplomatic chancellories appear as ready and willing victims of Russian expansion in the Balkans, although by their steadfast attitude after the liberation they had given convincing proof of the contrary.

It was this myth which was at bottom to blame for the mutilation of the country by the Great Powers at the Berlin Congress and which sealed its fate for some time to come, so that Bulgaria was never destined to achieve its full liberation and unity.

An episode that occurred in World War I is a striking example of how far from any sentimental pan-slavic attraction the Bulgarian people were. Assuming that the Bulgarian soldiers would not fight against the army of their Russian liberators, strong Russian elite troops were sent to Dobruja in 1916 to clear the way to Bulgaria for the Rumanian troops. General Koleff's cavalry regiments went against the Russian invaders with such determination that they were completely defeated and fled across the Danube.

Moscow, too, took up the pan-slavic idea again later, to disguise imperialist intentions and presented itself in the second world war in the guise of a "double liberator", for as tsarist Russia had freed Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke, the bolshevists then maintained that they were freeing Bulgaria from Hitler's slavery and a fascist regime. All the while Moscow took up an attitude towards Bulgaria that beat everything for perfidy.

In September 1944 Stalin declared war on Bulgaria and, in spite of Bulgaria's strict neutrality towards Russia, marched the Red Army into the country at a time when the German troops there had not only been disarmed but had left Bulgaria to the last man. At that moment too, Bulgaria was negotiating a truce with the Western Allies and the latter were only waiting for Stalin's agreement for it to take effect, which meant that Bulgaria would be out of the war and then Moscow would have no excuse to march in. To make matters worse Russia's declaration of war came on the same day that Bulgaria declared war on Germany, so that according to international law it was a belligerent power with the others. London and Washington only heard of that arbitrary and perfidious act through the Moscow radio...

The reason for that highly extraordinary behaviour by the Soviet Union, wanting at all cost to occupy Bulgaria, is not far to seek. Moscow had no illusions as to the attitude of the Bulgarian people who had already cold-shouldered repeated all-Russian annexation aspirations. It was well-known that the tiny communist party of Bulgaria and its accomplices in the "Fatherland Front" would never be able to seize

power alone. A fact that is moreover confirmed by Bulgaria's new masters, who never lose an opportunity to declare that without the presence and support of the Red Army, the revolution of September 4, 1944 and the establishment of a communist regime would have been unthinkable.

The whole development in Bulgaria since the present regime was forced upon the people against their will and which is only upheld by mass murder and continuous terrorism, is an undoubted proof that our Soviet-Russian "twofold liberators" were only able to introduce their regime with the help of the steam-roller of the Red Army. This fact alone is an historical justification for the attitude of the Bulgarians and an eloquent proof of their stubborn resistance against their undesirable and hated "liberators". That is why, when they are compelled by militia terrorism to celebrate the 9th of September as day of "liberation", they feel in their hearts that it is mockery and provocation.

In conclusion a quotation which does credit to its author for its truth and insight:

"When Russia supported the frontiers laid down in the preliminary peace of St.

Stefano it was not, by any means, with the idea of creating a strong Bulgarian state, but in order to lay hands on the new Balkan land and get nearer to the straits. Russia was, and still is, decidedly an enemy of an independent Bulgaria, for it would then be the greatest obstacle to Russia's plan of conquering the Balkan peninsula".

These words are from no other than the father of Bulgarian communism the notorious Georgi Dimitroff, who half a century ago wrote them to the paper of the Bulgarian Workers Party "Rabotnicheski Vestnik" (Worker Courier), February 9, 1905, as warning of tsarist intentions. It is an irony of fate that this same Georgi Dimitroff, fifty years later, as head of the communist government in Bulgaria helped with his own hands to build the bridge to Bulgaria for Russia's aspirations, cloaked in the idea of a "proletarian world revolution". When he awoke from his delusion and realized his role as grave-digger of his own country it was too late. His attempt to follow Tito's example landed him in Moscow to "recover his health" and ended in his premature departure to another world.

Thus ended the dream of the last Bulgarian illusionist who tried to spin out the liberation myth of bolshevist brand.

(Abridged extract.)

Side-Lights

Overlooked by the Press of the World

On the occasion of the recent party congress of the bolshevist party in Moscow, western newspapers published various reports and commentaries and many an "expert on Russian affairs" expressed an opinion. But one fact was overlooked by the press of the western world which for those able to read between the lines of Russian bolshevik newspapers speaks volumes.

Three weeks before the congress met, the columns of the Soviet papers were filled with reports on party rallies in the different Republics and areas of the U.S.S.R. Although these reports were most carefully prepared, the true state of affairs might be discovered between the lines. A short summary of which will be of interest.

At all the party rallies in the national Soviet Republics and in the areas of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) there was much discussion of the intensified bureaucracy.

At every rally in the national Soviet Republics and in the different areas of the R.S.F.S.R. the fact was made clear that the co-operation between party management on one side and party members and citizens on the other was bad and getting steadily worse.

At nearly all the non-Russian Soviet Republic rallies "nationalist deviations and lapses" were censured and condemned. It was also ascertained that delicts were to be found among party members and even functionaries.

The speeches and resolutions all showed that in the Soviet Union the main stress is laid upon industry resp. the intensification of armament production which is being driven at high pressure.

The latter fact is a clear sign that the Kremlin, while on one side seeking to allay the fears of the West by stating that there is no war threat from the Soviet Union, is aiming at becoming economically independent and strong enough to overrun and defeat the West, should occasion arise.

That the question of "national delicts" was only treated at the congresses in the non-Russian republics and areas in the Union and not discussed at all in the Russian area is a clear indication of the continued resistance put up by all non-Russian peoples against the Kremlin's russification policy. Convincing proof of that fact is to be found in the following quotations from the Moscow Pravda:

"The party organizations in Uzbekistan (Turkistan) are to carry on an inexorable fight against any sign of bourgeois nationalism and bring to light the reactionary spirit of pan-Turkism" (Pravda 28. 9. 52).

"Literary criticism (in Georgia — Ed.) has paid too little attention to ideological distortions and neglected to work against relapses into bourgeois nationalism". (Pravda 20. 9. 52).

"The dilatory ideological work (in Ukraine — Ed.) has not been made up for... In literature and art serious ideological distortions have not yet been exorcised." (Pravda 29. 9. 52).

More attention should be given to such notices than has hitherto been the case. In times of intense preparation for war, Moscow has always had a sharper eye for internal tension and differences, and tightened the reins on the subjugated peoples. This statement may well be one of the most important accompanying circumstances of the last Moscow party rally. L. W. K.

Resistance still Active

Swedish newspapers have said that there are no more partisans in Lithuania. We know, however, that the struggle against the bolshevik hordes in Lithuania is still going on. The Lithuanians are a people with an old, state, religious and folk tradition. They always resisted the tsarist yoke and now, since World War II, they are struggling against bolshevist occupation. The Lithuanian underground movement is at work as before.

One member of the resistance movement writes from his own experience that, "the young people that General P. Plechavicius gathered around him have remained in occupied Lithuania and built up an active underground movement. Many of them have fallen in the conflicts with the N.K.V.D., but their places have been taken by new partisans. When there are deportations and compulsory conscription, many men and even women disappear into the woods. As long as the cruel bolshevist tyranny remains the underground fight will continue."

Further he writes, "It may seem unbelievable that after so many long, hopeless years there are partisans in the woods. The saying "When it becomes unbearable we shall run to the partisans" has become proverbial. "If we fall in the fight", the Lithuanians say, "we shall know that we have not lived in vain". There is another Lithuanian proverb "The Kremlin will not perish through us, but Stalin, at least, shall learn to fear us."

No one knows the whereabouts of these partisan heroes, but every Russian knows to his cost that there are partisans in Lithuania. It is true the tactics have been changed, but the fight goes on against bolshevism and russification and will continue until Lithuania has risen again as an independent, national state.

"No one films this cruel, heroic fight", the underground combatant writes, "no one glorifies it or pays for it, when a soldier falls, he has just vanished for good". Only the comrades-in-arms, the Ukrainian, Latvian, Estonian, Cossack, and Caucasian partisans know and understand for what their Lithuanian brother fights and dies.

That is but small comfort. What the subjugated peoples and their fighters need is real help from the western world and not merely platonic words. *J. Gytis*

Ukrainian Monarchs for A.B.N.

There was a congress of Ukrainian Monarchist (Hetman) Organization in America (U.H.O. A) from August 30, to September 9, 1952, in Detroit.

In the resolutions passed at the congress we read:

"The Congress of the Ukrainian Monarchist Organization (U.H.O.—A) is in agreement with the peoples subjugated by Moscow, that the dissolution of the imperium of the U.S.S.R. in independent national states is in the interest of all the free peoples in the West and of a real conclusion of peace in the world."

The congress entirely approves of close collaboration with the peoples subjected by Moscow whose representatives are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). In view of the liberation of these peoples from the Muscovite-Soviet yoke, the Ukrainian Monarchist Organization (U.H.O. A) asks for still closer co-operation with the A.B.N."

Byelorussians Against Imperialists

Announcement by the Byelorussian National Centre

It was mentioned in the press of late, that at the discussions at Wiesbaden and Starnberg (Bavaria), representatives of the Byelorussians also took part. In that connection the foreign section of the Byelorussian National Centre (B.N.C.), as the political representative of Byelorussians in exile, finds it necessary to announce that the participation of single Byelorussians at those discussions was a private affair, having nothing to do with the national liberation movement.

No authorization was issued by the foreign section of the B.N.C. to any Byelorussian liberation organization whatever to take part in the so-called American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia action, and for the following reasons:

Having studied the activities of the A.C.L.P.R. which is trying in the S.O.N.R. to establish a common front of peoples in the Soviet Union against the present state and political system, as represented by Moscow, i. e. bolshevism, the Foreign Section of the B.N.C. came to the conclusion that the participation of Byelorussian political exiles in that front was not permissible, for it would run contrary to the interests of the Byelorussian people.

Neither the A.C.L.P.R. nor any of the Russian exile groups in the so-called S.O.N.R. recognize the right of the Byelorussian and other peoples under Moscow's bolshevist occupation, to national freedom and the re-establishment of their state independence, from which it may be concluded that the said organization's plans for the "maintenance of a united and in-

divisible "Russia will be followed after the liquidation of Moscow's present state-political system.

By their unceasing struggle for freedom against the former tsarist regime the Byelorussians realized their right to self-determination at last, on March 24, 1918, with the proclamation of state independence.

Moscow's hand was forced by the persistent opposition to Russian bolshevism, to recognize, at least formally, the Byelorussian people's right to state independence, and created a Byelorussian Soviet Republic with the right even of seceding from the U.S.S.R. Later the right to be a member of the United Nations was granted too.

Acceptance of the new basis set up by the S.O.N.R. would be a fatal mistake which would throw the cause of Byelorussian liberation far back. It would be treason against the best sons of the people who are waging a desperate fight at home for liberty, under the cruel conditions of an alien dictatorship.

Considering what has been said above, the Foreign Section of the B.N.C., as sole political representative of the Byelorussians in exile, is against Byelorussian organizations joining any such international institution, as long as, in practice, the democratic rights of our peoples to an independent state existence is not acknowledged, much as it approves of the idea of a common front.

*Presidium of the Foreign Section
of the Byelorussian National Centre.*

In Exile, September 28, 1952.

Ten Years of Heroic U.P.A. Fighting

Continued from Page 7

pectations of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the Ukrainian people, and they have achieved success under conditions until now unknown in the history of mankind."

What were these successes, it may be asked? They are of the most various character. With regard to the population: under the protection of the U.P.A. the male population were able, to a large extent, to escape extermination on the imperialist fronts in 1944/45. The U.P.A. paralysed deportations for forced labour and the herding up of young people for work in the factories, also prevented forced collectivization. Furthermore it frustrated the organized famine with which Moscow hoped to break Ukrainian resistance, spring 1946. Then too, the U.P.A. by their fight, put a check on the activities of the terrorist machine of N.K.V.D. and thus weakened the pressure of the occupation on the population.

Detachments of the U.P.A. have often penetrated into enemy country, punished high occupation officials such as Generals Vatutin, Swierczewski, Moskalenko and others, harassed the enemy by ambushes and attacks, and prevented the realization of his plans for the destruction of the Ukrainian people.

Political action has been, to make extensive expeditions through the home country and outside with the watchwords of freedom on their flags; they have rallied other

peoples to fight against the enemy and founded a common front of peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Among the Ukrainians themselves the U.P.A. has brought life into liberation idea and made it more dynamic and gathered the broad masses around it. To-day The U.P.A. is known in the remotest parts of the Soviet Union. Influenced by this struggle there has been a great change wrought in the character and mentality of the people. The omnipotence of the N.K.V.D. and terrorism has been broken. The deviations, so much discussed and written about in Ukraine, may be attributed in no small measure to the influence of the U.P.A. fight and the idea of liberation. There is much behind the words of Moscow's governor in Ukraine, L. G. Melinkov, secretary-general of the communist party, at the recent congress of the party in Moscow, that "serious ideological shortcomings exist among the Ukrainian workers and peasants in Ukraine". His words show that the Ukrainian liberation movement enjoys the confidence and sympathy of the people. In battle new cadres of the liberation revolution arise and are trained underground. All that, places the cause of liberation on a firm basis and creates the conditions for a final victory.

From the tactic of large U.P.A. detachments making extensive expeditions, as in the years 1944/45, by which attention was aroused in the liberation movement every-

"Peace Preparations" in East Asia

It is not certain yet whether the fresh activity of the communist forces in Korea and the offensive of the Vietminh partisans in Indo-China have any connection with the Peking peace conference which, after an unexpected postponement, began October 2, and lasted almost two weeks. Similar conferences in the past have always led to immediate communist action on a large scale, as for instance "The Congress of Youth" in Calcutta 1948 which was the starting point of the insurrection in Malaya and prepared revolutionary activity in other south-eastern Asiatic countries.

The connection between the Peking conference and the Moscow party rally is perfectly evident. If there is any spot where the Kremlin's "planned" disintegration of the western world's defence has hope of success, it is south-east Asia, where there are headaches enough.

It was definitely not by chance that the "Congress of Defenders of Peace in the Countries of Asia and the Pacific", was originally arranged for September. It was the first anniversary of the signing of the Japanese peace treaty, by which the strategic belt of defence against communist expansion in south-east Asia was considerably strengthened. One aim of the conference, and probably the most important one, was to break through it by a combination of politically subversive and military action. Its initiators therefore recommended a spreading and strengthening of the peace movement in Asiatic and Pacific countries and stormed against the American intention "to restore Japan's militarism" and turn it later to account against the "national liberation movement" rising among the peoples of Asia.

At least as important, however, was the demand expressed in the resolution passed by the congress, for the promotion and raising of imports and exports and the restoration of peaceful economic and trade connections in Asia. But Soviet advance in that sphere, especially at the Economic World Conference in Moscow, showed that the states in the communist block were only interested in getting strategic goods from the western hemisphere. Apparently the imposing production statistics of the U.S.S.R. cannot conceal the existing bottle-

where in the Soviet Union, the leaders have gone over to the tactics of deepening and strengthening the idea of liberation in all spheres of life in Ukraine and other countries where subjugation prevails. The Ukrainian liberation movement is now concentrating on the following aims:

1) The support of an organization in Ukraine which will propagate the revolutionary idea among the people and prepare the necessary cadres for the building up of the state.

2) To carry on the fight in all those forms which will serve for the final struggle, not only among the revolutionary cadres but also among the broad masses, and be a guarantee of efficiency.

The fact that the U.P.A. have carried on successfully amidst Soviet conditions for ten years and have won the unreserved sympathy of the people makes us certain the the aim we strive for will be reached and become reality. A people which has raised such a heroic army as the U.P.A. is worthy of its national freedom in its own state, and will attain it sooner or later.

neck in economy. For "an exchange of peace goods" there was no enthusiasm, as the illusionists who had gone to Moscow with such high hopes for western economy discovered to their sorrow. The attempt now made to put the "peace organization" at the service of economy is not new, and the worn-out, ever-repeated tactics show how seriously the communist block can be hit by its isolation.

P. S.

Prof. Durcansky in Munich

The ex-foreign minister of the Independent Slovak Republic and present president of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, has been on a political journey through several European countries in the last few months. He was in Switzerland, and Austria, Paris and Rome, arrived in Germany, the beginning of November, to continue his work here for the liberation of Slovakia and the restoration of the Slovak Republic. Wherever he goes Prof. Durcansky has political discussions, negotiations and press conferences and visits the different centres of the Slovak emigrants.

Prof. Durcansky is the most active and popular Slovakian politician alive. He was the first foreign minister of the Slovak Republic. After the war he was condemned to death in absentia with the President Dr. Josef Tiso in a staged trial.

A Moral Vacuum that will bring its Revenge...

From an article sent us by one of our contributors, Mrs. Aino Torn, we take the following noteworthy remarks.—Ed.

... In one breath the man behind the Iron Curtain hears of civil rights and the restriction of those rights to which millions are to be sacrificed, he hears of the exploitation of peoples by Stalinism and the retention of economically favourable conceptions of great territories, cherished in the past, to which three-fifths of the population of the Soviet is again to be exposed. The Atlantic Charter says, it is true, that every nation has the right to freedom and self-determination, but the non-Russians in the Soviet Union who would any day prefer death to life in "free" Russia, is to be deprived of that right. There is talk of "the same right to freedom that is given by God to every individual", but the non-Russians are to give up their right in favour of a Muscovite people who have always remained alien to them and of whom they know from long, practical experience that there is no living with them, while in the course of time even good neighbourly relations might be developed with free peoples.

The moral right to decide whether non-Russians are to, or can, live with Russians is no concern of those who have themselves no experience of what it means and who seek to reserve decisions long ago made. They will succeed with their ideas of great territories and favourable economic conditions just as little as in restoring the better based economic right of Alexander the Great, or Emperor Akbar. Anyone believing he must cling to long vanished melodies is going along a way plastered with purely materialistic principles, to dialectic dissension, leading to a *moral vacuum* and it is a question what will remain to set against bolshevist ideology.

Lithuanian World Association

First London Conference

The middle of September, this year, the first conference of leaders of the Lithuanian communities in European countries took place in London. The following resolutions were passed:

The most important task for exile Lithuanians is to combat communism. It is therefore resolved to intensify this struggle, to enlighten the world on the subject, and to fight for the liberation of the home country from the communist yoke, also to co-ordinate, with due regard to conditions in different countries.

In particular it is resolved:

- 1) To make use of the labels issued by the Lithuanian Martyrological Department in U.S.A. to stick on envelopes etc. and to collect subscriptions. The funds thus collected to be used in the fight against genocide.
- 2) To take the Genocide Exhibition which was organized in U.S.A. to Europe. The technical arrangements for the transfer being entrusted to the Lithuanian Central Committee in Germany.
- 3) To collect reports made by German returnees from the Soviet Union and publish them in book form. This work, too, to be carried out by the Central Committee in Germany.

On the question of collaboration, the conviction prevails that political frontiers should in no way hinder the co-operation of Lithuanian communities in the different countries.

It is therefore resolved that the Lithuanian magazine appearing in London is to become the official paper of the Lithuanian communities in Europe.

Lithuanian publishers to be centralized in their work and aims, the publication and sale of books.

This first conference to be followed by one in Germany in July 1953. Until then the Central Committee in Germany to be given the duties of a European secretariat of the Lithuanian Communities.

Ukrainian Youth Demonstrate before the U.N. Palace

On November 8, 1952, the 35th anniversary of the October revolution the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) arranged a great demonstration in front of the U.N. palace, the object of which was a protest against the russification and bolshevik terrorism in Ukraine. At 9 a. m. more than a hundred members of the S.U.M. appeared there carrying banners with inscriptions such as: "End the russification of Ukraine", "Put a stop to the physical extermination of the Ukrainian people", "Russian communism is a new form of the traditional Russian imperialism", "20 million Ukrainians have been done away with by red Moscow".

Moreover, members of the S.U.M. distributed a great number of leaflets that day. Entering the hall of the palace they handed their leaflets to delegates, observers and journalists.

In addition booklets were sent to all U.N. delegates entitled "The Crime of Moscow in Vynnytsia", to inform them of the atrocities committed by bolsheviks in Ukraine. That manifestation proved a great success for Ukrainian youth in their campaign against Russian bolshevism and imperialism.

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

PARTISAN ACTIVITY

Vienna (d. a.). Reports from Turkey speak of strong anti-communist activity among the Bulgarian partisans and especially in the almost inaccessible Rhodopen Mountains. In small groups, mostly deserters from the army in full uniform and equipped with modern weapons, they keep the communists in the nearby villages in a constant state of alarm. A number of cases have been reported when communist commissaires and local functionaries have been condemned by martial law and executed.

COSSACKIA

BOYCOTT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The regional congress of the communist party in Cossackia which was held before the XIX Party Congress, showed, according to party papers, that only 1.6% of the population was in the communist party. Of these only 14.5% were working in villages the rest was made up of party big-wigs and functionaries, usually from elsewhere. The women form only 9.1%.

Thus one sees that the Cossack population does not join the communist party and sees in it the instrument of alien domination and terrorism.

GEORGIA

SHORTCOMINGS AND RECRIMINATIONS

The Moscow *Pravda*, November 11, 1952, reports that at the municipal communist party conference at Tbilissi, the capital of the Georgian S.S.R., the municipal secretaries of the party, Zedginidze, Dshibladse and Laschkaraschvili were sharply criticized for not having given enough attention to backward works, in consequence the machine repair shops "Zentralist" and "The other plants had not fulfilled the plan". "The municipal party committee of the Association of Soviet Writers, Artists and Composers had not been able to make an end of fawning, in its criticism and self-criticism".

Also that the committee "had not taken sufficient pains with the Marxist-Lenin preparation of the scientific cadres".

EASTERN GERMANY

CLASHES BETWEEN PEOPLES POLICE AND WISMUT WORKERS

There were more clashes between People's Police and workers of the Soviet Wismut Co. in the middle of October at Saalfeld. A squad of police was beaten up by some 200 workmen when they were about to arrest drunken colliers for rowdiness. Cursed as "Russian slaves" and "murders of workers" the squad was disarmed. The excited mob was only dispersed when re-

inforcements came on the scene and rescued the policemen, several of whom were wounded. A number of the Wismut people were taken off to an unknown destination in police cars.

LITHUANIA

DENATIONALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

The "purge" of the communist party in Lithuania still continues. A number of functionaries, heads of collective farms and managers have been discharged. Yet the Moscow *Pravda* still continues to criticize the communist leaders in Lithuania for "neglect of their duty". Lithuanian experts are being invited to place their knowledge and experience at the disposal of remote provinces in Soviet Russia and to leave Lithuania.

Several Lithuanians and other Balts have been forced to sign three-year contracts for those parts. In most cases the Balts are sent off to the Lake of Baikal, where they are treated as deportees. Not a few of these "volunteers" are being drawn upon for the construction of the railway at the White Sea. Their posts at home are then taken by Russians who are turning out to be drunkards and rowdies. The whole point is to deprive the land of its own native population and thus clear the way for complete russification.

UKRAINE

PETLURA AND BANDERA — A SYMBOL

In the speech he held at the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Alexander Korniychuk, promised, in the name of the Association of Writers, Composers and Artists of Ukraine, "to wage an implacable campaign against the slightest sign of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism" . . .

"... The Ukrainian people cannot ignore the criminal behaviour of the American government in giving 100 million dollars to organize espionage and diversions by bandits and monsters, among whom are the thrice cursed enemies of the people, the undefeated remnants of Petlura's and Bandera's band..."

The Ukrainian people has not forgotten the conference at Yassy when representatives of England, America and France met, and at which a Petlura minister took part, America's giving the Petlura bandits an 11 million dollar credit and supplying weapons and ammunition for it.

We do not know how many of those 100 million dollars, voted for seditious activity against the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Republics, were handed over by Truman to the Petlura banditti...

There cannot be a doubt but that those servants of Truman's, the Petlura-Bandera bandits and criminals will be hunted by the Ukrainian people like mad dogs".

(*Pravda*, Oct. 11, 1952.)

AGAINST NATIONALISM . . .

The Moscow *Pravda* reports September 3, 1952, that a municipal conference of the C.P. (b) U. took place in Kyiv, "at which great attention was given to the ideological work. A year ago the central press (Moscow press — Ed.) discovered important errors and distortions of a bourgeois-nationalist character in the work of a number of the different organizations in Ukraine..."

There are many gaps in the activities of the party organization for the Writers Association. The party organization is not sufficiently active in promulgating fundamental criticism and self-criticism among writers. There are many flaws in the work of the theatre, opera and ballet. In the last, the repertoire of the Russian classic ballet has been ignored until quite recently.

A return to bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism is to be noticed in the work of the Literary Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. Those responsible for the publication of the second volume of works by Vasyl Stefanyk, Mrs. Hrudnytsky, Kryzhanovsky, Kurylenko and O. Biletsky smuggled material in, in which the names of great enemies of the Ukrainian people, bourgeois nationalists are mentioned...

Re-organization of the Voice of America

Since October 23, 1952, the Ukrainian Department of the Voice of America, which until then had been a part of the Section of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., under the direction of O. Barmin, has been included in East European Section.

After the re-organization there are now the following sections in the Voice of America:

- 1) The former section of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R. has been divided into two parts:
 - a) the Russian department under O. Barmin,
 - b) the Turko-Tartar, Caucasian and other departments of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., except the Ukrainian, under the direction of I. Oreania.
- 2) Baltic Section, — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.
- 3) West European Section.
- 4) East European Section, — Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and Ukraine, under the direction of J. Armitedj.

Prayer for the Home Country

Wherever Catholic Lithuanians live in the free world, priests and congregations close Divine Service with the following prayer.

"... Lord send Thy blessing upon us who were forced to leave our home. Give us strength to bear the heavy lot of the homeless in a strange land. Grant that each one of us may remain true to our country and that when we return to it one day we may carry with us a new spirit of resurrection."

Assist, Oh Lord, with Thy fatherly love and protection our brothers and sisters who have remained behind, strengthen, for Thy Name's sake, those who are suffering torture for the freedom of their people. Comfort the mourners and the sorrowing and grant those, Oh Lord, who have fallen on the field of battle, eternal life . . ."

B O O K - R E V I E W S

U K R A I N E O V E R L O O K E D O N C E M O R E

Arnold Jaggi: Russia and Europe, Past and Present (Rußland und Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart) Published by Paul Haupt, Bern, 1951, pp. 238.

This popular German book, written at times with what one might call verve, certainly has its good points. It is based for the most part on reliable historical sources and does not fall into the "idealization" of the Russian people that one so often meets with to-day, but in judging them refers to the informative opinions of more or less impartial Russian thinkers, such as Chaadayev, Herzen, Bakunin, and avoids the much favoured fanciful outpourings about the "Slavonic soul". One thing, however, which is of really positive value is the fact that the author definitely stresses the "absolute continuity between tsarist and bolshevist Russia" and does not fail to explain by historical facts how "bolshevik Russia is carrying on the ideas and customs of tsarist times". The statement that "the Soviet Union is not content with securing itself against time-serving attacks but rather continues along the way that Russia's policy of expansion has mapped out", sounds particularly actual. Bolshevik Russia in that respect is more Russian than Russia under the tsars". The gloomy fear expressed by the author that the average west European might lack the depth and spontaneity of the moral sense and feeling that is required to realize the whole horror of Russian communism, to reject its principles unreservedly and persistently enough and to really fight against them", we can only confirm.

And yet the book misses its main object and gives the reader in several respects a false picture of Russian social history. Ukraine and the nationality problems in the Russian Empire hardly exist for the author. The Kyiv period is simply treated as a chapter in Russian history (although the author does justice to the mighty difference between old Kyiv and the later Moscow). Ukraine of the Cossacks' time (16 – 17 century) has been completely dropped, the influence of Ukrainian culture on Moscow and Petersburg, as well, of course, though even Russian historians admit it. Only under Nicholas I do "Ukrainians" appear, only to disappear again till the Ukrainian deputies in the second Duma, while, it is hardly believable, the bolshevist treatment of the different nationalities" (not peoples and nations, please notice) is cut down to eleven lines (pages 209 – 210).

The Ukrainians are not even mentioned by name in connection with the "terrible famine of 1932/33". The famine is merely said to have raged in the "most fertile agricultural areas". The author seems unaware of the fact that especially Ukrainians were left to starve to death.

After all how should he know it? For his Russian or russophile authorities, for Berdajew, Masaryk, André Gide, Koestler, Stepnin, Dallin and Nikolayevsky, there is no nationality problem of any importance in Russia, and never has been: what lay east of Poland and Lithuania was just "Russian".

It is by altogether ignoring the manifold antagonistic national ingredients of the Russian Empire, however, that the author spoils any possibility of answering the questions he sets himself, satisfactorily, and when he closes his treatise with the "painful question, what has become of the moral treasures collected for their people by the dignified characters among the revolutionaries and mental heroes like Tolstoi", we cannot help remarking that those dignified revolutionaries and mental heroes, almost without exception, have either approved of the oppression and russification of the enslaved non-Russian peoples (carried out by force and treachery), or at least ignored it, and that the Russian people who condoned the cruel imperialism and anti-cultural attitude of the ruling class have now in the terrorism of the bolshevist régime just what they have helped to bring about in the centuries of their genocidal expansion.

V. D.

W H Y G E R M A N Y F A I L E D I N T H E E A S T

Jürgen Thorwald: "Those they will destroy" — Report on the great Betrayal (Wen sie verbergen wollen — Bericht des großen Verrats). Steinruben Verlag, Stuttgart. p. 606.

The portentous question of how Russia is to be defeated, occupies public opinion in the whole world to-day and it is a matter of course that a good deal of attention in this connection is given to the causes of Hitler's failure in Russia.

The well-known German author has placed his chapter on Vlassov in the centre of interest in his book. Thorwald's thesis reads: Hitler lost in the east because he did not know how to make allies of the peoples in the Soviet Union. In

detailed descriptions Thorwald draws a picture of the indefatigable efforts made by a number of clear thinking Germans in the ministries for the east, the army and the headquarters of the S.S., to check Hitler's catastrophic so-called "under man" policy and bring it into a sensible political direction. In this connection three clear policies stand out: one upheld by Rosenberg, Prof. Gerhard von Mende, von Bräutigam, von Leibrecht and other politicians in the ministry for the east, required the independence of Ukraine, the Caucasian federation and Turkestan, in order to make allies of those peoples against Russia; Russia proper to be established within its ethnical borders as a satellite state of Germany's. This plan met with violent opposition from Hitler and his liegemen, headed by Bormann, Göring, Keitel and, in the first years, also Ribbentrop.

Another plan was proposed by Arlt, a young and very able politician, who used his formal membership of the S.S. to give Germany a sensible policy in the east. In 1945 he even gained the favour of the chief of the S.S. headquarters, Berger, and drew up a plan for the liberation of the eastern peoples, not only from bolshevism, but also from Russian imperialism. He made it clear that only a positive plan of establishing Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Cossack, Turkestanian and Baltic States, as well as a Caucasian federation, could break the resistance of the Red Army and create a political atmosphere for the re-organization of the east. His plan found natural allies and ready support among the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., but opposition on the side of the Russian emigrants and their general, Vlassov. That plan too, came to grief through resistance on the part of Hitler, Himmler and men of their way of thinking.

The third policy was represented by Himmler himself. In 1944 he changed from the under-man policy to the great Russia conception and relied on General Andrej Vlassov. His policy aroused the indignant opposition of the non-Russians who consistently refused, up to the end of the war, to have anything to do with Vlassov. Hitler could not overlook the Ukrainian factor and had to agree to a Ukrainian National Committee under General Schandruk, besides the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia under Vlassov. Furthermore, General Schandruk was appointed commander of all the Ukrainian units which until then had fought as volunteers or been pressed into the German army, while General Vlassov was put in command of all the Russian units. The Caucasian, Turkestanian, Byelorussian and Cossack units continued under German leadership. Vlassov, it is true, claimed the right to represent the non-Russian peoples too, but by the setting up of the Ukrainian National Committee, his claim as far as Ukraine was concerned had only theoretical value.

Which of these three, resp. four German conceptions proved practicable? The under man theory failed completely. It was the real and most important factor that led to the defeat of Germany in the east. The other three never got beyond their inception and first political feelings. Rosenberg's plans were never put into operation although he was minister for the eastern area.

Dr. Arlt's idea which corresponded with Rosenberg's was stopped at the first attempt to realize it. Nevertheless the two plans showed that they were working along the right lines, in winning the non-Russian peoples for the fight against bolshevism and arousing their enthusiasm for it.

The fourth plan, i. e. Vlassov's, after the collapse of the under-man policy, became the official German thesis.

Jürgen Thorwald declares that plan was doomed to fail, but he is far from discovering the real causes for the break-down of the war. The fact that the first Vlassov division deserted to the red-inclined insurgents in Prague gives the author some trouble. He brings forward several arguments and puts the blame on the delaying tactics of the Germans. He believes the Russians did not want to fight because in the critical months of 1945 there was no prospect of a German victory, but he quite overlooks the historical fact that the desertion of the Russians was occasioned by Soviet Marshal Koniev's summons. Thorwald has not a word to say about the fact that not one of the military units of the non-Russian peoples was guilty of any such default as the two Vlassov divisions. In our eyes, the failure of the Vlassov experiment was due to the reluctance of the Russians to fight against the victorious Red Army at a time when it was about to realize the greatest expansion of the Russian empire.

The weak point in the book, in our opinion, lies in the misunderstanding of those connections. Jürgen Thorwald is making a dangerous attempt to prove to the West that the Soviet Union can only be defeated with the help of the Russian people, while we declare that the Soviet Union can only be put out of action with the assistance of the non-Russian peoples.

R.O.I.

C A L E N D A R O F N A T I O N A L M E M O R I A L D A Y S O F O U R P E O P L E S

D E C E M B E R

D E C E M B E R 10

Cossackia: Independence Day. In commemoration of the proclamation by parliament of the independence of the Cossack State, December 10, 1917.

D E C E M B E R 12

Idel-Ural: (1917) Turkovo-Tartar and Ugro-Finnish National Assembly at which the independence of the Idel-Uralian Republic was proclaimed.

D E C E M B E R 26

Hungary: (1948) In memory of the arrest of the Cardinal Primate Mindszenty by the communist despots in Hungary.

J A N U A R Y

J A N U A R Y 3

Cossackia: Day of the Church. Tsar Peter I liquidated the Cossack Autocephalic Church and joined it to Moscow. The Church, however, fought on for more than a hundred years.

J A N U A R Y 10

Cossackia: Day of Union. All the independent Cossack republics were solemnly united in the Supreme Cossack Parliament in the United Cossack State.

J A N U A R Y 12

Azerbaijan: (1920) The independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan, recognized by the Council of the Great Powers.

J A N U A R Y 14

Georgia: The day of St. Nino, who converted Georgia in the fourth century.

J A N U A R Y 22

Ukraine: (1918) The independence of the Ukrainian National Republic declared by the Ukrainian parliament, Zentralna Rada (Central Council). 1919 reunion of all Ukrainian ethnographic territory in one united Ukrainian National Republic.

J A N U A R Y 29

Ukraine: (1919) On this day 30 young students and workers fell fighting the red conqueror, near Kyiv at Kruty.

C O M M U N I Q U E

Continued from Page 6

May we express the hope that the newly elected president of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, will thoroughly revise the mistaken policy hitherto followed in America in reference to the subjugated peoples in U.S.S.R. and the national problems obtaining behind the Iron Curtain.

We oppose, and shall always oppose, every attempt to retain the Russian dungeon of nations in whatever form it is proposed, and no matter who in the West supports that monster. Our aim remains unaltered: the dissolution of the Russian despotic empire into independent, national, democratic states of all our peoples: Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Azerbijans, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, etc.

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Editorial

A Warning to the West

Worse than bolshevism

The fear of bolshevism in the West is worse than the evil itself. Indeed, the fear of bolshevist Russia is the West's most dangerous enemy, paralysing its will, driving it to compromise and preventing it from doing anything positive to put an end to Russian aggression.

"Fear has big eyes" is a Ukrainian proverb. The bolsheviks are only too familiar with the West's paralysing fear of Russia. It is systematically fed by Fifth Columns who spread rumours of the incomparable strength of the Soviet Union, its masses of fanatic soldiers, deadly Russian weapons, the omnipotence of the M.G.B.-M.W.D., etc. By means of such legends the bolsheviks hope to suggest invincible strength and thus paralyse the West's will to fight.

It is, of course, good if the West is mobilized by the danger threatening it. But if fear of this danger calls forth defeatism in the West, then it no longer benefits the West but the enemy. Though the West recognizes the danger of bolshevism, it does not take the necessary steps to meet it. Many Western politicians repudiate the policy of the strong hand because they are afraid of irritating or provoking Moscow. That is hiding one's head in the sand like an ostrich, or something worse; it is the policy of a man hypnotized by a boa-constrictor's venomous eye and unable to avert death.

It is high time that the West realized its chances of victory if it unites with the nations subjugated by Moscow. Such an alliance would make it not only superior to bolshevism, but invincible. Cooperation with the subjugated nations would also give the

West confidence in its strength that the free world needs, and must develop if it is to be victorious.

The real enemy

Just as in World War II the real enemy of the Allies was Germany only, but not the many countries occupied by Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway, Serbia, Greece, Poland, Czechia, etc., the present enemy of the West is Russia alone and not the non-Russian countries occupied by Russia, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbajan, North Caucasia, the Cossack Republic, Idel-Ural and Siberia, countries that declared their indepen-

dence in 1918/21 and had their own governments.

In the Soviet Union today, the Russians play the part of a master people, and it would be a great mistake to put them on the same level as the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and regard them as equally subjugated. It would be just as much a paradox to maintain that, for instance, the Germans under Hitler were just as much "subjugated" as the Poles in the Generalgouvernement during the last war.

No plans for world conquest are cherished either by the Ukrainians, the Bulgarians or any other non-Russian people under the dictatorship of Moscow. But the Russian people, which

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Why has Europe become so small?

By Dr. D. Donzow

Yesterday my friend, just returned from the East asked me:

Why has our free Europe become so small? In the XVIIIth century it extended beyond Ukraine. In the XIXth only to Memel and Pruth. And now Europe has its Eastern frontiers on the Elbe, in Vienna, and North Greece. Why has it become so small?

Because Russia has become so large. But why is Russia driving the West back so irresistibly?

Do you know, why Islam's attack on the Continent was so irresistible?

No. Because the Mohammedan had his Holy Book, the Coran and his Prophet Mahomet. And do you know, why the drive of the armies of Napoleon against free Europe was for so long irresistible?

In consequence of the war-genius of the Emperor?

No, because "Robespierre on horseback" was fighting under the sacred banner of the new Prophet. Rousseau and his Coran, the works of the French Encyclopaedists, the ideas of 1789.

I did not think of it like that.

Certainly not. And do you know, why for six years Nationalsocialism in Germany was so irresistible?

Because of the unpreparedness of his enemies?

No. Because Hitler wished to conquer our Continent in the name of a new "Holy Book", "Mein Kampf", of which he was the Prophet.

And Russia?

Russia, too, found its "Holy Book" in the works of Karl Marx and his disciple Ulyanov-Lenin.

But you forget that all these "Prophets" were defeated by the United Nations of Europe!

All?

Certainly all! Napoleon — or if you will — Rousseau, was defeated at Waterloo in 1815 . . .

But in 1830, 1848, 1871 the ideas of 1789 conquered all the countries of the West.

And Hitler too, was crushed on the field of battle!

But the principle of his totalitarianism began to ravage the life of all West European democracies.

Perhaps, the principles of the Coran also?

No, not those. Why? Because at that time Europe also had its Holy Book, that of the Apostles. And in the name of this book, in the name of Christian ideals of society, the knights of Christian Europe crushed the Empire of Attila, and that of the Saracenes, and later the Empire of the Turkish Sultans. "Hoc signo vincis"! — was not in that time an absurd motto.

And now?

Now a new red Mahomet is knocking at our door. But do you find today many Christians, who possess such vehement love for their faith and such a

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has always proclaimed its messianic mission, is still striving for world hegemony. If the West therefore, seeks to put up a defence against this aggression from Moscow, it must first be quite sure who its real enemy is, where he is, what his plans are, what his strength is, and on whose power he depends.

It would be tragic if the West were to swallow Russian bait and consider all the nations in the East as equally to blame for bolshevism. In reality bolshevism was put into the world by the Russians alone and is merely a continuation of the 500-year old Russian imperialism, as Dean Acheson, Secretary of State in the U.S.A., very rightly confirmed. It is not an "international clique", but solely the Russians that are responsible for bolshevism, a specifically Russian phenomenon, a system of world policy that is not even identical with marxism or communism.

Up till now, the Russian people has made no great attempt to destroy bolshevism. Why is there no resistance movement in Russia proper, no insurgents like the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) created by the Ukrainian people from its own resources? Why is there not a single sign of anti-bolshevist resistance in Russia, such as the U.P.A. in Ukraine, the Basmachi in Turkestan, the White Partisans in Slovakia and other fighting organisations in all the non-Russian countries under Moscow's occupation?

Natural allies

In organizing its fight, the West must be sure with whom and against whom it intends to fight. It must and can fight only in cooperation with the peoples subjugated by Russia, and against Russia. Another question to consider is what propaganda is called for if, in addition, diversion is to be created in the Russian people itself, i. e. in the enemy's ranks; and still another is to decide if the real enemy may be regarded as a potential friend and if the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union should be lumped together with the Russian people on the false assumption that they have a common fate.

A clear distinction must be made between oppressors and oppressed. This alone will permit a clear strategy of

Why has Europe become so small?

Continued from Page 1

passionate hatred of Evil, as, for instance — in the "dark Middle ages"? Do you find to-day a sufficient number of Christians, who are as devoted to their Holy Book and its philosophy of life, as the Moslems to theirs or the Bolsheviks to the teaching of Marx? What banner could reassemble European Knighthood against a new Mahomet, so many of whose knights are not believers in Christ, but...

If that is so, all is lost?

No! But Europe needs new leaders! New Charles Martels, new Ducs de Bouillon and Richards, the saints and heroes. Only they will save Europe.

battle and reveal where the real enemy is. The decisive blow against the heart of the enemy's power is always the most important part of wise strategy. The proper knowledge and use of allies widens the front of attack and opens new possibilities. Unwise strategy may lose the support of potential natural allies and drive them into the arms of the enemy, as Hitler did in his Eastern campaign.

The enemy in the East is, and will always be, Russia alone, in its ethnic frontiers, a fact Western strategy must always remember. In World War II, for instance, it never occurred to any of the Western Allies to fight against France, Belgium or Poland merely because these countries were occupied by Germany and might possibly be transformed into friends of that country. On the contrary, every normal person was certain that opposition to Germany in those countries had grown as a result of occupation. And the Allies quite properly did not fight against peoples under the power of Germany; they supported the resistance of De Gaulle in France, of Bor Komorowski in Poland, of General Mykhailovich in Serbia, etc. Similarly, the West today ought to support the organizations of resistance among peoples oppressed by Russia, if it wants to ensure victory over Russian world imperialism.

An absurd attitude

The attitude of present day Western politicians towards the peoples subjugated by Moscow is absurd. The Western Allies considered it quite natural for France or Holland in the years 1940—44 to desire liberation from the yoke of Germany and independence, and all their plans were based on this natural assumption. Why, then, do they not consider it equally natural that, for instance, Georgia or Ukraine or Turkestan should desire liberation from the Russian yoke and independence today?

Western politicians are putting up gigantic plans for Western defence and strategy. Anyone with the slightest idea of the national liberation movements among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and their potential is horrified at the thought of the methods employed by Western politicians against Russia.

And the solution is a simple as child's play. Treat our peoples as you did those of the countries occupied by Germany in the last war and you will not go wrong. That is all we ask of the West.

Untenable arguments

The answer will perhaps be; You want us to fight, not only against Russian imperialism, not only against bolshevism, but also against the Russian people as the instruments of bolshevism. And we maintain that you must have courage to look at the truth. The aim of the conflict must be victory

Against whom did the Allies fight in World War II? Only against national

socialism, or against Germany? And against whom in the first World War? Against the Kaiser, or against Germany? If the fight was against national socialism only, why the dismantling of industrial plants, why the demand for ethnographic German territory in the East and why the complete demilitarisation of Germany? Why has a central state been replaced by a federation? In putting those questions we do not wish to pronounce any judgement on the policy of the Allies towards Germany. We wish only to state facts and draw conclusions at a time when the world is threatened by a far greater enemy than Germany, namely Moscow. If such preventive measures seem called for against Germany, are they not far more justified against imperialist Russia?

The very existence of bolshevism which always was a more dangerous enemy than national socialism, and always lay on the watch, ought to have been sufficient reason for the Allies to treat Germany differently during and after the war. At any rate, no one can deny that in the Second World War, the Western Allies fought not only against national socialism but against Germany as a whole, just as Germany fought against France, and not merely against the Second or the Third Republic, and against Great Britain and not against the British monarchy.

An inexorable historical fact

In expressing these indisputable facts we do not want to advocate the extirpation of the Russian people or even their annihilation by atomic bombs in a future war. We merely wanted to show who is on the side of the West and who is not, in this historical conflict and to draw therefrom conclusions as to strategy. We wish to state unequivocally that a Third World War must attack not only bolshevism, but Russia, whereby we do not mean the entire territory of the Soviet Union, still less its sphere of influence and its satellites, but only the territory occupied by the Russian people.

But we should like to point out to Western politicians that the situation in Russia is quite different from that in all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R. which fact should greatly influence the strategy of the West.

As in World War II the propaganda meant for the German people was different from that for the French, Belgian, Dutch, or other people under Germany, the propaganda of the West today must vary according as it is directed to the peoples of non-Russian countries or only to the Russian people itself.

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

The Second Front

(*Preparations, Consequences and Importance*)

The West can gain a permanent victory over the U.S.S.R. only if a second front of the subjugated peoples can be erected behind the Iron Curtain throughout the entire country. If it does not coordinate and synchronize its actions with those of such a second front, the West will scarcely win any war against the bolsheviks.

Conditions for Formation of a Second Front

The first condition for this coordination is that the West should recognize without reserve the conception and the ideas of the subjugated peoples, i. e. the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. and the reconstruction of its various independent states, and that it should help the satellite states to recover their sovereignty; further, that the West should refrain from interfering directly in our internal affairs, but help us to build up our sovereign democratic national states.

To realize these aims it is essential:

a) to contact representatives of the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain, who have formed the A.B.N., to recognize them as entitled to speak for our subjugated peoples and to launch a great political and publicity campaign behind the Iron Curtain. In other words, the centre of coordination in the free nations would have to co-operate closely with the centre of coordination for the subjugated peoples, in order to organize campaigns and draw up plans of strategy, etc.

b) for the West to contact the coordination centre of military operations for the subjugated peoples, in order to draw up plans for common military and political campaigns.

Military and Political Strategy

The following points are important for military and political strategy:

a) In order to meet the bolshevist tactics of war on two fronts — aggression abroad and civil war at home — and bolshevist methods of involving the West in peripheral wars (Korea, China, etc.), the following strategy is indicated: first, the second front of all subjugated peoples should be consolidated by a proclamation by the West in support of their aims; secondly, an attack must be launched on Moscow, the bastion of bolshevism, and on the Russian ethnographic territory, in order to liquidate the hinterland of bolshevism.

Whenever the West attacks bolshevism in its stronghold, the subjugated peoples will be able to cope with the Russian occupation troops, provided they receive support from the West. If the strategy of the Allies is coordinated and synchronized with that of the subjugated peoples, it will be able to cut off Russian troops in central and western Europe from their bases by the formation of a front in their rear, i. e. in the Baltic states, Byelorussia,

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Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

*Yes, Russia is a Sphinx. Exulting, grieving
And sweating blood, she cannot sate
Her eyes that gaze and gaze and gaze
At you with stone-lipped love for you
and hate.*

Aleksander Blok (1880—1921)

I.

There is a general belief in the West that Russian bolshevism alone has been the originator of all the evil which now endangers the world. This is an erroneous belief. Russian bolshevism has not been a producer of anything new but a mere copyist of things existing in Russia long before it. It has been the outgrowth of Russian spirit and Russian history in much the same way as German nazism was the outgrowth of German spirit and German history. It is a difficult task to separate Russian bolshevism from traditional Russian imperialism, as it was impossible to separate German nazism from traditional Prussian militarism and German imperialism.

Bolshevism, the Outcome of Russian History

There is no doubt that Russian bolshevism has emanated from traditional Russian imperialism. Indeed, Secretary Acheson's recent statement that Stalin's imperialism is only a continuance of the 500 year old Muscovite imperialism is irrefutable. The roots of many Soviet actions and institutions can be sought and found in the events and developments of Russian history. There is a close affinity between the policies of Russian tsars in the White Kremlin and the policies of Russian commissars in the Red Kremlin, and their political methods are inseparably connected. In other words, today's Stalin's machinations are only the machinations of old "Mother Russia", disguised in Soviet proletarian garb and both constitute a very "holy" and "eternal", "one" and "indivisible" Russia.

Terrorism, a Traditional Policy

Accordingly, terror is nothing new in Russia; it is another Russian tradition of long standing. Four hundred years before Lenin and Stalin, the Russian tsar Ivan the Terrible had all his opponents rounded up by his famous Oprichnina — a model for the Soviet N.K.V.D. and banned them to northern tundras where "they had to repent their sins while the bitter cold froze the marrow of their bones". The earliest mention of torture in an official document is in his "Sudebnik" (1497) — the first code of Russian law ("Ruska Pravda" or the Rus law code, attributed to Grand-Prince Yaroslav the Sage of Kyiv (1019—1054) was the law code of the Ukrainians) and in his ordinance of 1556 there are elaborate regulations about torture which was used even as a means of enforcing payment of debts. Two hundred years later the Russian tsar Peter I. (for the

Russian imperialists he is "Great") executed his opponents publicly with his own hands and condemned many of them to exile on the shores of the Arctic Ocean; a fate which also befell his personal favorite and prime minister "Count" Menshikov, when the latter incurred the tsar's displeasure. Both these forerunners of Lenin and Stalin became famous by murdering their own sons. Ivan slew his son with his own hands while Peter signed the death warrant of his only son after having him forcibly "repatriated" from Italy. Do you wonder, dear reader, that both these forerunners of Stalin are the most beloved heroes of the Russian history as taught by all Russian imperialists, irrespective of color — red or white?

"Secret Prikaz" — the successor of the Oprichnina in the 18th century and "okhranka" in the 19th century were one proof more that the most perfect of all systems of political police has been the Russian. The Russians would find it hard, if not impossible, to conceive of a society without secret police and so it has survived even the Russian Revolution as its terrorist methods have been legally sanctioned under the Soviets.

Lenin and Terrorism

It is true that the whole history of bolshevik domination of Russia is one of bloodshed. Since the very beginning of bolshevism in Russia, terror has been ruthlessly employed in order to annihilate all foes of the regime and to suppress all its adversaries so as to prevent the formation of any opposition. Many innocent people had to be destroyed for the Soviet regime to live. Lenin himself constantly demanded more blood. According to the teachings of this Father of Russian bolshevism as expressed by Lenin in his pamphlet "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" the "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" is "the power conquered by the proletariat and maintained by violence over the bourgeoisie" and is "the power unbound by laws". Revolution without terror was to Lenin not revolution at all. "The great bourgeois revolutionists of France of 125 years ago made their revolution great by the use of terror" wrote Lenin in September 1917 in the pamphlet "The threatening catastrophe and how to overcome it" and five months after he had secured power, he insisted upon the most resolute terrorist measures of the most brutal character. Consequently, Soviet terror became an essential feature of a regime and the All-Russian CHE-KA carried out Lenin's terrorist design on a scale unprecedented in history, and soon became a byword for terrorism throughout the civilized world.

But one method of terror was not enough for Lenin; he sought out severer methods of terrorization, methods which combined with terror would

transcend anything the world had previously known. "The guillotine only terrorized, it only broke down active resistance. But this is not enough for us. It is not enough to 'cow' the capitalists, in the sense that they should feel the might of the proletarian state and should forget about showing active resistance. We have to break down passive resistance which doubtlessly is the most hateful and dangerous one" insisted Lenin in his pamphlet "Peasants and Workers". And he found these methods not only in the degradation and cheapening of human personality and in the absolute disregard for human life, but also in the moral disintegration of his horde of followers, and the corrosion of the basic moral principles, without which men sink to a state below that of a brute, and which he attained by setting up brutalities, unprecedented sadism and old Russian torture-chambers. Having been guided in his moral actions by the principle of "the aim justifies the means" Lenin never showed himself over-scrupulous in choosing most foul methods of violence and terror.

In 1918, the All-Russian CHE-KA began to publish its organ "The Weekly of the CHE-KA". And it is in this "Communist organ" No. 5 of Oct. 6, 1918, that we find a document immortal in its own right. The document is a "Letter to the Editor" sent by the Bolsheviks of Nolinsk, the letter which was entitled "Why do you sentimentalize?". The letter read:

"Tell us why you did not subject this same Lockhart (British representative in Russia — O.M.) to the most refined torture in order to extort from him information and addresses which that fool certainly had in his possession? Tell us, how is it that instead of putting him to torture, the very description of which would strike terror into the heart of every counter-revolutionist, you permitted him to leave the CHE-KA greatly embarrassed? Let every British worker know that the official representative of his country is engaged in such dealings that he has to be put to torture to account for them..."

And below we find the Editor's remark: "We agree in principle". Thus, torture-chambers became an intrinsic part of the Russian terror system.

On Febr. 10, 1922, the All-Russian CHE-KA was abolished, having been reorganized into the G.P.U. (State Political Administration). But though the initials were changed, the methods remained unchanged: the G.P.U. continued the work of the CHE-KA as if nothing had really changed. The G.P.U. merely improved on CHE-KA methods and carried on where the CHE-KA had left off.

Names Change, Methods Remain

Lenin's death (1924) did not lead to any change in the policy of terror. The terror instruments were only perfected — the system of forced labor was introduced and it not only inspired fear but also gave economic

profits. Once again the name was changed, this time to N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for the Interior). Its chief, Beria expanded the N.K.V.D. beyond anything that had ever been known before. He organized special N.K.V.D. troops, with their own arms, artillery, and air force in order to quell any possible disorders in the interior. Just before Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R., the N.K.V.D. was divided into two separate commissariats — N.K.G.B. (People's Commissariat for State Security) and N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for the Interior). After World War II, they became "ministries" and now we have M.G.B. (Ministry for State Security) and M.V.D. (Ministry for the Interior), but all these changes of name brought about little change in the essence and practice of those institutions. The objective remained the same: ruthless suppression of everything opposed to the Russian bolshevist state.

Stalin's Terrorism

What distinguishes Stalin's terrorist policies from those of Lenin is the fact that he started, after some hesitation, to apply inside the party the terror policies which Lenin applied mercilessly against everyone outside the party. The first outbursts of Red terror struck counter-revolutionists, the participants in the national-liberation movements (Ukraine, Georgia, Cosackia, etc.), peasants who protested against the collection of grain, workers who took part in strikes, etc. Many were shot on charges of agitating against the confiscation of church property. The second wave of Red terror struck at the "wreckers" of industry and "sabotagists", at the time of N.E.P. (New Economic Policy). During the collectivization of agriculture, from 1929—34, some of the hardest blows of the Red terror were struck at the peasantry, much the largest class in the population. The artificial Soviet-made famine of 1932—1933, aiming simultaneously at destroying Ukrainian national consciousness and at the annihilation of the democratic small farmers, obliterated millions. President Kalinin, in a speech in 1935, referred to this wretched episode as follows: "The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some, this school was quite ruthless."

Then came the epoch of the annihilation of Old Bolsheviks. The victims assumed full guilt for every frame-up crime imputed to them. In accordance with the demands of the dictator, they heaped false accusations on one another. They publicly indulged in moral self-flagellation, glorifying the wisdom of the great genius of their hangman.

When Lady Astor, in company with Bernard Shaw and Lord Lothian, met Stalin in the summer of 1934, she blurted out the unconventional question: "How long are you going to continue killing people?" Stalin, possibly taken a little off his guard, shot back the retort: "As long as it is necessary." One may wonder, how long it would be necessary to kill people. Stalin himself gave the answer to this

question at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1937. His statement was: "One must remember, and never forget, that so long as capitalist encirclement exists, there will be wreckers, diversionists, spies, and terrorists, scattered throughout the Soviet Union by the espionage services of foreign states; one must remember this and fight those comrades who undervalue the force and meaning of wrecking activities". And he demanded "revolutionary vigilance" and "ruthless suppression" of "the people's enemies" — a new term Stalin himself invented in his "constitution" of 1936.

It would be interesting to know who these "wreckers", "diversionists", "spies" and "terrorists" are at present — after some thirty years of "happy life" in the Soviet "paradise of the working classes". The "counter-revolutionists" of the "transition period of socialism" are no more; they been annihilated by the terror of the twenties. The "white guardists" of the civil war are no more; those who survived became Stalin's most humble servants as they were Russian imperialists too, and they preferred Stalin's Russian Empire to a dismembered Russia. The old Bolsheviks with their ideal of a stateless, moneyless, truly egalitarian Utopia, animated by a kind of Christian ethic, prescribed and enforced by men who rejected the Christian faith, are no more. They have been annihilated by the new generation of Russian fascists who comprehended that old, eternal Russia could not be trimmed and snipped to fit the communist coat, but the communist coat had to be cut to the Russian measure. In the meantime, the Russian people have whole-heartedly embraced bolshevism. This is not at all surprising and, indeed, it would have been surprising had they not. The Russian people has been working up to it through centuries. It is something that the Russian understands, something that appeals to him. The topranking leaders in the Kremlin, the real rulers of today's Russia are the Russians; they are of the Russian people. And because they are of the people, they are the best men to rule the Russian people, as far as it is concerned.

Non-Russian Peoples are now the victims

Who then are the "people's enemies" at present? The only opponents to "Russian communism" at present are the oppressed non-Russian peoples who cannot compromise with Russian fascism striving at their total annihilation. We must not forget that the number of the oppressed peoples increased considerably in consequence of World War II. The old civilized nations of Central Europe have been included within the Soviet sphere since VE Day, thus becoming victims of ruthless Soviet imperialism. The frantic efforts of the Soviet government to bring its oppressed nationalities into complete subservience by means of purges and russification, its vast liquidations and persecutions now in full swing in Ukraine and other non-Rus-

Communism and the National Fight for Freedom

By N. Oleshko

We must not be surprised that the world should pay great attention to the 45-page pamphlet issued by the Chinese Communist Party on its thirteenth anniversary. We have already become accustomed to the desire of the West to see Titoism recurring everywhere, a desire so strong that it regards that system merely as a force antagonistic to Moscow, practically ignoring its communist contents.

Two Different Views

Everyone remembers that there was a time when this view played an important part in a policy of enthusiasm for the Chinese Communists. The advocates of this policy naturally are anxious to find their hopes confirmed in the pamphlet we have mentioned. They note, for instance, that Stalin's name no longer occurs in China in the list of leading communists, which readily admit might be a significant symptom. More interesting, however, is the fact that both sides set their hopes on the development of nationalism.

For Moscow, nationalism is the foundation of its plans for seizing power and spreading bolshevism throughout the world. The West, on the other hand, regards it as a power that will eventually split the communist camp. In an article entitled: "Crisis in the Colonial System Comes to a Head" (Academy of Science, U.S.S.R., 1939) E. Zhukov writes as follows: "The main task of colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for liberty is concerned (1) with their liberation from imperialist tyranny, and (2) with carrying out agrarian reform. These aims are common to all colonial countries and their national struggle for liberty."

If we ponder the matter, we come to the conclusion that both sides are right.

The national consciousness which is awakening among colonial peoples gives Bolsheviks an opportunity of combining the national fight for liberty to be waged by colonial peoples with the struggle to reform social conditions, above all with the struggle to destroy the last remnants of feudalism in agriculture.

Thus the national fight for liberty contains another movement, an internal movement making for civil war, and the fight for power which is the communists' main aim.

Vital Differences

The difference between these two views is not so much that the one is aggressive and the other rather defensive. Much more vital is the fact that the West regards national movements for freedom from the point of view of present-day policy, while Moscow plans for the future. We may maintain that it is one of the fundamental principles of communism to foster national movements in colonial countries in the manner we have indicated above.

Capitalism will not collapse, as communists first thought, as a result of proletarian revolutions or of wars between capitalist powers, but in consequence of being cut off from colonies and of the rise of communism in those colonies. Astafiev ("From Colony to People's Democracy", Moscow, 1949) writes: "The struggle for liberty among subjugated peoples, which is undermining the strength of international imperialism, is a stage in the general struggle of democracy under

the leadership of a great socialist state with whose help alone it can be successfully concluded."

Nationalism, a Stage on the Way to Bolshevism

Zhdanov ("On the International Situation", "Pravda", 22. 1. 1947) also designates national movements as a stage in the general struggle between communism and capitalism: "Increasing threats to colonial systems as a result of the Second World War became apparent as national movements for freedom grew in colonies and dependent states. This section of the capitalist system was thus endangered." National movements for liberation are therefore regarded by bolsheviks as the first stage in the communist revolution.

We are compelled to inquire further into the rôle of nationalist movements in the structure of Communism, seeing that they aim at securing the support of the entire people, while the Communist revolution always emphasizes social differences and the supremacy of one class. Communist logic is able to unite such contrasting principles as the unity aimed at by national movements and the hegemony that obtains in a Communist state, for it argues that "the national bourgeois class is revolutionary at a certain stage" (Astafiev) and "the national factor in the struggle for liberation is a factor of revolution". (Stalin.)

From the National to the Soviet State

For Stalin, the stages in national revolution are: "First stage: bourgeoisie fights on a united front against imperialism — second

Continued on Page 6

sian countries of Soviet empire, — all point to a feverish concern of Moscow over its empire. The blade of Russian terror is directed now against the non-Russian peoples of the empire.

Today, there is no doubt that Stalin is waging a genocide of great dimensions against the oppressed non-Russian peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and Northern and Central Asia in the name of the superior Russian master-race. Today, genocide, the calculated race-murder of entire nations, ranks first among the methods of Russian terror. Millions of Balts, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Tatars, etc. are being murdered simply because they are Balts, etc. In many ways these genocidal practices of Russian imperialists surpass all the indignities forced upon subjugated peoples in the darkest corners of the world.

Genocide in Russian History

Genocide is an old Russian specialty which had often been practised by Russian rulers — tsars and commissars alike. Here are some facts. In 1169, Prince Andrey Bogolubsky of Suzdal (then capital of Muscovy-Russia) sacked

the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv. His soldiers ruined Kyiv, murdering its population including women and children, taking everything of value and deporting many to Suzdal. Tsar Ivan the Terrible upon taking the city of Polotzk in 1563, gave the local Jews a choice between submitting to baptism or being drowned. The chronicles talk of some 20,000 Jews being put to death. The same tsar, in spite of the unconditional surrender of the "Great Lord Novgorod" in 1570, ordered the population to be murdered, drowned or deported. In the 17th century, the Russian tsar used genocidal practices as a means of subordinating the Old Believers ("raskolniki") the most important sectarians in the Russian Orthodox Church. Many of them were burnt alive. In the 18th century, Tsar Peter I. ordered the murder of the whole population, including women and children, of Baturyn, the capital of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1708) — ally of Charles XII of Sweden. Catherine II, ordered ten thousands of Crimean Tatars to be expelled and drowned in the Black Sea (1783). Marshal Suvorov, exterminated the population of the Warsaw suburb Praga in

1796, suppressing the desperate efforts of Polish patriots under Kosciuszko to recover national independence. The methods of Tsar Nicholas I in exterminating the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Catholics (Uniates), or suppressing Shamyl's Caucasian insurgents in the 19th century, as well as notorious Jewish pogroms (1871, 1881, 1891, 1906, 1912, etc.) followed the traditional Russian patterns of racial murder.

Stalin's wholesale murder of Volga-Germans in 1941, of Chechens, Ingushes, Karachayi, Balkars, Crimean Tatars and Kalmyks in 1944—1946, show that the list of these genocidal practices is endless, as endless as the tragedy of the people doomed to live in the Russian empire. It shows us that Russia of yesterday and today is a sick nation, like a psychopath who must kill someone for the sake of killing. Russia to-day is a 300 million conglomerate of many nationalities, fused together into one empire by aggressive Russian imperialism. But these nationalities are in open antagonism to the Russian master-race and, therefore, these nationalities are the chief victims of the Russian genocide of our days.

To be continued in the next issue

stage: internal dissension — third stage: sovietization."

In order to secure the transition from the first stage to the second, i. e. to internal dissension, it is essential that the leadership of national movements should be in the hands of communists. Why? Because internal dissension must be inseparably connected with the transference of power to the working-classes and the Communist party as the leading power in the national struggle for liberation. For "the national struggle for liberation in colonial and dependent states where the working classes (i. e. the communists) direct the struggle will become a struggle for a people's democracy". (E. Zhukov.)

"The system of a people's democracy is not constant, not lasting. As such a system exercises the functions of proletarian dictatorship, it greatly furthers socialist elements, not it is true, all at once, but gradually and by a cruel class-war." (Astafiev.) This, then, is the latest bolshevist view of a communist world revolution developed from national struggles for liberation, as may be proved from their recent publications.

The Danger Point

This view contains one critical moment, namely the "transition to internal dissension" and the "transference of the struggle from the national sphere to that of a world revolution" — in accordance with Moscow's plans. That is why it is easy to understand the argument of Western politicians that the first stage is followed by a collapse or some form of "Titoism".

Bolshevism in Europe and the Far East

But there is an error in this reasoning which confounds all Western hopes. For bolshevism in Europe and bolshevism in the Far East are different. Bolsheviks themselves declare that people's democracies in the East differ from those in the West (European satellite states) because the former countries are more primitive. So they do not pursue their policy of establishing a complete hegemony there; on the contrary, they intend to retain some of the old social classes, in order to secure for themselves the sympathy of tradesmen, small shopkeepers and businessmen, and above all of the peasant population.

"Neither the existence nor the development of small and medium capitalist elements is a danger. Nor are the independent peasants who remain after agrarian reform and who can scarcely be eliminated." (Mao Tse Tung: "The present situation and our tasks", 1948.) Mao emphasizes that it is possible to carry out agrarian reform only "with the peasants, condemns as reactionary a policy of equalization, and regards it as essential to support peasants after the land has been divided up." He also stresses "the necessity for small private trade enterprises, businesses and concerns with moderate private capital to the structure of society" (Lecture, 25. 12, 1947). It is obvious, therefore, that the social structure aimed at by the Bolsheviks after seizing power in the countries of the Far East is similar to that in the U.S.S.R. under the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.).

It is not for nothing that a dictum of Stalin's from one of his early writings on the subject of national revolutions and the social program is often quoted again: "In

A "Soldiers' Lot" in a People's Democracy

Authentic Report

. . . Two soldiers from a People's Democracy were among recent arrivals at the Salzburg refugee camp, one of Europe's most "popular hotels". They escaped through the iron curtain from Hungary and are still wearing their uniform, though without insignia. The cloth is green, the cut Russian.

"Our escape", one of them said, "was not particularly exciting. Some time ago we were detailed for service on the Western frontier. As I worked in the office, I knew how the roads were patrolled in the night. We simply walked over."

Their account of life in the army is the first factual report we have received about the People's Democracy in the throes of armament.

Preparations for war are proceeding in Hungary at lightning speed. In addition to the men whose turn it is to be called up, there are masses of new recruits. There are also many volunteers who are accepted, no matter what their age is. In Raab (Gyor), for instance, an infantry soldier recently celebrated his fifteenth birthday.

Women in the Ranks

The number of female recruits is steadily increasing. They are mostly girls up to the age of 35 who are recruited from various factories by the communist party. Those who have illegitimate children must hand them over to special childrens' homes, for which they are paid 1000—5000 gulden, the minimum sum for a sickly girl and the maximum for a healthy boy. They must, however, renounce all their maternal rights. Women soldiers receive the same training as men. When on duty, they wear trousers, and otherwise a soldier's coat over a skirt.

Political Training

Communist theory is one of the main subjects of the soldier's training. Every

any case, capitalist countries must not sever their connection or their trade contracts with countries where the new economic policy has been introduced under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In contrast with circumstances in European countries under bolshevism, the danger point when national struggle develops into internal dissension is prepared for by a N.E.P. period when the national revolution is artificially prolonged. That is why "Titoism" is impossible in the Far East, at least there is little hope of any such movement with a common front against Moscow. It is true that the N.E.P. system conceals another threat to communism that must not be overlooked. But this must not blind us to the fact that communists know where they are with national revolutions, and have incorporated them in their idea of world revolution. The West, on the other hand, has not adjusted its policy to these national movements. It is ignorant of their revolutionary tendency and does not understand them when they take place within an Empire.

unit, from a platoon of 10—12 soldiers up to a division, has its own political officer. He has no active duties, but is responsible for the theoretical training and also plays an important part in planning the military training of his unit. A commander's orders for the day, for instance, are not valid unless they have been approved and signed by the political officer of the battalion.

Political instruction is given from 8—10 every morning. All must appear: men on the sick list are not allowed to go to the doctor till after 10. The teaching itself is quite mechanical. The political officer takes groups in turn and starts off with a lecture. One speaks about the plague of imperialism, another of "ten blows by Stalin", by which he "has won peace for all peoples". Other subjects are: Tito's fascism, the disgrace of the Kulak, marxist theory, the church's treason, etc. Then questions are put on the previous day's lectures and the soldier's notes are inspected. Too many notes indicates bluff, and too few, laziness, both of which are severely punished. Then the group proceeds to the next officer, and the machine continues.

The Aim of the People's Army

The aim of the People's Army is explained thus: it must become increasingly strong in the service of peace. Its most important task is to protect the country from attack by imperialists. It may happen that it is necessary to carry this out in foreign countries, "should the defence of peace and the liberation of peace-loving neighbours so require". Peace must be saved at all costs; this is the supreme law of the People's army.

The Common Round

The day is devoted to military training. It is very severe, being based on imitation of the Soviet army — "You must copy the Soviet soldier, the best in the world. Like him, you must overcome every physical obstacle". No corporal punishment is meted out during drill (e. g. for lying down during forced quick marches, etc., which is strictly forbidden for officers).

In the afternoon, the orders of the day are read out and political training continued, either in the circle of "Friends of the Szabad Nep" (the official daily paper), or in the "Society of Democratic Youth", of which every soldier must be a member, though it is a civilian organization.

In the first case, an article is read aloud and discussed. The meetings usually last 2 hours and severe penalties are inflicted on anyone who does not take part. The smallest and most frequent penalty is for falling asleep during the meeting and it consists of standing on one leg for the rest of the time. The day ends with supper and a tattoo.

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They shall not Pass . . .

By Edith Hyder

Editorial Note: Mrs. Edith Hyder, well known in Canada as a writer and broadcaster, became a warm champion of the peoples subjugated by Moscow after she had studied their past history and their present struggles. Recently she has broadcast a political commentary from the Canadian W.H.L.D. Station, Niagara Falls, as part of the weekly program edited by the "League for the Liberation of Ukraine". We reproduce her broadcast with a few insignificant cuts.

For as Somerset Maugham the fine English author wrote — "if a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is, that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too". Somehow I believe the wisdom in both these utterances fits into this solemn hour (like the missing parts of a jigsaw puzzle) and if we place those thoughts right, the picture of today lies clearly revealed and what we must do to perfect it. As we remember so many things today which have gone before, there are other human forces we must never forget. First, the countless thousands from the new red-subjugated countries, who have either lost their lives, murdered by red robots acting for Stalin, or who are in terrible, deadly slavery, separated from their country, homes, loved ones and any kind of human comfort or need. Working as I have been (my life closely bound up with folk called displaced people) I know too well the actual hell of enforced red slavery and what it has done to many fine peoples and countries alike. I know the story of complete Baltic purgatory, all accomplished by a red technicality! I know the agony of crucified Poland, of the silent Czechs and Slovaks, of Hungarians, Serbians and Croatians and many others. And I know (full well) the story of the unconquerable

Ukraine! Of beautiful, fruitful, colourful Ukraine, which for centuries, as well as today has resisted the cruel impositions of would-be dictator-conquerors shedding its red blood in rivers; trying to remain free and a nation!

So then as we in this free hemisphere (from Canada, Lady of the Snows in the Northland to the great United States of America, Atlantic- and Pacific-bound to the Gulf of Mexico) let us also not forget to remember those, who by their acts in travail-torn Europe have said: "They shall not pass! By their sacrifice (some even daily) they have made it possible for us to live — just so much longer in what we like to call Peace".

. . . America has never tolerated slavery! America has meant freedom at its best! America has given promises! I know while slavery of the Iron Curtain-type exists in this world, "they will not sleep in Flanders Fields" — nor will we here at home! Canadians, too, are awakening to the knowledge that while half the world is enslaved, in fear, afraid to worship God, the world we know cannot long remain untouched, unscarred! And they too now gear to do their part, whenever the hour strikes. While we think of all these things, let us remember yet another great force, perhaps the world's last hope as it could be called, — that force composed of the people, who yet

resist behind the Iron Curtains of Europe, especially. They are there—great groups of them, waiting, praying, watching for the first, great chance to strike back! Stalin knows how Ukrainians feel about this, but perhaps he does not quite know the size of a world force which is steadily being organized against his regime and world-plan for domination. This force is known as the Antibolshevik Bloc (A.B.N.). In it are representatives of twenty-four nations, formerly independent (some charter members of the old League of Nations) and their set objective (even if it takes a hundred years) is — freedom for nations, freedom for individuals! This is not a dream, an idea, a small nucleus group, but is a growing reality. And hourly the A.B.N. members become Legion. In Ukraine tens of thousands of Ukrainian partisans fought for freedom against Hitler (who wanted the wealth of Ukraine and the thrift and cleverness of the Ukrainians to add to his Nazi-State) and then they fought Stalin's.

We must remember that Soviet, Marxist Communism is not the belief of the major number of the people in Russia nor in red-subjugated countries. Out of 193,000,000 some 3½% of these are Soviet bureaucrats (the privileged) and the remaining number 96½% are really state slaves or serfs. Some of them know nothing of our kind of world, many do and someday will come the full awakening! When this happens (and we must bring it to pass) Red Oppressors will know the meaning of a liquidation!

As this is a day of remembrance, let us remember (as well as our gallant dead) that there are people within the orbit of Soviet influence, who will help us bring a real and lasting peace to this wartorn old universe, if we awaken to this fact and do something about it. The voice of the people can be heard (in a democracy) and their diplomats act accordingly. We must

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Food is very good. Breakfast: half a liter of coffee with milk, bread with cheese or sausage. Midday meal: soup followed by meat and vegetables. Supper: a savoury. Equipment is also excellent. A recruit receives two winter and two summer uniforms, two pairs of boots and underwear and soap, everything brand-new. Weapons, on the other hand, from pistols to big guns, are all of Russian origin and date from the last war. It was only recently that the People's Army got its first unused machine-guns, which were delivered with Russian inscriptions.

Demands on the Purse

The army has to pay the same dues as the civilian population. Methods of systematically relieving people of their wages in People's Democracies are well-known (from loans to "relief for Greek children", from "Korean funds to forced savings"). For a few days before each appeal, the food is better, afterwards quality sinks again.

Leading from Behind

In tactics, the Soviet example is followed, according to which the officers of all units and the political officer pushes on the unit from behind. The theory behind this procedure is: "If any operation demands the sacrifice either of one officer or fifteen men, what should be done? The fifteen men must be sacrificed, as the officer is of more value."

And this theory goes still further. One of the refugees mentioned above related that he had been on duty for a whole night along with a comrade and a military bloodhound; at midday they were ordered to do the same service, and naturally wanted to take the bloodhound with them. Their sergeant, however, remarked: "The dog stays here. He worked all night . . ."

Class Distinctions

Officers are now drawn from the lowest classes of labourers and peasants. No ex-regular officers are employed, even if they are enthusiastic members of the Party. Promotion depends altogether on the Party, or on the

political opinion of the officer whose concern it is. There is, for instance a captain of 19!

Old class distinctions have been reversed. Members of the middle classes may in rare cases become non-commissioned officers, but never anything higher (Our two refugees had to wash out the dormitory and the classroom because they alone had graduated from a secondary school).

Military Music

All old soldiers' songs are forbidden and new ones have been introduced. The melodies are mostly Russian, but one was very popular in Austria after Hitler took over the government.

And the words? A typical chorus begins: "Imperialists would like to destroy us. But Truman, Bevin and Tito will be hanged by us."

. . . These refugees from the Hungarian People's Army are glad to be free men again, and to have work. They are very thankful that the latest order whereby a deserter's family is put into a concentration camp, is not retrospective . . .

The Political Situation in Slovakia

By our own Correspondent

In judging of the political situation in Slovakia, we must bear that small country's geopolitical position in mind. It is wedged between countries that are either soviet territory (Soviet Union) or soviet satellites (Poland, Hungary, Czechia), or under the control of the soviets (Russian zone in Austria), and completely isolated from the West. This explains why so few Slovaks succeed in escaping west.

It is all the more remarkable that the people of Slovakia, after six years, should still persist in rejecting both the communist system and the structure of the Czechoslovak government.

Outwardly Communist

Communist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia has now reached a stage similar to that in other satellite states. Its outward signs are propaganda, political terrorism, collective farming, soviet Russian standards in work and Stakhanow methods in industry, shortage of consumer-goods, forced labour camps, and all the other features of life behind the Iron Curtain.

The Internal Situation

But what distinguishes the internal situation in Slovakia from that in other satellite states is the complicated problem of the independence which the Slovak people claims for its own country. Of the people, 90% are opposed not only to communism in theory and practice, but also to the artificial structure of what is known as Czechoslovakia. The Slovaks desire both a change of regime and liberty and independence for their own state.

After both World Wars the Slovaks were compelled to live in Czechoslovakia, and in both periods Slovakia's economy was exploited and its culture oppressed. We can understand their desire for liberty and independence when we compare the bitter facts of their "cooperation" with the Czechs with their prosperity, their social and cultural progress during the six years of the Slovak Republic. This desire is strengthened by the love of liberty and independence.

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The Church in Slovakia

The strong religious sentiments of the Slovak people is decisive for its rejection of communism. The Catholic Church in Slovakia has put many obstacles in the way of the communist conquest of the people's spirit. The mass of the people reveres the priests who are loyal to the Vatican. The communist party and the state, therefore, make great efforts to degrade the priest's profession, and to bribe its unworthy members to serve the state and, by distributing favours, to set them up against priests who are loyal to Rome. But the people themselves have no respect for priests who have been excommunicated and taken under the protection of the communist regime. Conservative country people, up-to-date town dwellers and workmen disappointed in communism, all show a positive attitude to Christianity.

Activities of Slovaks in Exile

With the exception of a small communist minority, the Slovak people supports the program and the activities of the Slovak Liberation Committee in exile. It expects that the efforts of the Committee under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Durcansky, formerly Foreign

on this continent in the Export Brand of Soviet Socialistic Communism. Export it is, for in Red Russia, what is good for the people is the last consideration.

We have had too little to say about this way of life which has brought us so much. We have lacked courage to talk about the good a decently run democracy can bring to individuals. We do not lack the power to wage war but we have lacked the energy, understanding and wisdom to wage counter-propaganda warfare. And thus it is so many people of the world know little of our truths, and all the untruths about us thro' insidious, overrolling Soviet "anti-democracy" propaganda.

The sword of liberty can be two-edged. One side, to draw blood, the other, to cut thro' red propaganda webs.

If we leave the latter long in its sheath, the cutting edge will have to be used! We need the sympathies, the understanding of enslaved people and to step-up world-wide propaganda, so to get in behind the iron curtains, to inspire and keep the spirit of counter-revolution alive in subjugated nations, that is our job, today!

Minister of Slovakia will save the country and free it from Moscow and Prague.

Underground Movement

The people shows its resistance mainly by sabotaging projects, distributing illegal literature, publishing posters with messages of resistance, helping political persecutees and supporting their families. In addition, the group known as *Slovak White Partisans* has been conducting guerilla warfare in various mountainous and forest areas.

The Slovak Partisan movement has the same political ideas as the Slovak Liberation Committee and fights constantly for a democratic, free Slovak republic. It receives neither material nor moral support from the West and depends entirely on the resources of the Slovak people. Its strength varies, amounting at present to 15,000. It is active chiefly in Central Slovakia.

There are many people who are forced to flee into the forests, form small groups there and fight desperately against bolsheviks. There, for instance, those who have escaped from communist prison and concentration camps, or who are threatened because of their convictions by death, imprisonment, deportation or forced labour.

Indifference of the West

The Slovak people is bitterly disappointed at the indifference of the Western democratic world to its struggle for liberation. They are depressed above all by the broadcasts from the "Free Europa" station; they are in Slovakian and cling to the structure of Czechoslovakia, completely ignoring the Slovak people's right to self-determination. The anti-communist population finds it hard to understand why America pays politicians to broadcast, who collaborated with Benes and his clique and thus helped communism to victory in Slovakia.

The desire for a state of its own is so deeply rooted in Slovakia that it is manifest even among the communist minority, though there different from the aim of the anti-communist populace. Independence was on the official program of Slovak communists at first, but, as Moscow has decided for union with the Czechs, it is now rigorously suppressed as "national communism". The purge, which is still being conducted in the communist party, intended to get rid of "bourgeois nationalists", such as Clementis, Husáks, Novomesky etc. who themselves destroyed hundreds of Slovak anti-communists.

Apology

In the No. 12, 1951, of "A.B.N.-Correspondence", one error unfortunately crept into the text of the article "Alliances Between Russia and the West" which distorted the sense. We apologise to the author and our readers.

Page 9, col. 3, line 16 should read "The age of chivalry is gone", not "The age of children" etc. The Editors.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

"INDUSTRIALIZATION"

According to communications in the Soviet press, a number of industrial concerns have started work in Albania in recent times — a textile combine, called "Stalin", a hydro-electric plant called "Lenin", a sugar combine called "Malik" and others. Soviet machinery is installed in Albanian factories. Moscow is speeding up the process of incorporating the satellite states in the Soviet Union.

BULGARIA

NEW HYDRO-ELECTRIC WORKS

The bolsheviks must industrialize the countries subjugated by them quickly in the interest of their war machine, if they want to carry out their plans of world conquest. In order to increase their economic or war potential, they are industrializing all their satellite states, using the familiar methods of forced labour, concentration camps, etc. New water-power plants are being built in Bulgaria to supply power for plants in that country that are to work for the Soviet Army. Thus, a gigantic dam is being built on the River Isker with a capacity of 670 million cubic meters. The water is to drive the turbines of three hydro-electric works plants that are now being built and produce 56,000 kilowatts. New power plants have already been built in the Danube valley, the Rila Mountains and a new thermal electric plant in Dimitrovgrad.

In 1944 the total electricity produced in the country amounted to 307 million kilowatts, the plant, "Republika", now

The Second Front

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Ukraine, Turkestan, Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, etc. the Allied fleets giving support from the Black Sea.

b) Logical conclusions must be drawn from the fact that the Soviet army is composed of soldiers of different nationalities. Bolshevik armies in the Far East, for instance, are largely composed of members of subjugated nations. We should even now launch an ideological attack by broadcasting, and it should be possible for us to spread messages throughout the Soviet Union and its satellite states by means of pamphlets, thus closing the grip of psychological warfare round the U.S.S.R. In Bolshevik divisions, not far from the Korean theatre of war, there are freedom-loving Turkestanians, Byelo-

in process of construction, will alone produce 450 million kilowatts a year. The "Lenin" Square in Sofia is being widened in order to make room for a statue to Lenin.

BYELORUSSIA

MOSCOW'S PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The "Pravda" of December 20, 1951 contained a long article dealing with the achievements of the communist party in Byelorussia in the province of propaganda. We reproduce a few extracts:

"The Historical Institute of the party affiliated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Byelorussia and the State Publishing Concern in the Republic have published along with Lenin's work, thirteen volumes by Stalin in Byelorussian." "During the year party organisations have devoted particular attention to raising the niveau of political training in all party agencies . . ."

"An army of agitators, consisting of more than 180,000 people, members and non-members of the party, have accomplished much by way of enlightening the masses and making them familiar with the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin."

"The Institute of Philology is at present finishing preparations for publishing a Russian-Byelorussian and Byelorussian-Russian dictionary with 80—85 thousand words. The Institute of Philology in the Academy of Science of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic organized an extensive discussion of the project of reforming Byelorussian spelling.

There is still much to be desired in the work done by the Academy of Science, the secondary schools and scientific in-

russians, Tartars, Georgians, Ukrainians, Azerbajianians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, men from Idel-Ural, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and other anti-bolsheviks. Secret stations in Japan, Australia, Western Germany, Turkey and elsewhere ought to speak to the subjugated nations in our name. But the speakers must not be "stickit" exiled politicians of the past, who are regarded by our peoples with irony and contempt, but uncompromising anti-bolshevik champions of freedom, who appeal to our peoples in the name of their organizations and movements and from the stronghold of the A.B.N.

Coordination Essential

To sum up, victory over bolshevist world aggression and imperialist Moscow will be assured only if the plans of the free world of the West can be coordinated with the will and political aims of our peoples.

stitutes. The party organizations at the colleges, scientific institutes have not succeeded in bringing subjects forward for systematic discussion at meetings of the party offices and of the communist party dealing with things like the quality of teaching political science, plans for scientific research, etc. In a number of colleges and scientific institutes there is little frank criticism and self-criticism, which is an obstacle to the progress of scientific research and teaching in general. The central committee of the communist party in Byelorussia has disclosed such shortcomings in the work done by the Institute of Philosophy and Law in the Academy of Science of the Byelorussian Republic. In discussing scientific works, there was very little fundamental criticism or constructive discussion and the staff of the Institute praised each other, which resulted in the recommendation of poor works for publication."

"It is essential in the interests of a progressive Byelorussian art that the committee for art questions in the Cabinet should devote more attention to the difficulties of the Republic." (This committee is in Moscow and the "Pravda" here demands that the Russians should interfere more in questions dealing with art in Byelorussia. — Ed.)

In accordance with the historical ordinances of the central committee of the communist party in the Soviet Union and with Comrade Stalin's instructions in the field of propaganda, party organisations are stepping up their program among the working classes of Byelorussia and attacking capitalism as an idea and the revival of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism."

COSSACKIA

FAILURE TO REACH TARGETS

In its leading article on December 25, 1951, the "Izvestiya" complains that for years the plans to train drivers of tractors and other agricultural machinery in the districts round Rostov and Stalingrad have not been fulfilled. Owing to a shortage of trained technicians, machinery centres in these areas have been left standing full, even at seed-time and harvest. As a result, the targets set by the State, have not been reached. Even now, in spite of frequent appeals to the people to support the courses of training drivers of agricultural machines, only 1327 men have reported, although 7605 trainees are required.

Three days previously (December 22) the "Pravda" criticized conditions in machinery centres. It seems that machines are so stupidly set up that they have to be sent back to the centre as soon as they arrive at their destination.

Signals of alarm have already been given in the soviet press lest targets during the seed-time of 1952 should not be reached in consequence of shortcomings in machinery centres.

"A HAPPY LIFE"

The "Pravda" of December 13, 1951 contains an article by I. Boyzov, the secretary of the district committee of the communist party. He tries to prove that the life of workers on colhoses is steadily improving, but his examples must convince readers of the contrary. Boyzov tells about the colhose called Stalin, in the district of Nowo-Alexandrovsk, one of the largest in the country, with 1,540 families and a total of 9,950 persons. According to him, the workers on this kolkhoze received unprecedently high wages in 1951 — 4 kilograms of grain and 3 roubles 25 copecks for every working day. (In the Soviet Union 1 kilo of white bread costs 4 roubles, 25 copecks and the kolkhoze workers get 27 copecks from the state for the 4 kilograms of grain the produce.)

Boyzov gives the following statistics which he presents as proof of great success: at the end of 1951, the kolkhoze in question had 1,930 cows and ocen (1 for every 4 persons), 6,510 sheep (about half a sheep per person) and 2,198 pigs (1 for every four persons).

When we bear in mind that Soviet statistics are very often cooked and that the Stalin kolkhoze is a model collective farm, we can imagine what actual life in the other kolkhozes is like.

CROATIA

PLAYING ON A VULCANO

Dr. A Stepinac, Primate of Croatia and Archbishop of Zagreb is doubtless a very hard nut for the Yugoslav Tito regime and has already damaged its teeth. In company with their flock, the bishops of Croatia have suffered much from the communist regime. Two bishops were murdered, others had to flee for their lives (e. g. D. Ivan Saric, Archbishop of Sarajevo, and Pater Garic, Bishop of Basya, who has since died in exile), while Dr. Cule, Bishop of Mostar, is still languishing in prison. Dr. Yanko Shimrak, the only Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop in Croatia, and Dr. Stepinac's intimate fellow-worker, was poisoned in prison. The Belgrade regime, which is constantly begging the Western Powers for more and more millions, had in the end to release Dr. Stepinac from prison. The Croatian Primate was interned in Krasic, his native place. The authorities are uncertain whether he is more dangerous for their alien, communist system outside of prison or in it. Trouble is so near the surface that it breaks out on the smallest provocation. A Dalmatian football team, for instance, was spat on and assaulted by the public in Belgrade. All kinds of epithets were showered on them, such as "murderers", "nazis", etc. The revenge came when the final was played in Zagreb between the Belgrade team, "Red Star" and the Zagreb "Dynamo" club. The latter won and it was the signal for a spontaneous national demonstration against hated foreign oppressors. The game was followed by an

improvised procession of 50,000 demonstrators who gathered on the playing field and marched through the main streets of the town to the cheering of the public. Communist papers, here at least fulfilling their purpose, served as torches and were thrown in bundles to the demonstrators by the inhabitants from their windows. "Down with the Serbian Communist occupier! Down with communism! Long live independent Croatia!" shouted tens of thousands, in streets and houses. The communist Militia was taken by surprise and powerless to quell this spontaneous demonstration. A few hundreds were indeed arrested, but the crowd did not disperse till late at night when the demonstration ceased of itself.

This small outbreak of the "Yugoslavian" volcano is characteristic of conditions in the state that was artificially formed at St. Germain. It can only last till pressure comes from outside, when it will be blown away like a soap bubble and with it the "national communism" so highly esteemed by some childish minds.

SLOVAKIA

HEADQUARTERS OF COMINFORM ARMIES

On November 16, 1951, the headquarters of the cominform armies was transferred from Karlsbad to Trencin (Waag valley), as Karlsbad was near the western frontier, and the mountainous district of Slovakia seemed a better locality. The High Command has also resolved that, in the event of war, Slovak soldiers will not be used in the first line of defence, because they are likely to desert; they will be used in the third line of defence. Some units of M.V.D. secret police have also arrived in Trencin.

SLOVAK WAGGONS FOR U.S.S.R.

In factories for railway waggons, in Trencin and Vrutky (Northwest Slovakia) special steel waggons for 25 t are now being produced. They are constructed so that they can run both on Russian and European tracks and are specially made for the transportation of heavy arms. The Russians will probably use them to transport their "peace-doves".

PAMPHLETS FOR THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Refugees report that underground organizations in Slovakia are distributing pamphlets announcing the determination of the Slovaks to renew the Slovak Republic and support for Prof. Durcansky's activity abroad. These pamphlets also warn the population not to listen in to the "Free Europe" broadcasts till they make propaganda for a united Czechoslovakia. The people want the separation of Slovakia from Czechia. People are also urged to resist communism with the caution that is necessary to prevent victimization.

TURKESTAN

MOSCOW FINDS FAULT NATIONALISM AGAIN ...

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Union of Young Communists of Kazakhstan in the second half of November 1951 and the fifth congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party both discussed the increasing movement among the people of Kazakhstan for liberation from foreign Russian tyranny. (We remind our readers that this country, situated north-east of the Caspian Sea, is inhabited by the Kasakh, a tribe of the Turkestanian people). We reproduce two extracts from a lengthy article published in the "Pravda" of 21. 12. 51:

"More attention has recently been devoted to propaganda. Ideological problems have been more frequently and thoroughly discussed in the meetings of the Central Committee, the various district committees, town and country, of the party, and at meetings of local organizations and intellectual circles. Measures have been taken to

RUMANIA

MORE OIL FOR THE WAR MACHINE

According to reports in the Soviet press, oil production in Rumania has increased 22.9% last year and wells have been widened by 31% in comparison with 1950. All work in connection with increasing the production of oil has been stepped up and much machinery and technical equipment has been imported to Rumania from the Soviet Union. Soviet methods of work have also been introduced in Rumanian oil-fields.

Obviously Rumanian oil production is being harnessed to the Soviet war-machine.

eliminate serious errors and distortions in the presentation of Kazakhstan history, literature, and art, and mistakes in schoolbooks."

"Comrade Moysseyev, secretary in the Communist Party of Kazakhstan pointed out mistakes that had been made in selecting personnel for educational institutions throughout the country. He said that his colleagues in the central committee, Comrade Schaykhetov and Comrade Kruglov had not always paid sufficient or timely attention to signals directing activity in this important section.

Errors of major importance were revealed a year ago in the publicity services of the Republic. It was disclosed that bourgeois nationalists had long been active in the domain of history, art and literature. Recently the central committee of the communist party of Kazakhstan took several steps to strengthen the party agencies responsible for propaganda and to rectify the errors that had been made here.

Comrade Khramkov, chief of the department for propaganda and publicity in the central committee of the communist party of Kazakhstan, admitted that his department had made many mistakes and that it had not properly supervised the work of publicity institutions, for instance the work of lecturers in social economy in the universities, or the work of the union of writers, or of the Kazakhstan Academy of Science which, up to quite recently, was under Satpayev, who became the leader of the nationalists. When the party press disclosed these errors, some of the members of the office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan did not pursue a positive and consistent policy in the campaign to rectify them. The speaker thought that these erring members included Comrade Kruglov, secretary of the central committee and Comrad Kanapin, an official in the committee. "The office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan", Comrade Pasikov, secretary of the party organization for the eastern districts of Kazakhstan, declared, "has not taken the steps necessary to promote criticism and self-criticism among workers on the ideological front. Omarov, formerly secretary of the central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, hindered the disclosure of bourgeois nationalism."

UKRAINE

RUSSIFICATION AND EXPLOITATION

The end of 1951 saw Ukraine living and slaving under the increasing pressure of Russian imperialism. We do not need to seek proof of this in reports from underground channels; it is obvious from authentic and official Soviet publications.

In No. 330 of the "Pravda", for instance, (Nov. 26, 1951) there is an interesting account of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine. The

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Opposes Russian Imperialism

A.B.N. Demonstration in Wolverhampton

Editorial Note: On December 29, 1951 a General Meeting of a Section of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was held at Wolverhampton (Great Britain), and passed a number of resolutions protesting against the Russian and Bolshevik totalitarian regime and tyranny. We print below the summary of these resolutions. Their full text has been sent to the President of U.S.A., Harry S. Truman; General of the U.S. Army Dwight D. Eisenhower; Shape Hq., Monsieur R. Pleven, Minister President of France; Mr. John F. Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom; the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Yaroslav Stetzko.

Resolutions

of the mass meeting of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians and other nationalities assembled at Wolverhampton on 29th December, 1951, to protest against Russian imperialist policy.

We, the inhabitants of the City of Wolverhampton, originating from the countries now occupied by Russia i. e. Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine etc. submit the following resolutions to the public opinion of the free world.

Our aim is a free and independent Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine living in peace and on terms of equality and goodwill with all other nations.

The present world crisis is a consequence of the expansion of historical and traditional Russian imperialism which in bolshevism has reached its most perfect an effective form of totalitarian aggression.

The direct aims of the imperialism of Moscow today — and it has not altered in its 500 years history — is to destroy the national substance of the oppressed nations and to undermine the rest of the world.

At the same time, Moscow's Fifth Columns recruited from the ranks of duped or bribed adherents are working fast in all countries of the world to make them ripe for Russian conquest.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples in the U.S.S.R. is not carried on solely with a view to changing the Government. It is not only directed against communism. It is sustained to destroy Russian imperialism as such, to break the shackles of Russian domination under any regime and in any form, to ensure freedom for the peoples which Russia has subjugated.

The Russian people are the principal basis and human material of Russo-bolshevist Imperialism and are the only ruling nation in the U.S.S.R.

The oppressed peoples of the Imperialist Soviet Russian colossus by no means deny the right of the Russians to have their own sovereign state

within their ethnographic boundaries, but definitely oppose any desires and reject any proposals put forward by Russian emigrants to preserve the integrity of the Russian imperium under any alternative form of government with the inclusion of any other nationality than the Russian themselves.

We Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and all other nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations advocate the liberation of all subject peoples of the tsarist Imperium and of the U.S.S.R., enabling them to form independent national states in accordance with their national aspirations.

We condemn and protest against the continuation of the Russian Imperialist policy in Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine and other subjugated nations with its persecutions, artificially created hunger, mass deportations, concentration camps and slave labour.

We ask the United Nations to inquire into these crimes deliberately committed by the Soviet Russian government in our and other countries and to exclude Russia from the United Nations as guilty of aggression against countries.

We in exile are determined to subordinate our activities and interests to the interests and needs of our peoples fighting at home for their national rights and for the ultimate liberation of our countries from the Russians, regardless whether Red or White.

We have been shown much generous hospitality in these British Isles and we express our deep gratitude to His Majesty's Government and the British People.

We take this opportunity to send our warm and heartfelt good wishes to our long-suffering people and all the steadfast and heroic fighters in our Homelands and scattered throughout the whole world.

Liberty for all peoples — Freedom for the individual!

In Defence of the Subjugated Nations

Memoranda submitted by the A.B.N. and the Scottish League for European Freedom to the Plenary Session of the United Nations

To the United Nations

The Central Committee of the Anti-bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) sent a memorandum to the VI. Plenary Session of the United Nations demanding the immediate formation of a common front of freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The aim of such a front was stated to be the defence of the national independence of peoples subjugated and threatened by Russian bolshevism and the protection of religion and culture from bolshevist aggression. The attention of Western Powers was drawn to the necessity of supporting the national movements of liberation among non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states. The Memorandum stresses that permanent peace in the world will not be achieved till the Soviet Union is disintegrated into independent states of all the nations at present subjugated by Moscow.

To Member-states of U.N.

In the memorandum sent to the representatives of 50 memberstates of the United Nations, the Scottish League for European Freedom directed attention to the occupation by Moscow of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, all formerly full members of the League of Nations. The Memorandum pointed out how Moscow is destroying all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, among them Byelorussians and Ukrainians who are members of the United Nations.

It goes on to point out that Russian imperialism is the only threat to world peace and that its destruction is essential for the freedom, prosperity and peace of humanity.

agenda contained only two points, viz. 1. The unsatisfactory condition of party propaganda in Ukraine, and measures for its improvement, and 2. The preparation of the kolkhoze, the M.T.S. and the sovkhoze in Ukraine in order to achieve maximum production in all branches of agriculture in 1952.

To put it shortly, the communist party in Ukraine was concerned mainly with the fact 1) that Ukraine is not sufficiently Russian and bolshevist, and 2) that it should produce more deliveries for Moscow.

The whip of Moscow's criticism, terrorism and dissatisfaction was in the hands of the secretary of the Central Committee, L. O. Melnikov, a Russian, who has been the representative of the regime in Ukraine for the last 3 years. His severe, sometimes devastating, criticism revealed all the problems, difficulties and the more or less open resistance which Moscow had to meet in Ukraine even in 1951.

Now, as before, Enemy Nr. 1 was "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". The following central organizations of cultural life in Soviet Ukraine were sub-

jected in turn to such censure: 1. The Union of Soviet writers in Ukraine; 2. The Union of Soviet composers in Ukraine; 3. The Union of Soviet artists in Ukraine; 4. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Science; 5. The Committee for art in the cabinet of Ukraine and, in addition, a number of leading Soviet Ukrainian newspapers.

Moscow's representative in Ukraine was particularly incensed by the tardy progress in the integration of the language of Soviet Ukraine with Russian. The following is an extract:

"Even today words are still being deliberately used in papers, magazines and conversation which Ukrainian nationalists have introduced because they do not resemble the corresponding Russian expressions; nationalists wish to keep the two languages separate. The Ukrainian Academy of Science, the literary institutes and some writers are not sufficiently energetic in freeing the Ukrainian language from the rubbish introduced by bourgeois nationalists."

When Melnikov finished, reports were given by practically all the im-

portant functionaries of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine; there was an orgy of self-criticism and all promised to mend their ways. It was once more decided to fight "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" to the death. All, one after another, promised to "consolidate the unbreakable bonds between the Ukrainian people and its elder brother, the Russian people". All resolved to draw more freely on "the inexhaustible stores of Russian culture and make them more accessible to Ukraine."

Criticism and resolutions of the central committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine in connection with Ukraine's position as regards Soviet imperialism, ran along the same lines. Here, too, faults and sins of omission were confessed and improvement was repently promised. Here, too, promises were made of more work, greater pains, bigger harvests, and still greater exploitation of the country in order to "provide the soviet fatherland, the beloved soviet state, with the necessary produce it demanded".

The meeting of the communist Central Committee is a kind of preview of the soviet programme for Ukraine in 1952. This programme contains only 2 points for the subjugated territory, namely, russification and exploitation.

Meeting of Cossackian Parliament

We have received the following communiqué from the Cossackian Information Office:

The Supreme Cossackian Council (Cossackian Parliament in Exile) met in Munich from December 23-27.

The Supreme Cossackian Council consists of 57 delegates who were elected last autumn in general and secret elections by all Cossacks living in the free countries of the world. These delegates came to Munich from different countries, such as Austria, Italy, France, England, Belgium, Germany and those who are at present living overseas sent powers of attorney to various members of the meeting.

By secret vote, the Council elected General Serge Makeev to be supreme Ataman (president) and re-elected the well-known Cossackian politician and champion of the liberation movement, Ing. Vasil Glaskov, to be president of the supreme Cossack representation (Cossack government in exile), and Ivan Bezuglov, editor of the "Kasakia" review, and Col. Michael Kolessov, president of the union of Cossackian veterans to be vice-presidents.

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Vote of Thanks

We gladly inform our Readers that this issue of "A.B.N.-Correspondence" has been financed by Mr. Vassyl Ko, of New York, U.S.A., who gave \$ 150 for this purpose.

Mr. Vassyl Ko is a Ukrainian worker who recently resettled in U.S.A. as a D.P. Mr. Vassyl Ko is known among the Ukrainian exiles in Europe as a very generous contributor to the Ukrainian liberation cause. He spends almost all of his earnings on the support of Ukrainian political and cultural institutions, newspapers and on fugitives from behind the Iron Curtain. By his unprecedented generosity he gives an example of a model social behaviour for all his Ukrainian countrymen.

We feel obliged to express publicly to Mr. Vassyl Ko our most deeply felt gratitude. We are sure that his contribution will greatly help materially and still more morally the cause of our liberation.

Publisher & Editors.

Editorial

How to Localize and Win the War Against Russia

As long as the bolsheviks parade the power of their countless divisions before the eyes of the Western World, and as long as the press in the West continues to alarm the peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain by reports about the divisions, the West will be too overwhelmed by the Russian "superiority" to produce any satisfactory program to meet it. Nor can Europe's efforts to put up 30 divisions against the advancing massed armies of the Soviet Union be of much value in strengthening the West's self-confidence and hope of victory.

A comparison of the two sides from the numerical standpoint reminds us of the meeting between David and Goliath. Russia has always depended on the uses of masses. The problem, therefore, is to find the proper method of destroying the numerical superiority of the U.S.S.R. and to apply it with due skill at the right time and place. The only weapon capable of blowing the Russian prison of nations up from within is not the atomic bomb but the idea of the national liberation of the peoples oppressed by Russia. And the support of the liberation movements of these peoples and the satellite states is the weapon the West must seize, if it would be victorious against Moscow at minimum cost. Cooperation with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), the common front of these peoples, is the interest of the West.

The Peoples Behind The A.B.N.

There may at present be gaps in the organization and structure of the A.B.N., but that is unimportant. The decisive point is that it represents fighting organizations and liberation movements in various peoples that are

already operating. It is of little account which nations are represented by a definite organization in the A.B.N. and which are not. The main thing is that all the non-Russian peoples in the Bolshevik imperium are behind the A.B.N. as a factor of great potential power, since no nation has ever abandoned, can never abandon, its rights of sovereignty and claim to freedom. Even if recreant representatives of these nations in exile have deserted the banner of independence for their nation, this banner will be held aloft by the A.B.N. and the nation in question will throng to support it in the decisive hour. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast the slogan of independence for every people within its ethnic borders, no matter whether emigrés of one or the other people may support federation with Russia,

thus betraying their people's cause. The A.B.N., for instance, is firmly convinced that neither Azerbaijanians, the Byelorussians or any other of the subjugated nations will consent to federation with Russia, but will continue the fight for complete separation from Moscow and thus realize the sacred right every independent state has of deciding its own affairs.

Unauthorized Dabblers In Politics

We know very well that these peoples would never approve a resurrection either of the "Vlassov Movement" (K.O.N.R.) or of the "Kerensky Movement". Dabblers in politics in exile who accept as representatives of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet

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The First Essential Equality of Rights for Every Nation

By Dr. Stephan Buc, former Croatian M.P.

Taking the whole breadth of Europe, from the Urals to the Atlantic into consideration, there never was in all its history greater and more unjust differences between the communities living there as nations than there is today. We can get a better grasp of the tragedy if we compare the psyche of modern man with that of his forbears. When Ivan the Terrible or Peter I was in power, their subjects were different from those under Josef Dzhugashvili-Stalin, just as the subjects of the "roi de soleil" in the Paris of the 17th century differed considerably from modern Frenchmen. It is true that then there were individuals who suffered under despotism and rebelled against slavery, but the masses cannot have been so unhappy because their consciousness was still sleeping. They were not awakened till the slogans of "equality" and "liberty" resounded in America and the extreme west of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Modern Man and the State

The great political, economic and mental revolutions that have taken place since then have completely changed the world, humanity and the individual. The individual is now

awake; he is conscious of his own rights, has been transformed from an "object" to a "subject". Changes had to be made in every department of life to suit man's altered needs. States that had grown obsolete were broken up and their political structure changed by force, if necessary. Thus the American people, awakened, took up arms to rid itself of English rule, and erected its own state; the French people sent their divinely appointed kings packing and established a republic, etc. We quote only the best known examples, but they will suffice, for we who are surrounded by the results of this modern development have no need of further proof. Thus, the ethnic-historical communities of Europe became nations, and "subjects", whereas they had been merely physical formations, as it were. "A nation is a soul", said Ernst Renan, thus characterizing the most significant factor in modern development.

Size is not the Criterion of a Nation

We must admit that this development came from the West where it began about a century earlier, a fact which does not demand any further comment. To define it more exactly, a nation is a community of feeling which should

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Union the ideas of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", automatically forfeit all authority to represent their peoples. Should the West attempt to introduce by bayonets the idea of an indivisible Russian imperium into the Soviet Union, and should the S.O.N.R. with some non-Russian dabblers in politics appear in their native countries, they will be received as traitors in the service of the enemy, and treated accordingly. Fresh blood will then be shed against new occupiers and traitors.

These traitors among non-Russian emigrés are being paid with American dollars today. But we warn the Western World against cultivating treason in these circles. That Russian imperialists are ready to play the part of Judas is no reason why Americans should do so. Sooner or later these traitors will appear before the court of their own peoples and they cannot escape punishment. Their doings in exile are not fundamentally different from the practices of the N.K.V.D. and the M.V.D. at home. Should they appear one day in their native countries in the ranks of the Russian "liberator", they will be confronted by the national divisions of their own people who will sweep them and their protectors out of existence.

The Oath Will Be Kept

At the foundation of the A.B.N. in 1943 in Ukraine in a meeting at a place that was occupied by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) the latter and the insurgent troops of other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union swore an oath of mutual loyalty and help, an oath sealed by blood. This oath will be kept, till the hour of freedom strikes, not only in Kyiv, but also in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, and in Baku, the capital of Aserbaishan, and their national flags fly as a symbol of liberty in all the capitals of the non-Russian peoples. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast to the device that alone represents the inflexible will of all peoples subjugated by Moscow, namely, "Our own life in our own country free of federal interference from Russia! Our own life in our own state, with an army, a parliament, a government of our own, independent of Moscow or any other alien power!" And that is what will come!

Just as the giant Goliath was brought low by the boy David, "Great Russia", a colossus on feet of clay, will one day be conquered by the united strength of our peoples — of 3 million Aserbaijanians, 15 million Byelorussian, 45 million Ukrainians and all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. Our idea of national liberation is so powerfully explosive that it will inevitably bring about the fall of the Russian imperium. It is the guarantee of victory over the giant Goliath. The intrigues of certain Western circles who try to purchase the services of instruments among non-Russian exiles for a new Russian imperialism and tyranny put obstacles in our way, thus undermining the West's chances of victory from the outset. Such attempts will not help to localize the conflict between the East

and the West. On the contrary. They will expand it all over the world.

A Tragic Paradox

It is a tragic paradox that the Western World should make every effort to avoid war while the attitude of its politicians towards the decisive problem of the non-Russian peoples must inevitably lead to a worldwide expansion of the war.

All who are serious about avoiding war keep their eyes on the Achilles heel of the Russian dungeon of nations, i. e. on the possibility of utilizing the explosive power of the idea of national liberation among subjugated non-Russian peoples. For this would, if not avoid war, at least localize it. It is therefore in the interest of the the West itself to support these peoples in their fight against Russian imperialism, to attract them from the Russian front into their own. It is here that a blockade of the enemy can be successful by a concentric attack.

The West should not leave the entire burden to us, while it stands aside and watches us bleed to death. Russia today is not only our enemy, but the enemy of the whole world. We don't want to be made a cat's paw of and the West itself must take part in the fight and make sacrifices which can be reduced to a minimum only if the struggle is coordinated with the strength behind our liberation movements. The foundations of the Russian imperium are by no means firm and it would not be difficult to shake them if this was gone about in the right way.

The West must do something to give the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union some concrete hope and destroy their feeling of isolation from the Western world.

A Voice In Support Of Our Ideas

General Fuller, the English military writer, launched, the following proposal in his article, "What the Kremlin Fears Most":

Lastly, I will end with a concrete proposal. Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change of regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western powers should coincide with the aim of the A.B.N. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish — that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step towards achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common Anti-Bolshevik front. The duties of this front should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in bolshevizing the world."

The ideas for which we have been fighting for years are evidently grain-

ing ground in competent Western circles. The sooner the West takes practical steps, the surer the localization of the war. If the biggest stations in the world begin to broadcast not only in the language but also in the spirit of the A.B.N., if our fighters behind the Iron Curtain feel that they are being supported everywhere, and if all these programs are coordinated with our centre of planning and we are recognized as an ally of the West with equal rights, then cracks in the structure of the Soviet Union will begin to appear. Even if the U.S.S.R. should reply to such measures by a declaration of war, it would not be able to conduct a war of aggression because the Soviet army would begin to disintegrate in the first weeks of the war just as it did when Germany invaded the country.

Instead, therefore, of puzzling about how to avoid the war that the Soviet Union is systematically preparing for, the West ought to be planning how to win it with the minimum of casualties. But if the West, for instance, approves a new edition of the "Council for the Liberation of Russia" (S.O.N.R.) and supports a policy of Russian imperialism it will play into Moscow's hand just as surely as Hitler did when he refused to recognize the independence of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, thus paving the way for Stalin's "Patriotic War".

The Duty of the West

General Fuller shows great wisdom and far-sightedness when he writes:

"If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic, to think in terms of liberation is democratic."

The limitation of the war in time and place lies, therefore, in the hands of Western politicians if they will appropriate the ideas of the A.B.N. General Fuller expressed this clearly when he said:

"Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the A.B.N. — however lacking in organization it still is — to be found the only potential second front... Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

In conclusion let us repeat: the realization of democracy in the East is unthinkable without the disintegration of the Russian dungeon of nations into the national independent states within their ethnic frontiers of the subjugated peoples, the first condition for the complete development of the character of the individual. For us, the democratic idea cannot be separated from the idea of national liberty, a principle that is expressed by the slogans:

Away from Russia!

Freedom for peoples!

Freedom for the individual!

Side-lights:**The „Eastern Europe“ Conference**

A conference was arranged by the Council of Europe for representatives now in exile of satellite states of the Soviet Union; it took place in London on January 21–22, 1952 and was attended by such prominent leaders of Western Europe as Henry Spaak, ex-Prime Minister of Belgium, General de Gaulle's collaborator, Gaston Palevski, C. Davis, Chairman of the British Liberal Party, Arthur Greenwood, formerly a Minister in England and some German politicians.

The conference was intended only for representatives of states outside the Soviet Union in 1939. Representatives of nations incorporated at that time in the U.S.S.R. were allowed to attend only as observers.

In view of the attitude expressed during the conference towards the S.R., it could not well have been otherwise. The speakers assumed that a revolution in the Soviet Union was neither possible nor feasible. The Soviets, it was stated, would voluntarily abandon their satellites under pressure. The claims of nations that have been oppressed for more than 30 years were not mentioned at the conference.

Time was spent discussing the purely academic plan of a new economic and philosophical order, once the Soviets had voluntarily vacated their satellite states.

In the discussions, the concept "Europe" suffered considerably, for the area on which Christian and Western traditions have built up a way of life for its peoples, was reduced to the periphery on the West, a blow to the resistance of the free world to bolshevism, and to the vital force of Europe itself. There are no deadline dates, no provisions for superannuation when it comes to restoring freedom to peoples who have been deprived of it by force.

The weakness of this conference was that it was attended almost exclusively by politicians who had emigrated from the satellite states, after they had collaborated for years after the war with communists, and are therefore also to blame for the present unhappy state of their peoples. The Slovak Liberation Committee, the Czech National Committee in London, and representatives of Sudeten Germans protested against the presence of politicians with compromising records.

**Millions
That Haunt Their Dreams**

Many rumours and intrigues have appeared in connection with the 100 million dollars fund that is said to have been earmarked in the American budget for foreign aid, in order to support the fight against bolshevism. It would appear that American funds are to be allocated only to schemes of resistance actually in existence. This decision

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Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

Continued from the last issue

II.

Conditions in Ukraine

In Ukraine, Russian terror continues ceaselessly, unhesitatingly. Its mechanism has improved with years. Its current phase is being experienced by thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians now. With rigid consistency and unparalleled ruthlessness, the Soviet regime is trying to subdue the Ukrainian people by turning them into obedient slaves of their superior Russian brother. It is nothing but conscious and deliberate physical extermination of a race, a horrible vivisection on the living organism of a people, which makes the blood in one's veins grow cold and one's hair grow grey. The very fact that the Soviet hangmen are able to perform such a genocide on an old, civilized and Christian people in the middle of the 20th century and in a corner of old Europe is the shame of this century and the shame of all mankind.

The methods by which the Soviets perform genocide on the Ukrainian people are still more shameful. These methods are nothing but the negation of all human progress and civilization. They are a cynical and degenerate mockery of the achievements of all mankind, an unprecedented crime against humanity.

The methods of Soviet terror in Ukraine are fully described in a unique and curious document which reached the West in the fall of 1947 when armed groups of the Ukrainian insurgents succeeded in penetrating Poland and Czechoslovakia and surrendered to the American authorities in the US Zone in Germany. The insurgents brought a copy of a Ukrainian underground magazine "The Independent" published somewhere in Ukraine in the first half of 1947. The magazine contained an article entitled "The Shame of the 20th century" which is not only a detailed but a horrible account of Soviet atrocities in Ukraine.

The U.P.A.

When the Soviet armies began launching their offensives against the Germans and the Soviet war-machine began to roll back over Ukraine, the Soviets met there a vast underground army of some 200,000 armed Ukrainian men, called the Ukrainska Povstancha Armiya (U.P.A.). It was an independent "third force" both anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet, aiming at the establishment of a Sovereign Ukrainian State and, therefore, opposed to both kinds of imperialisms striving at enslaving Ukraine. The U.P.A. started its activities in 1942, at the peak of German military power, grew strong in the struggle against the Nazis and contributed considerably to their defeat in Eastern Europe.

The Soviets knew of the existence of the U.P.A., but underestimated its force. The death of Soviet Marshal Valutin who fell in a battle against a

U.P.A. detachment forced them to reckon with its existence. Yet they were not prepared to deal with it. Their frontal attacks against the U.P.A. in 1944 and 1945, were not successful. The terror campaign against the masses of the Ukrainian people only resulted in making many Ukrainians join the U.P.A. The Soviets were forced, therefore, to change their tactics and to adapt a more elaborate and detailed campaign of destruction. This was the beginning of a hard struggle of the Soviet occupational administration and N.K.V.D. forces against the U.P.A. which is still being waged to day.

In Soviet terrorist measures against the Ukrainian liberation movement and its striking force, the U.P.A., we must distinguish two factors: (a) ideological-political means of fighting the Ukrainian "nationalism" which gave birth to the Ukrainian liberation movements; (b) an armed terrorist fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement and its supporters — the Ukrainian people.

The fight against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" is as old as Soviet dominance over Ukraine. The constant complaints of Soviet leaders of Ukrainian "nationalism" and "separatism" called the attention of the entire world and convinced it that Ukraine was anything but a "soft belly" of the Soviet Union. But behind these complaints a more serious thing hides — a terrorist ideological fight against the very spirit of the Ukrainian people. It is attacking the very soul of Ukraine trying to eradicate all those principles, on which the Ukrainians, like other Christian peoples, have lived for nearly one thousand years. It is attacking the Ukrainian Churches, both the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, aiming at supplanting them by Stalin's Russian Orthodox Church. Yet this attack too, is failing for, apart from physical extermination, the spirit of the Ukrainians is unquenchable. It could not be corrupted either by the martyrdom of Ukrainian churches and of free Ukrainian science, or by the shameless rewriting of Ukrainian history, the mutilation of Ukrainian literature or the slandering of great Ukrainian men of the past and present.

The Ukrainian experience of Soviet tyranny tells the world that the Soviets often use slander, lies, deceit, breach of faith, bribery, provocation, gross abuse, wilful distortion of truth to further their political ambitions. Lenin himself stated that "we have to use any ruse, dodge, tricks, unlawful methods, concealment, veiling of truth" in daily political manipulation. By this weapon of bolshevik strategy, the Ukrainian patriots were denounced as "fascists" by the genuine scarlet fascists from Moscow. By means of this weapon, any group in the world courageous enough to raise its voice against the savagery of Soviet dictatorship is conveniently dubbed "fascist" by the Soviet political opium dealers. Such

are the weapons of Bolshevik ideological strategy, emanating from Muscovite megalomania based on grossest immorality sanctioning as morally good every lie, falsehood, or crime against any non-Communist person, nation, or state.

The Kremlin and Nationalism

In the all-embracing campaign now sweeping the entire U.S.S.R. and the satellites, the blade of hatred and vituperation is directed against particular non-Russian "nationalism". Since last July, at which time "Pravda" registered the new upsurge of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" in the arts and literature, the soviet masters have known no rest in their concern at this "invisible enemy". Ostensibly, the attack is confined to Ukrainian literature, but the Kremlin is really attacking every aspect of Ukrainian life and in unusually menacing terms. Despite the fact that "an eternal friendship between the Russian and Ukrainian people exists, and is "indestructible", Soviet propagandists are forced to beat drums of alarm for the enemy who lurks in every collective farm, plant, factory and school. Those im-

placable enemies of "the Ukrainian people" are the "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" who "have degenerated into a pitiful group of spies and disrupters in the service of crusty American war-mongers". "The Ukrainian nationalists today serve the Anglo-American imperialists, who are endeavoring by all means, including ideological diversions, to damage Communist construction. The struggle against nationalist ideology, profoundly inimical to Marxist-Leninist ideology, must go on and "it must be one of our prime tasks", say Soviet propagandists. Of course, their assertions that the Ukrainian nationalists became "lackeys" of American imperialism are not only untrue, but blatantly false. The Russian totalitarian masters know that the United States does not want to dismember Russia and that it does not aid the non-Russian peoples in their struggle for liberation. It becomes clear, however, that the Politburo is gravely concerned about the future policy of the United States and fears that the U.S.A. will throw its vast power behind the non-Russian peoples in their struggle against Russian imperialism.

To be continued in the next issue

The First Essential

Continued from Page 1

find expression in an independent state. It is not confined to one "class" only, but is common to all; it is the most elementary phenomenon of social life. It is of no account whether the nation be "big" or "small", whether it counts 3 or 150 million souls, the impulse to form an independent state is everywhere the same. This is quite natural. Whether a man be six feet high, or only five, they are still both men with similar characteristics. We consider them both as men, the tall one and the short one.

The Blindness of Western Politicians

Our present generation, especially those of us whose countries are behind the iron curtain, are experiencing a drama which is repeated daily: many Western politicians, especially the leaders, are blind to modern developments; they hide their heads in the sand like ostriches, though the truth is as plain as day. And it is still more astonishing that these should be men - for instance in America and France - whose forefathers experienced that development and won their independence and democratic rights at the cost of great sacrifice and as the result of unceasing energy. The same men (we see it very day), who are justly proud of a past stained with the blood of their fathers, of events and battles which have become their most glorious traditions, refuse to have any sympathy for other peoples who are now in a position similar to theirs almost 200 years ago.

Men still cherish the inhuman aim of sparing and preserving states that were artificially formed, that are nothing but the prisons of nations and the instruments of an obsolete imperialism. (U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia.) So the "state" is upheld, and not the people. The international organi-

zation of the United Nations — *lucus a non lucendo* — is only a union of states or rather of governments, some of them with bloodstained hands. Was this principle not obstinately preserved in I.R.O., right to the very end? Does it not inspire a number of well-known institutions which talk of a "free Europe", though it makes a really free Europe an illusion? It was one of the fundamental principles of a recent conference on the "European Movement" which was held in London. The nations in the U.S.S.R., the greatest dungeon of peoples, were ignored, while the two others "Yugoslavia" and "Czechoslovakia" (note their artificial names!) were also subjected to characteristic treatment. The names, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes are acknowledged, not as nations, but as "nationalities", a procedure that was familiar in the Austrian empire 50 years ago. The enormous revolution that took place, not 50 but 1000 years before 1900, has been completely ignored. Nothing at all has been learnt from history.

A House Built on Sand

Instead of liberating Europe first and then uniting it, they are trying to build the house from the roof down. They have not even agreed on the material the house is to be built of. Of slaves? That is what will happen if the "state" comes first. Almost the whole of Europe, at least the greater part behind the iron curtain is forced to live enslaved in unnatural states, which must disappear before these peoples can be free. This is the material the house must be built of, unless the aim is to build castles in the air. The right to equality of all the nations in Europe, the realization of their right of self-determination is the first essential condition for their reconstruction and unity. This will put an end to every kind of communism, whether Tito's or Stalin's, and not only to communism, but also to all imperialism.

Continued from Page 3

causes new difficulties for exiled Russians, now that their "Council of Liberation" has collapsed. It is a well-known fact that antibolshevist resistance in the Soviet Union is confined to the territory of non-Russian peoples, where it is in the hands of their organizations for liberation; Russians in exile are therefore compelled to invent a Russian movement of resistance in Russia proper. The role of active resistance will probably be assumed by the N.T.S. (Russian Solidarity Exile Party), an organization which has behaved in Western Europe for years as if it were the only Russian resistance movement with an underground in Russia, and which has published articles to that effect in the Western press.

These considerations were probably the reason for the secret conference in Hamburg in the middle of January, which was attended by Kerensky, the unhappy initiator of the Wiesbaden "Council of Liberation", and Baydakov, the president of the N.T.S., and their closest confederates. It is rumored that Kerensky is going to utilize his powerful connections to launch Baydakov in the United States as the "strong man" of the Russian underground. Exiled Russians hope in this way to divert some of the fabulous millions to their pockets.

Flag For Byelorussian S.S.R.

By order of the "Presidency of the Supreme Council of the Byelorussian S.S.R.", the Soviet Republic of Byelorussia received on 25. 12. 1951 the right to hoist a flag of its own instead of the red banner of the Soviet Union, a right that the Ukrainian Republic alone has possessed up till now; the Byelorussian flag is red and green with the national symbol (belt embroidered parallel to the flag-staff) and in the left field, the hammer and sickle under a five-point star.

A leader in the "Svyasda", Minsk, 28. 12. 51, celebrates the order as "clear proof of the victory of Lenin's and Stalin's national policy"; the following is significant:

"For centuries the Byelorussian people has been conducting a courageous fight for social and national liberation. For centuries it has dreamed of sovereignty."

The article goes on to say that the country has received the latter for the first time in its history from the hands of "the Soviet Power". Moscow's gift is quite in keeping with the present policy of Soviet Russia, which, by way of relieving domestic tension, is willing to make formal, national concessions to the non-Russian republics while at the same time increasing oppression of the individual. "Danaos timeo et dona ferentes" . . .

The sentence quoted from the "Svyasda" may interest Russian politicians in exile for whom Byelorussian desires for independence are merely an artificial product.

Dr. Dimitar Balkansky

„Bloody Thursday“

The Anniversary of the National Tragedy of Bulgaria

On February 1, 1945, at an icy midnight hour, representatives of the Third Bulgarian Kingdom were stripped naked and shot in the cemetery in Sofia. When the bells tolled the hour of midnight, the headlights of the trucks that had brought members of the Bulgarian government, condemned by order from Moscow, to their place of execution the same day, threw an eery light over big, freshly dug graves. They covered the bodies of a Bulgarian prince, two regents, 22 ministers and 65 representatives, flung into their graves before they were cold. Thus the shameful deed, planned by the Third International and prepared for twenty years earlier by the "United Front" of communists and leftist Agrarians in the Cathedral of "Sankta Nedelya" was now carried out by the hand of the "Fatherland Front" which had seized power. In these strange weeks and months these martyrs were joined in death by tens of thousands of known and unknown Bulgarian patriots who had remained faithful to their duty. During all this time, the government of Bulgaria was in the hands of a coalition under the blasphemous name of "People's Government" which was made up of communists and the other leftist groups in the conspiratorial "Fatherland Front" — Left Agrarians, Sevno Adherents, Socialists and Radicals.

Hundreds of thousands of victims were put to death in consequence of Moscow's treacherous slogan of "Down with fascism! Freedom for the people!" This wicked command which rode roughshod over all our laws, human and Divine, was meant to be opium for the people and dust in foreigners' eyes. The world, at that time still struggling in the confusion of the aftermath of war, had no time to be interested in the tragedy of Bulgaria. It woke up to reality when the situation could no longer be saved, when the communists, having swept away the foundation of constitutional government in Bulgaria in that orgy of looting, found no difficulty in getting rid next of their coalition partners, their unwitting instruments, and in opening the way for Soviet supremacy in the heart of the Balkans. Shocked by this national disgrace and groaning under the new tyranny, our people buried deep in its soul the memory of their murdered representatives, of the tens of thousands of other victims, and began to whisper in awe of "bloody Thursday". Millions of Bulgarian men and women throughout the country join the countless mourning mothers, families, widows and orphans in remembering the murdered; they condemn the murderers and their lackeys and swear anew to establish justice, freedom and human dignity in our country.

When and where, Bulgarians ask today, was Bulgaria ever guilty of fascism? If "fascism" means lack of freedom and tyranny at home, when was King Boris's regime fascist? When seriously incriminated communists and other conspirators and assassins in the service of Moscow who have been brought to justice were pardoned again and again, or perhaps when the almost public conspiracy of the "Fatherland Front" was indulgently tolerated? Where was there any

lack of freedom? Was liberty less evident in constitutional Bulgaria than in the despotic People's Republic of today? If, moreover "fascism" means chauvinism, aggression and imperialism, when and how was Bulgarian ever guilty of such crimes? Surely not because not a single Bulgarian bullet was fired in the war and because Bulgaria remained neutral, above all towards the Soviet Union, until the end of the war. And surely still less because it ordered its troops to protect its own people in liberated districts that were traditionally Bulgarian? If this was "monarchic fascism" or "Great Bulgarian Chauvinism" then why is the present communist government protesting against Tito's policy of assimilation in Jugoslavian Macedonia where he manifests lively interest for the Bulgarian population in Greek Macedonia, claiming access to the Aegean Sea? Or must all that is allowed Stalin's creatures in Sofia in favour of the

Soviet Union be declared a mortal sin whenever it is claimed for Bulgaria by a Bulgarian government?

There is little left today of the mask of "Death to Facism" which helped to destroy the elite of the Bulgarian nation and demobilize the democratic constitution. It took the execution of a man like Nikola Petkoff as a facist to bring the world to its senses and realize at long last what had actually happened viz, that the mass murders in Bulgaria, perpetrated at a time of confusion, with the cooperation of so-called "democratic" coalition partners, had nothing to do with an alleged Bulgarian facism; their sole purpose was to burst the dams protecting the land from bolshevism, so that, in a short time, the short-sighted "democrats" who had lent countenance to the deeds of violence after the revolution of September 9, 1944 by their presence in the government, were themselves drowned in the Red flood.

Let us bend our heads in reverence before the victims of "Bloody Thursday". The ever-green memory of this national crime, of tens of thousands of innocent martyrs and patriots will one day make Bulgaria rise again, stronger and finer than ever.

A.B.N. Conference in Paris

Big Meeting Attended by Delegates to the U.N., Representatives of the Movement for a United Europe and the Organization "Peace and Freedom". Address by Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

A big conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was held in Paris on February 2, 1952. The Central Committee of the A.B.N. was represented by its president, Yaroslav Stetzko, and its secretary-general, Dr. Ctibor Pokorný. Prince Tokarevsky, Chairman of the branch of the A.B.N. in Great Britain, took the chair. After hearing the report of the Statutes Committee, the statutes of the branch of the A.B.N. in France were adopted and the executive committee elected.

A big meeting was held in the hall of the Geographical Society on February 3, 1952. The delegates mentioned above were present, as were also many French and foreign journalists.

In his opening address, Prince Tokarevsky, chairman, expressed the hope that France, in particular, with its glorious traditions of freedom would understand and support the aims of the A.B.N. When counting the nations that fought against the Soviet regime the chairman forgot to mention Albania, whereupon Albanians present protested loudly and demanded that that country should also be included in the list of honour of those fighting for freedom. The following resolution was passed at this meeting:

This meeting is of opinion that it is impossible to secure peace and freedom in the world until Soviet Russia is divided up into national, sovereign states and bolshevist dictatorship destroyed throughout the world. The ideas of the A.B.N. are constantly gaining in importance and must receive the ut-

most support of free nations. The free world must make up its mind to support as their own the liberation movements of all peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

North Caucasian Commemoration

A Demonstration against Genocide

On February 23, 1952, on the day the Bolsheviks in Moscow and in the whole world celebrate the Red Army, the emigrants from the Caucasus in Munich commemorate the victims of bolshevist atrocities.

By the decree of February 11, 1943, in which Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich and Mikoyan themselves had a hand, the Checheno-Ingushi autonomous Republic was exterminated on February 23, 1944. Part of the inhabitants were killed on the spot by police and Red Army soldiers while the survivors were banished to Siberia within 24 hours. In this way about 800,000 people were mown down or carried off. The property of these people was confiscated by the Soviets and the land settled with peasants from central Russia. In November and December of the previous year the same fate was meted out to the inhabitants of the districts Karachai and Balkar. The total number of people thus exterminated or banished amounts to over one million.

At the commemoration in Munich representatives of all non-Russian peoples from behind the Iron Curtain and the German and foreign press took part. In the numerous addresses, the close ties between all non-Russian peoples in their fight against Russian imperialism were stressed, making it clear that the only nation in the Soviet Union which enjoys the confidence of the Kremlin is the Russian. The A.B.N. also took part in arranging this commemoration and issued a leaflet upon it.

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

A SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF WAGES

In imitation of the Soviet Russian model, Bulgaria has now, too, introduced a new system of wages, based on the kind of article produced and with penalties for workers who do not reach the target set by the government. The new system relies above all on piece-work, which is common in "capitalist" countries but always disapproved of by trade unions. In Bulgaria, on the other hand it is officially enforced by the trades unions.

Quite irrespective of his own desire, every worker is classified according to a particular grade of production and receives the corresponding wage. Weaving, for instance, is divided into seven classes, with a basic wage of 270 to 375 lewa, a mechanic's work is classified in 8 categories with a basic wage of 300—640 lewa. Each of these classes has its prescribed norm according to a textbook that determines the work for each class. As the basic wage is also calculated on piece-work, it is reduced when the requisite target is not reached. In this way, reduced production, in consequence of bad material and waste, is penalised by deductions from the worker's wage, which entails reduced social contributions from the state. The Bulgarian state hopes thus both to increase quantity and improve quality, to prevent delay and carelessness and at the same time to determine who is responsible for the faulty material, as the worker whose work suffers is supposed to report.

COSSACKIA

"IDEOLOGICAL SHORTCOMINGS"

In consequence of inadequate "political training", weak "ideological work" in Komsomol organizations, the administration of the Party is constantly passing resolutions on the "necessity for improvement and for rectifying mistakes", insisting on "fundamental changes in the work done". In reality, however, if we are to believe the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of 2. 2. 1952, these resolutions are all merely on paper. It seems that the training given by Party organizations has deteriorated in comparison with last year, and the attendance at lectures has decreased.

In the field of economy, particularly in the reconstruction of towns, conditions appear to be chaotic. In Rostow on the Don, ten years after "liberation", many official buildings are still in ruins.

A Cossackian publishing firm published a book to which contributions were made by Cossack poets like V. Bakaldin, V. Petrichenko, I. Varava, V. Goncharov, and others. But the

"Pravda" immediately discovered "ideological shortcomings" in it and criticized the writers severely.

Only three of the ten large towns in the Cossackian area have entrusted their town-planning to architects, while the others are building without any expert advice. That is what soviet planning looks like.

The "Don", a new literary and historical almanach, was criticized by the critic, Olenich-Gnenenko, as "Cossackian, bourgeois and nationalistic".

CROATIA

TITO'S PRISONS OPEN AGAIN

Communist power in Croatia continues its destructive policy. Sabotage has assumed such proportions, as boycotting kolkhozes, failure to fulfil deliveries to the state or to cultivate the fields, that all foreign correspondents comment on it in their reports. It was stated at the last meeting of the communist party centre in Croatia that nothing can prevent the kolkhozes from disappearing except "administrative" measures, i. e. police action.

At the turn of the year Tito's regime, acting probably under pressure from U.S.A., proclaimed an amnesty. The Minister of Police estimated that about 50,000 emigrés returned, who had fled after 1945, and are, indeed, still fleeing. "War criminals", of course, and "traitors" cannot return, i. e. all who have fought against the regime. Communist consulates have been instructed to issue official invitations to emigrés to return, although their right of citizenship was taken away from them two years ago. The consul for Yugoslavia in Munich, too, is trying to persuade emigrés to return as "the life of the working man is far better at home than here". And the answers he receives everywhere? "We have waited so long, we can wait longer", or "Open the frontiers and you will see how the people cling to your paradise". Everybody is assured that his pass is valid for entering and leaving Yugoslavia, but everybody knows how much that is worth once he is in Tito's prison. The communists are meantime endeavouring to strengthen the army, now called the "Yugoslavian People's Army". Many new generals have been appointed, mostly men who saw service in the Spanish Civil War. Many "proletarian" units have been formed and new flags given them.

CZECHIA

THE MONOPOLY OF SOVIET SCIENCE

For some months all the scientific institutes of the C.S.R. have been being coordinated systematically in the

"Czechoslovakian - Soviet Institute". Scientific journals have ceased publication and have been replaced by new Soviet scientific publications of the new institute. The institute is divided into 15 sections: mathematics and physics, chemistry, biology and medicine, philosophy, history, the state and law, education and psychology, philology, political economy, engineering, agriculture, forestry, theatre and music.

BISHOPS CANNOT GO TO CONFESSION

All bishops in the C.S.R. are either imprisoned or so isolated that they cannot have intercourse either with colleagues or their flocks. They are under police supervision day and night. The Bishop of Olomouc, Msgr. Josef Matokha must even put up with having a policeman in his bedroom at nights. Nor are the bishops allowed to receive a confessor, so that they have not been able to confess for some time. The only exception is Msgr. Stephan Trokhta, Bishop of Litomerice, who was allowed to make confession in public and alone in the presence of a policeman.

EASTERN GERMANY

"PEACE LAWS"

(I.W.E.) During the second half of 1951, about 450 persons were condemned under the Law for the Protection of Peace, actual sentences being kept secret. Except in a few cases, trials were held in camera. The prisoners were accused of instigating boycotts, spreading subversive propaganda, ridiculing the fight for peace, and agitation against institutions of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the People's Republics. In almost all trials the reports of the state security service and its evidence were accepted as "adequate proof". In only a few cases did denouncers give evidence at the trial.

NO COOPERATION

(I.W.E.) As the people refuse to cooperate, burgomeisters are overburdened with political tasks. The first Land secretary of the S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party -Germany) declared at a meeting of the communist national front in Weimar (Thuringia) that many burgomeisters in the Land have to discharge ten or more functions in consequence of the indifference of the population.

He mentioned as an example the S.E.D. Burgomeister of the community of Fischbach who, besides being president of the local organization of the S.E.D., is also president of the following organizations: local Peace Committee, local Committee of the National Front, Society for Mutual Aid on Farms, Society for German-Soviet Friendship, M.A.S.-Committee, Correspondent of the S.E.D. paper President of the local F.D.J. group.

HUNGARY**NEW BATTALIONS OF CONVICT LABOURERS**

Reports from Hungary state that new battalions of convict labourers have been formed for hard physical work. They are composed in the main of men who are politically unreliable.

There are said to be 15 of these battalions with a total strength of 8,000 to 10,000 men. They are collected in concentration camps under military supervision in the following places: Hódmezővásárhely, Mezőtúr, Kecskemét Zahony, Abasar, Szolónok and Székesfehérvár.

The inmates of these camps wear old uniforms and the standard of food is not too low; they are not paid wages according to tariff, but receive army pay (19 cents per day), something being deducted for national defence funds. Their families are not allowed either to visit them or to send them parcels. Correspondence is allowed as a favour, to be withdrawn as a punitive measure. They work for 9 hours every weekday, it must "offer" to do unpaid honorary work on Sundays. These battalions also include many members of the communist party who have been "purged", and former political officers in the Hungarian People's army.

LATVIA**RESISTANCE STILL ACTIVE**

American papers report an increase of illegal antibolshevist propaganda that is being spread in pamphlet form by the Latvian National Underground. In the Riga Institute for History, for instance, pamphlets were found disclosing communist distortions of Latvian history. The M.V.D. also discovered anti-communist pamphlets in various Riga factories, even in the hands of members of the communist youth organization in schools in Liepaya and Talsi. The pamphlets bore the heading: "Stalin is Hitler's Ally and Heir."

LITHUANIA**NEWS FROM LITHUANIA**

Communists are preparing a "Catholic" congress for 1952 in support of the plan to found a national church.

Rector Bucas of Vilna University, a member of the Academy of Science, expressed his satisfaction at the news that Lithuanian scientists are to be given an opportunity to work in Kazakhstan and to improve the Lithuanian language by applying Stalin's methods.

Grand celebrations were arranged in Lithuania as elsewhere to mark the centenary of the birth of Gogol, the Ukrainian poet. The official announcement runs: "Gogol was a Russian, a bolshevist writer and a warm friend of Lithuania."

More and more timber is being taken from Lithuanian forests and sent to Russia.

RUMANIA**"INCREASED STABILITY AND DISCIPLINE ON THE LABOUR MARKET"**

The People's Democracies are now, too, gradually encroaching on the liberty of the "free" labourer — in contrast to those confined in labour camps. This process has advanced most rapidly in Rumania where there are no powerful traditions of independent trade unions to overcome.

The new order issued by the Rumanian government to "increase stability and discipline in work and ensure an adequate supply of labour for production" in reality reduces the workers who were still free to the status of convict labourers: it prohibits labourers, employees, engineers and technicians in state or cooperative enterprises from leaving their place of work unless their contract has terminated or unless they produce a medical certificate that their health does not permit them to continue at their job. They cannot leave without the approval of the manager. If a worker goes away without permission, he will not be employed in any other state or cooperative enterprise — and there are no others except in the country.

Identity papers have been introduced to perfect the system of control. Thus no worker may choose his place of work.

According to the same Order, the State has the right to transfer workers by force from one place to another. Infringement of these measures is subject to heavy fines which may be imposed even on doctors who give certificates of illness without "due reason".

SLOVAKIA**CLEMENTIS' SHOW TRIAL**

Dr. Rais, Minister of Justice in the Prague Government, declared to a conference of "People's Judges" that the "bourgeois nationalist", Clementis, formerly Foreign Minister of the C.S.R. had schemed to separate Slovakia from the C.S. Republic. He had been influenced by conditions at the time when Slovakia was an independent republic; and his "friendly relations with treacherous exiles had forced him to adopt a nationalistic policy".

Clementis surely never dreamt that he would one day be liquidated by the communist regime for having taken certain of their phrases, such as "the right of self-determination" too literally. His awakening has come too late.

INCREASING PROLETARISATION

Since 1945 Slovakia has been in the throes of one economic crisis after another, though, in its spell of independence, its citizens were not only free, but enjoyed a standard of living that was high in contrast to the war-conditioned standard of other European peoples. The Red Army forced Slovakia to become part of Czechoslovakia

and to accept a communist regime. Its gold reserves were taken to Prague as the sole basis for the currency of Czechoslovakia. These reserves, valued at three and a half milliard Slovak crowns, were voluntarily formed after the foundation of the independent Republic of Slovakia, having been contributed by the people with enthusiasm. This transfer of gold was the first "act of liberation" in the province of economics after 1945. Since then the country has been plundered in a similar fashion repeatedly, but the communist dictators are not yet satisfied with the forced sovietization of Slovakia; its currency is to be devalued as from April 1, which will deprive the people of their last savings from better times.

RESISTANCE AGAINST COMMUNISM STILL STRONG

The communists have set up a high wooden pole with a red star at Malacky (South-West Slovakia). This, of course, was the occasion of the usual festival. After a few days, however, the soviet star was removed and has not yet been replaced. In spite of their efforts, the police have not been able to discover the miscreants.

SLOVENIA**PRIESTS BURNED AND MURDERED**

On January 20, 1952 Dr. Vovk, Bishop of Lyublyana, was attacked at the station of Novo Mesto by a mob under the influence of communist agents. They poured petrol on him and set him on fire. He was severely burnt before being taken to a hospital. He had been condemned previously to a fine of 50,000 dinar for having spread religious literature. About the same time, another priest was murdered and a third maltreated.

Such events prove that the release of Archbishop Stepinac was merely a manoeuvre to trick the West. In reality, communists still persecute the church.

TURKISTAN**OSMAN BATUR'S HEROIC DEATH**

According to reports from refugees who had fled to Pakistan and India during recent months, Osman Batur, along with some thousands of his soldiers, was killed fighting against soviet troops for the freedom of Turkistan in the summer of 1951. Since 1959 he, with about 12,000 Turkistani, had been cut off in the south of the province of Sinkiang where he had been putting up heroic resistance to the suppression of national and religious liberty in Turkistan. Fugitives report that only 700—800 members of Batur's forces succeeded in escaping over snow-covered passes on the Pamir plateau of Eastern Afghanistan; they are reorganizing their forces and will continue the struggle.

A report recently published by the "Milij Türkistan" (National Turkistan), the organ of the National Turkistan Unity Committee, mentions the severe resistance put up by Osman Batur's partisans and the counter-measures taken by Soviet Russian troops:

"There were 120 fights this year, 227 assassinations were carried out — 29 by order of the government, 275 acts of sabotage, such as cutting telephone connections, etc. were committed. During the same time 530 firearms and 84 radio sets were seized by government troops."

The paper says that Osman Batur's death does not mean the end of resistance.

UKRAINE

APPEAL TO THE FREE WORLD

The headquarters of the U.P.A. (Ukrainiae Insurgent Army) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) have issued the following declaration:

"The leaders of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement once more point out that the entire Ukrainian people is fighting for the realization of its main aim, viz., the restoration of an independent, sovereign Ukraine; they believe that Ukraine, in its lonely battle will meet with the sympathy and political support of the free Western World. They hope, above all, that this support will be forthcoming for the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.)."

MAJOR POLTAVA'S NEW POST

P. Poltava, Major of the U.P.A. and chief of the education section in the General Staff of the U.P.A., and Chief editor of the "Information Bureau of the U.V.H.R.", its official underground organ, has been appointed second president in the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.V.H.R.).

Well-known as a Ukrainian underground journalist, Major Poltava is the writer of the letter to the State Department about the atcivity of the "Voice of America" (published in the A.B.N. Correspondence No. 4, 1951) and the author of the important publication "The Conception of an Independent Ukraine and Modern Trends in the World Today".

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An Appeal to Freedom-Loving Americans

Americans!

You are now faced with the greatest and most dangerous task that history has ever set before your people. Having become a leading power in the world, it is now your destiny to be confronted by an opponent who has at his disposal 200 million men and immeasurably wealthy territory extending for 11 million square miles. His man-power is still greater — 700 million men — as it includes the population of the states in his sphere of influence.

How are you going to master this task? We representatives of nations on the other side of the Iron Curtain, inspired by love of our people and friendship for yours, regard it as our solemn duty to proffer you this advice in your decisive hour:

You will be able to maintain your present position in the world only if God helps you to realize that there are hundreds of millions in the enemy camp who might become your most reliable allies.

Of the 700 million men in your enemy's camp, about 500 million belong to so-called satellite nations. They have been forced into the Soviet sphere by violence and deception.

Of the remaining 200 millions living in the Soviet Union itself, erroneously designated "Russians" by you, about 125 millions belong to non-Russian peoples. The Russians proper do not number more than 75 millions.

These 125 millions wish to escape from the enemy camp; they want to leave the Russian Imperium.

Under what conditions can those 625 million men become your friends? From our sincere conviction and knowledge of the situation, these conditions are:

- 1) The government of the American people must give the world a binding declaration that they —
 - a) recognize and aim at the restoration of the independence of all satellite peoples as states, in their ethnographic boundaries;
 - b) promote the restoration of political sovereignty to the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., i. e. to the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, the peoples of the Baltic States and the Caucasians, the Cossackians, Siberians and people of Idel-Ural.

Should your government pursue such a policy, we can assure you that the potential of your enemy will be reduced by hundreds of millions, and yours increased by as many.

There are American politicians who see that it is necessary to gain friends in the camp of the enemy, but they argue from the false assumption that the entire Russian imperium is inhabited by Russians only. They wish to win a following in the U.S.S.R. by abolishing communism while preserving the Russian imperium under democratic leadership. This is in the main the result of ignorance of the real situation in the Soviet Union: such politicians are unaware that they are thereby antagonizing 125 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R.

This policy has unfortunately been gaining ground recently; it is powerfully supported by the formation of a "Fund for the Liberation of the Russian People"

Americans!

Do not let yourselves be led astray! Do not court the favour of Russian imperialist at the cost of non-Russian nations! The Russian people has, of course, the right to be freed from Communism and to its own sovereignty, but only on its ethnic territory. The non-Russian areas of the U.S.S.R. must be restored to their lawful owners.

Americans!

You created the Marshall Plan, you took the initiative in the Four Point Program, you organized the Crusade for Freedom. We appeal to you to accomplish the greatest task of your generation, to win for the American people hundreds of millions of friends in the camp of your present enemy. Stand up for freedom in the satellite states for the sovereignty of all peoples within the U.S.S.R.

Support the Liberation Fund of the A.B.N.

March, 1952.

Central Committee of the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

Donations should be sent to:

Bayerische Creditbank, Account No. 10,707, Munich, Germany.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

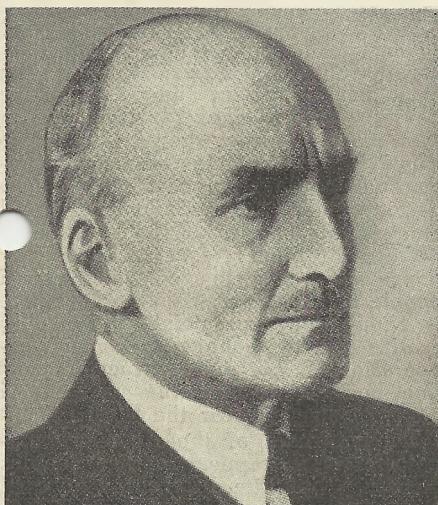
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NATO is Not Enough:

Gen. Fuller Comments on the Present Situation



Special Interview for A.B.N. 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 problem of cooperation between democratic nations on either side of the Iron Curtain, questions which were not settled at the recent NATO conference in Lisbon. For us who represent the revolutionary, democratic liberation movements of our peoples in the Soviet sphere of influence, it is peculiarly gratifying that an expert of General Fuller's calibre should have repeatedly stressed the importance of the A.B.N. in the world-wide struggle against communism and Russian imperialism. We appreciate his valuable support with gratitude.

We give General Fuller's answers to our questions:

Question:

The Lisbon Conference has without doubt contributed to the removal of many of the difficulties hitherto standing in the way of a European-Atlantic defence system. Do you consider such a defence belt sufficient in itself in view of the expansionist policy of Soviet Russia,

Answer:

No! *Vis-à-vis* Russia's expansionist policy, a defensive belt of nations is no more than a shield. What is still lacking is a sword, which under cover of the shield can attack his policy by fostering counter-revolution within the

U.S.S.R. The shield is military, the sword political.

Question:

Some American circles, especially that of the "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" now under the leadership of Admiral Kirk, are suggesting that the Russian imperium should be kept within the frontiers of 1939 and that the communist regime should merely be replaced by a "democratic" one. Do you, General Fuller, believe that it would suffice to set up a democratic government in the place of a communist regime in the Soviet Union, in order to guarantee the security of the still free world and create a state of political peace in the Soviet Union itself?

Answer:

No! because Russian communism is but a means to an end — Russian Imperialism. No change in means will alter the end. Peace is only attainable by fractionizing the U.S.S.R. and thereby destroying the Russian Imperium.

Question:

Do you see, considering the growing chauvinism of the bolshevist Moscow

government, any possibility of psychological warfare against the communist plans for world dominion?

Answer:

Because the growing chauvinism of the Kremlin is no more than propaganda to obscure the fact that the U.S.S.R. is a mosaic of subjugated peoples, it is a sure sign that what is dreaded most is a psychological attack aimed at liberating them. Therefore the possibilities of psychological war are immense.

Question:

How do you explain the fact that in World War II the Ukrainian people, with a population of 45 millions, organized an underground army of 200,000 and the other less populous non-Russian nations also carried on organized resistance against Stalin and Hitler, while the 80 million Russian nation did not raise a single partisan against Stalin?

Answer:

My explanation is that, after 1000 years of despotic government, the Muscovite Russians have become so inured to serfdom that all desire for a more

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liberal rule has been squeezed out of them. It has made them slave-minded and utterly subservient to authority.

Question:

Do you share the opinion which the A.B.N. has always held, that only through the combination of the West's need of security and the longing for independence that is so strong in the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, can the real strength of the western world be mobilized against communist aggression?

Answer:

Yes! The Western need of security is the shield, the need of the non-Russian peoples for independence is the sword. Only when both have been forged can the strength of the Western World be mobilized against Muscovite aggression.

Question:

Do you regard the use of the A.B.N. slogans i. e. the independence of the non-Russian peoples, as suitable now, or even possible in the psychological warfare being waged by the western world?

Answer:

The slogan of "Liberation and Self-Determination" should be the hub of all Western and A.B.N. propaganda and psychological warfare from this moment and until these aims have been attained.

Question:

In the last three years a large number of leading politicians have fled from the Satellite States to the west, who, in the years between 1944—1948, actively supported the communist governments of their countries behind the Iron Curtain or belonged to them. These people are now enjoying the moral, political and financial support of the West and are regarded as the real representatives of the political opinions of their people. Do you not see that by these benefits there is great danger of the western world losing the confidence and sympathy of the anti-communist populations in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.?

Answer:

Emigrés, turn-coats and traitors are never to be trusted. Those who run fastest shout loudest, and though it is true that many of these creatures are welcomed and listened to in the West, and more particularly so in the U.S., the anti-Bolshevik peoples must remember that in a revolutionary age knaves win over fools, but in the end both perish.

Question:

Do you, General Fuller, believe, as we do, that the only way to obviate the danger to neighbouring States and the rest of the world, both from a political as well as a military point of view, is to restrict Russia to her own ethnological borders?

Answer:

Yes! When once again Russia becomes Muscovy — that is, restricted to her ethnological frontiers — the spell of the Third Rome will be broken, and the West liberated from the threat of subversion and war.

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Contest Between two Oppinions

Comments on General Fuller's Pamphlet and the Appeal by American Politicians to the "Peoples of Russia"

By Roman Ilnytsky

The post brought us two important documents on the same day, viz., "Russia is not Invincible", a pamphlet by the British General J. F. C. Fuller, and an appeal by 72 prominent American politicians to the "peoples of Russia" on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the February Revolution of 1917. Both deal with the same problem and both are most important for the psychological war against the Soviet Union. But their authors come to radically opposed conclusions which make them representatives of two ideas that divide the world into two camps.

General Fuller's pamphlet, published by Eyre & Spottiswoode, is practically a reprint of the article by this well-known British political and military strategist in the "Saturday Evening Post" two months ago.

What makes the pamphlet fascinating is its bold, revolutionary method of tackling the problem. Fuller has cast off the fetters of the traditional policy towards the Russian imperium pursued by Britain and the world both in the past and the present. He sees the whole problem in a new light, namely as it strikes an objective student. This gives his presentation of the "East-West" conflict a power and originality lacking in that of other Western politicians. He has recognized that the Soviet Union is not a national state but a state of nationalities, more than half the population of which is non-Russian. All non-Russians wish to leave the imperium and take their destinies into their own hands. In his study of the Russian problem, Fuller regards this as the weakest point in the defence of the present opponent of the West. He sees that attack must set in here in order to upset the balance of the imperium and destroy it.

His political and strategical ideas are very clear: for him bolshevism is but an instrument of Russian imperialism. The problem of the present regime, therefore, in no way differs from that of tsarist Russia. The real enemy of the West and the whole world is not only bolshevism, but Russian imperialism which has been threatening the world for 500 years. General Fuller is of opinion that the Russian danger can be met only by dissolving the Imperium, e. v. by liberating the non-Russian peoples and making them independent. These non-Russian nations

are therefore the natural allies of the West in its present fight against the Soviet Union. General Fuller argues that more attention should be paid to this idea even now in the war of propaganda against the Soviet Union, so as to provide the psychological, moral and political basis for the solution "World Problem No. 1". He neither hopes nor tries to get the Russian people to cooperate with the West. He is enough of a practical politician to realize that the conditions for such co-operation do not exist, a fact he pays due heed to in drawing up general plans of strategy for the West.

The approach of the American signatories of the appeal to the "Peoples of Russia" is quite different. They still cling to the ideas of last century. For them, Russia is a unit, composed of different peoples who combine to form an organic state. For them, bolshevism alone is the enemy and the danger of Russian imperialism is non-existent. They do not wish to recognize it as a factor in the past, so they do not see it in the present. They aim only at changing the system of government.

General Fuller is firmly convinced that both the soviet regime and Russian imperialism can be destroyed only with the help of the non-Russian peoples. The signatories of the appeal are convinced of the contrary: they hope that the Russian people itself, will revolt, throw off its tyrants and replace dictatorship by a state of law and order. We do not assume that this view of American politicians means that the help of the non-Russian peoples in bringing about the revolution they hope for, is of little or no account. We hope that is was above all the desire for all the peoples in the Soviet Union to share in the revolution that gave them the idea of appealing to the "peoples of Russia" and not to the Russian people. It might have been the same idea that led them in their appeal to present the provisional Petersburg government of 1917 as expressing the will of all the peoples in tsarist Russia.

But we must point out here that ignorance of actual conditions in the East has always been and still is the worst enemy of the just cause of the non-Russian peoples and the strongest ally of Russian imperialism.

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President Truman's Message:

We Know the Truth

You Should Guarantee Freedom

A short time ago the "Courier", an American wireless ship with a powerful transmitter (150 kilowatts) was launched. It is to spread the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" round the world, and thus supply information above all to peoples who are cut off from the free world by the bolshevist regime. President Truman, himself, came on board to give the ship a send-off that was broadcast in 45 languages, in order to let all nations realize the importance and aim of this modern American enterprise.

In these uneasy days speeches by great statesmen are listened to with interest, especially when it is the President of the United States who comments on the burning questions of the day and the heavy cares of the future. It is our oppressed peoples who listen most carefully, weighing the President's words and trying to interpret them as an oracle of their future.

This new American enterprise, to which President Truman stood god-father, is intended, as he said, to be "a message of hope and friendship to all who suffer tyranny." We, therefore, feel justified in speaking frankly and in explaining in all sincerity whether, and in how far, this well-meant message can find an echo in the hearts of our peoples.

There were some excellent ideas in President Truman's speech, far-sighted and expressed with genuine feeling. For instance his statement that "armies, navies and airplanes alone can never overcome the evil that has befallen the world." In the same way, he defined in striking words the significance of the enterprise: "The "Courier" is a huge ship, not to be compared in size to a destroyer, and yet of enormous importance in continuing the fight for freedom in a field where alone final victory can be won." And words like the following would certainly win him the hearts of our peoples: "We are your friends! Between us and you there are no differences that could not be settled if your rulers would abandon their policy of hatred and oppression and recognize the principles of peace."

But the President omitted to say who, in his opinion, our "rulers" are, and what exactly our peoples may expect from their hoped-for conversion to "peace". On the contrary, he exercised the usual reserve and did not mention the problems on which the life and death of our nations depend. He carefully avoided the slightest concrete assurance that might have encouraged our people and strengthened their hope. Rather did he look to the "spreading of truth" as the sole means of final victory; he was content to proclaim that peace was the greatest aim of American policy: "As President of

the United States, I confirm with all my heart that we long for peace and wish to work for peace in cooperation with other nations." But the President does not say what this "peace" means for our peoples. So his assurances concerning the "light of peace and justice" that will one day shine for all nations, were purely academic, with little warmth for the hearts of our peoples.

"This ship will bring a message of truth and light to those who have been led astray by the flood of untruth let loose by communists," such were the President's parting words as the "Courier of Truth" left the stocks, in order to inform the peoples of the earth about the aims and arguments of American policy. No one will deny the importance of truth as a weapon in the fight against Soviet tyranny and its falsehoods; nor will any one deny the fact that there are still millions in the Western World who are dazzled by bolshevist propaganda and who need the light of truth. But our peoples behind the Iron Curtain have known truth to safety for long years, have had it drummed into them by bitter experience. What our peoples need, therefore, is not couriers of truth, but heralds of freedom who will promise them salvation in words that give them a concrete and encouraging picture of their future. Then alone will their

hearts be won and their enthusiasm inspired. Otherwise, peace seems scarcely worth while, and expressions of friendship are unconvincing.

It is not that our peoples are not informed about the aims of American policy; but they are proclaimed in formulas that do not go beyond academic abstractions and catchwords like liberty, peace and democracy. But of what good are these fine words if the messages sent to us are couched in terms that ignore our peoples' most sacred cause, in terms that must arouse our suspicions? In President Truman's speech, for instance, the oppressed nations of the U.S.S.R. are lumped together as the "population of the Soviet Union", although their independence as states are officially recognized even by bolshevist Moscow, at least on paper. What are these peoples to think of the American attitude to the burning problem of nationalities in the U.S.S.R. when their very existence as independent peoples is thus deliberately ignored?

The timidity of responsible American politicians as regards this decisive factor in the psychological war against Moscow's tyranny is, and must remain incomprehensible. No "crusade for Freedom", no "Courier of Truth", no platonic expressions of friendship for "the population of the Soviet Union", be they ever so warm, can have any effect, unless Washington decides to appeal to the only thing that can stir those peoples, arouse their hopes, win their confidence, inspire them to be efficient vanguards in the crusade for freedom, — to their inalienable right to liberation from Moscow and independence.

It is high time to call a spade a spade! It is not only the bolshevist regime that keeps freedom from our peoples and peace from the world, but also the ancient model of this tyranny — eternally brutal, Russian imperialism! It is Moscow's policy of russification that oppresses and decimates the soviet vasall nations behind the Iron Curtain as well as the nations in the U.S.S.R. formerly subjugated by the Russians. Our "rulers" unnamed in President Truman's message, are not only the handful of bolshevist tyrants in the Kremlin but also the Russians as the supporters and instruments of the entire bolshevist system. Why then delay recognizing our peoples' elementary right to freedom and independence from Moscow? That is the motto Western policy ought to inscribe on its banners if they are to serve the cause of truth and victory over Moscow's tyranny.

If the President of the United States would only speak once to our peoples

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Communists Show a Film About U.P.A.

A new film, called "Action B" is running in the cinemas in Prague and throughout Czechia and Slovakia. It is the most recent production of 1952. The manuscript is by F. Fíker, the producer is Jos Mach, the music is by J. Srnka while J. Wegricht is in charge of the cameras. The main parts are played by celebrated bolshevist actors.

Politically it is a most important film. Our readers will remember the commands issued in 1947 by the headquarters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) to make propaganda raids in Slovakia and Czechia in order to establish close contact with the liberation movements of these two peoples and to make the mottoes of the Ukrainian champions of liberty as widely known as possible. These raids were carried out under one of the U.P.A.'s most eminent military leaders, Burlaka. There were violent clashes on the frontier between Ukraine and Slovakia in the Carpathians between Czech communist divisions and U.P.A. And it is this fighting that is portrayed in the film. It is significant that the film should have been shot and shown to the public 5 years after the fighting ceased. This can only mean that the Ukrainian patriots' struggle for liberty and underground activity has still a great influence on the population, not only in Ukraine, but in neighbouring countries, compelling the bolshevist regime to have recourse to such a film.

Side Lights:

Mr. Kennan Goes to Moscow...

George F. Kennan, the new ambassador of the United States to the Soviet Union has been accepted surprisingly quickly by Moscow, and will leave for that city presently. It was surprising that he should have been approved without demur, as he had the reputation of having influenced American foreign policy in the direction of blocking Soviet expansion by pressing for a strong rearmament programme, thus promoting a "strong hand" policy.

There must, therefore, be something about the political views of this man that makes him acceptable even to the Soviets for an ambassadorial post in Moscow. Kennan published his views on Russia and the Soviet Union in a series of articles that aroused considerable interest not only throughout the Western world but also, no doubt, in the Politbureau in Moscow. In them Kennan denied the existence of a problem of nationalities, comparing, for instance the relationship of Ukraine to Moscow with the position of Pennsylvania in the United States.

It would seem logical to assume that it is this denial of the nationality problem, i.e. the view of a united and indivisible Russia, that fully balances in the eyes of the Soviets the appeal for rearmament in the United States. The new ambassador assumes office at a time when the government of the Soviet Union is fully occupied in combating the increasing national consciousness of the peoples within its borders, which is a threat to its existence. Since Stalin was compelled to appeal to these peoples for support in launching and carrying out the great patriotic war, they have snatched one political concession after the other. He has granted them, though for publicity purposes he pretended that in doing so he was merely realizing the right of self-determination promised in the Constitution. What was granted on the one hand was more than balanced by the increased terrorism of the individual on the other. What remains, however, is the ideal of independence, now cherished by the non-Russian peoples, which is attacked every day by the Soviet press as a relapse into "bourgeois nationalism".

It is at this moment that Kennan assumes office as American ambassador, the man who cannot see any problem of nationalities. Whose interests will be best served by such a view? There are signs that the Kremlin is already forcing the United States into the position of a defender of reactionary views, so that it can appear itself as the progressive champion of the idea of national independence". Preparations are being made in Moscow for such a campaign. Its politicians are proclaiming themselves to the world as the defenders of the complete liberty and independence of nations, and even within the Soviet Union they are trying to convince non-Russian peoples that they have practically acquired independence. We may assume that, as the conflict between East and West

increases in severity, Stalin will pursue this aim with greater determination than ever.

We will not even find it particularly hard to justify his policy of oppression to the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; he will allege that the isolationist policy of capitalist countries has compelled him to concentrate the power of all peoples in the Soviet Union against it and that complete independence could therefore not be realized. He will put the blame on "American imperialists and capitalists".

It is clear, therefore, that Stalin wishes to fight over political issues with the United States on a plane that must seem antiquated even to reactionary Russian imperialists. How will the American ambassador in Moscow who has no sympathy with the national claims of the non-Russian peoples reply to the chief of the government which has accepted him and which pretends to be constantly granting those claims? We speak surely not only in the interest of our peoples when we express the opinion that Mr. Kennan's views must be completely overhauled.

U.S.A.'s New Initiative in the Cold War

February 22, there was a conference at Hotel Washington in Washington, convened by two Congress men, O. K. Armstrong and Charles Kersten, to discuss the questions of "psychological strategy in the cold war" and the co-ordination of the interests of the various organisations. About 500 persons attended, diplomats, senators, members of Congress, as well as the delegates from the organisations of the peoples of eastern Europe and Soviet Union, in the United States.

The date was chosen with a purpose, for it was George Washington's birthday and in harmony with that the preamble to the resolution of the conference states: "the oppressed victims of communist tyranny so that they, at the proper time, overthrow the communist regimes and be liberated to establish in the universal spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, free and independent democratic governments based on the right of self-determination."

Besides a number of proposals to the American Congress to support the interests of the conference, its practical result was the forming of a permanent committee to co-ordinate and strengthen the efforts of all the organisations working against bolshevism in the cold war. For this purpose Congress has been requested to vote a 100 million dollar fund.

The participation of so many groups of the eastern emigrés and important representatives of American political life underlines the importance this conference may gain. The anti-communist forces among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, as is recognized now, are a political potential in the conflict with the Kremlin expansionist plans. The effects of Hitler's refusal to take this into consideration have been of the utmost use for the Western World. The intermediary part

played by the emigrés as spokesmen for their silenced peoples cannot be underestimated. Their readiness to take part at this conference, in spite of previous disappointment experienced through similar efforts made by the American Kerensky action can only be interpreted as their conviction that the integration of their struggle for freedom in the psychological strategy of the West is also an asset for the free world. In this the responsibility for such conferences begins to be more than a weapon in the cold war.

The Russian emigrés represented by the N.T.S. unfortunately failed to pass the responsibility test, in this conference too. They did not refrain from unfair means in order to set their stamp upon the meeting and its resolutions. Once more their behaviour shows how little the Russian emigrés are really interested in the actual realisation of the liberation of the peoples within the Soviet sphere.

Admiral Kirk's Difficult Task

The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (A.C.L.P.R.), founded in New York about two years ago and bearing a more or less private character, was at first welcomed by the legitimate representatives in exile of the said peoples, and great expectations were cherished. These expectations became more and more subdued when it was realised that the organisation under Mr. Eugene Lyons, was intended as a one-sided institution for the preservation of the unity of the Russian imperium. This fact became especially apparent at Munich and Stuttgart where the non-American Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia was convened and at which, thanks to the initiative of Eugene Lyons and Isaak Don Levine, the Russians took the leading part. The Council broke up because the representatives of the non-Russian peoples refused to co-operate on that basis.

In February 1952 Admiral Kirk accepted his election as president of the A.C.L.P.R.; the former president, Eugene Lyons, remaining as business director. The election of Admiral Kirk and his acceptance of the post are all the more remarkable as up to the beginning of the year he had been American ambassador in Moscow. It may be supposed that his two and a half years' experience of Soviet reality decided him to take over this post, a supposition that is corroborated by his first public utterance ("New York Times", February 11, 1952): "I had the opportunity to take a few journeys in the Soviet Union. What I saw, made me admire the peoples there and sympathise deeply with their ordeal of terrorism and suffering. It is my firm conviction that they are opposed to the Kremlin regime, hate its aggressive policy and yearn to be freed from the bolshevist yoke."

These words are made even more significant in that the existence of many peoples in the Soviet Union is clearly acknowledged. Thus there is every reason to support Admiral Kirk in his new work, in the hope that the

A.C.L.P.R. under his leadership will draw the natural sequence from this realisation and recognize the fundamental right of these peoples to full political self-determination. His words, however, are weakened, for us, by the fact that he only speaks of the yearning of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for liberation from the yoke of bolshevism, for that is only a half truth. There can be no freedom for the Soviet peoples without their national liberation.

Seen from the view point of the emigrés there are other items which Admiral Kirk might be expected to alter, in a fundamental reorganisation of the A.C.L.P.R.

That Eugene Lyons remains with the organisation arouses misgivings. As an American, he has not shown the freedom from bias and the neutrality that one would expect of him, but has yielded entirely to Russian interests.

The wish for absolute equal rights for all the peoples in the Soviet Union must be expressed, too, in the name of the Committee, i.e. by changing its name from "Peoples of Russia" to "Peoples of the Soviet Union".

The recognition of the right of self-determination for these nations must not in any way be restricted and must include, in consequence, the secession from Russia. The political side must of necessity be taken into consideration in the work of the A.C.L.P.R. Until now those who demanded self-determination have been stamped and discredited as fascists, anti-democrats or collaborators.

The methods hitherto applied, especially by the Munich representative of the A.C.L.P.R. resp. the non-American Council, in order to demonstrate before the world the attendance of delegates from the non-Russian peoples, by creating sham delegations having no authorisation from their own people, must be abolished.

This only goes to prove how difficult the task is which Admiral Kirk faces. Still, these difficulties must never be

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The appeal has much to say about the liberal and democratic traditions of the Russian people, or the "Peoples of Russia" (the same thing, as far as the authors are concerned). The American politicians wish in this way to impress on the Russian people that it (the latter) has never in all its history had anything in common with dictatorship and totalitarianism, but that it has always striven to be free and has always hated its oppressors. Although this is not at all in accordance with historical facts, we have no doubt that such propaganda is very useful when dealing with the masses; we go even so far as to say that it provides a very clever and practical approach to the Russian people. If any success at all is achieved, then it will be by such tactics. But one fundamental principle is lacking: if American politicians appeal to the democratic and liberal traditions of the Russian people, they must also have the courage to recognize as

made an excuse for wrong solutions. The A.C.L.P.R. has it in its hands to become an instrument of importance in American foreign policy, if it really appeals to the subjected peoples and refuses to allow itself to become a tool for Russian reactionaries and imperialist tendencies.

"Stop Thief"

You know the picture. The thief runs in front of the crowd pursuing him, crying louder than all the others, "stop thief". If you are not familiar with this picture read the Moscow newspapers of the first week in March and you will see what I mean.

The investigations into the mass murder of Polish officers in the woods of Katyn, carried on by a committee of the American House of Representatives, the result of which, up to now shows without doubt that the Poles were murdered by order of Moscow, has aroused some confusion there. That may be seen from the fact that Moscow is now forced to justify itself before the peoples of its imperium and to such an extent that it will make a sensation. In similar cases it has always been Moscow's method to remain silent.

The reason is not far to seek, for the structure of this empire is still loose and each of the nations within it has had its own Katyn. The appearance of this Polish Katyn on the scene might awaken undesirable and dangerous memories in them, especially as many of these common graves are still comparatively new. It is thus easy to understand that the Soviet press pays a good deal of attention to the Katyn subject. In some newspapers descriptions occupy 40% of the whole paper. In general, the old assertion that the Polish officers were shot by German troops is repeated, and that the object of the Americans in carrying on their investigations is to create a gulf between the Polish and Russian peoples. The text of the declaration which was

a basic condition of democracy that other peoples have the right to live in their own national states and to govern them as they think fit.

It is, of course, merely an accident that we should have mentioned Fuller, an Englishman, as the representative of the first, and American politicians as the representatives of the second idea. It does not mean that Great Britain acknowledges the right of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union to self-determination and that the U.S.A. supports the indivisibility of the Russian imperium. At present there are adherents of both ideas in all countries — they are not separated by political frontiers.

Differences are rapidly disappearing. We are of opinion that many of the signatories of the appeal will finally agree with General Fuller. We consider that such a development is nothing short of a historical necessity, because the second idea represents the genuine political interest of the free world and stands for the bloody and heroic fight of the non-Russian peoples

issued by the investigating committee set up by the Soviet Government is published once more.

At that time the investigations were carried on entirely by Russians, it must be remembered. In view of the results achieved by a commission set up by the German Government, co-operating with an international commission in 1943, the Soviet Government dare not call upon impartial foreign observers. Its present attitude confirms this fear and is probably the best proof for its consciousness of guilt.

A Stolen Ukrainian Author

From early times Ukrainian culture and literature has been on a higher level than the Russian. No sooner had Russian domination begun in the 17th century than the gagging of Ukrainian literature set in. In the 19th century even to print in Ukrainian was prohibited, all Ukrainian schools were closed and all authors forced to write in Russian, under the supervision of Russian censorship. Russia expected Ukraine to regard itself as part of Russia.

It was under such circumstances that the great Ukrainian, Mykola Hohol (Gogol) wrote, but his love for his native country could not be crushed. His books have not only strengthened the patriotism of his fellow-countrymen, but have also contributed to increasing their antipathy for Russia. Despite that fact, the Russians have no scruple in passing the great author off in other countries as a Russian.

The centenary of his death was celebrated all over Russia. In Moscow a monument was unveiled bearing the words, "In memory of the great master of words, Nikolay Vassilyevich Gogol, from the Government of the Soviet Union, March 2, 1952".

The Moscow "Izvestiya" of March 4, 1952 writes, "the Ukrainian people will ever be grateful to the great Russian

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in the U.S.S.R. Sooner or later the world will be convinced that our theses are not only true, but also politically practical, and that the Kremlin can be overcome only by disintegrating the Soviet Union into its natural components, i.e. into national states.

Sooner or later, too, the world will realize that a general rising of all classes against the Kremlin can and will be enthusiastically received only by non-Russians, for the simple reason that the non-Russian peoples will welcome such a rising, not only as rebellion against oppression by the political and social regime, but also as a means of attaining liberation as states from the yoke of Russia. One thing is needful if the Russian people is to support the fight of the West against Moscow, and that is the national motive. If war should break out, the Russians' first aim will be to win it and only then to replace the present regime by another. Such is the fundamental difference between the present attitude of the non-Russian and the Russian to the Kremlin.

Dostoyevsky's Prophecy of Bolshevism

By Dr. D. Donzow

The bolsheviks like Dostoyevsky, but detest his "Devils". In that novel one can see the brilliant picture of future bolshevism, taken by the "photographer" removed from the subject by 80 years. Bolshevism could be born only among a messianic people. "Every People", — says one of the "Devils", Shatov, — "is only a people so long as it has its own god and excludes all other gods, . . . so long as it believes that by its gods it will conquer and drive out of the world all other gods . . . Only one nation is "god-bearing", that is the Russian people". The Nihilists of Dostoyevsky (the Shigalov's men) have assumed the role of the prophets of this "god-bearing people", the precursors of modern communists.

What system will the "Devils" build? Exactly that which exists now in U.S.S.R. "I am perplexed, said Shigalov, why my own data and my conclusion are a direct contradiction of the original idea with which I start. Starting from unlimited freedom I arrive at

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writer, Gogol for his delicate, fervent love of Ukraine, her sagas, songs and the enchantment of her scenery".

This quotation will find a permanent place in the records of commemorations and obituaries of famous artists, as it desguises the political motive at the back of the robbery of alien and national property in such a particularly arrogant and transparent way.

A Norm too for Literature

Articles are constantly appearing in the Russian papers accusing the non-Russian authors in the Soviet Union of neglecting to write on the life of the proletariat and of resorting to historical themes or village life instead. Their Russian opposites are then held up to the Estonian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Georgian and others, as models for they devote themselves in the main to the life of the proletariat.

The "Russian working classes, carried through the great Socialist October Revolution and they are the pillars of the State" is a stereotype saying in the Soviet press, and Soviet authors are supposed to glorify them in literature. Is there no proletariat in Ukraine Aserbaijan and other non-Russian lands in the Soviet Union?

There are industries in those countries, of course, even heavy industry but the writers among these peoples carefully avoid glorifying the way of life of that class of society which has, to a great extent, lost the peculiar stamp of its people and become russified like villagers.

That no writer can openly describe the anti-Russian feelings of his fellow-countrymen is clearly shown by the refusal of the intellectual classes among the non-Russian nations to depict the stage reached in the russifying process in order to please Moscow.

unlimited despotism". Dostoyevsky foresaw that logical accomplishment of every totalitarian revolution. Shigalov "suggests as a final solution of the (social) question, the division of mankind into two unequal parts. One tenth enjoys absolute liberty and unbounded power over the other nine-tenths. The others have to give up all individuality and become, so to speak, a herd and through boundless submission, will by a series of regenerations, attain primeval innocence, something like the Garden of Eden." They'll have to work, however, in this "earthly paradise" . . .

Is that not an exact photograph of the U.S.S.R.? Absolutism in political life. Equality — in social life. "In the herd there is bound to be equality . . . The one thing wanting in the world is discipline . . . We'll reduce all to a common denominator! Complete equality! Absolute loss of individuality. Nobody dares have more intellect than another! The "Devils" want technique, technicians and slaves in their state of the "earthly paradise", they do not want culture, they hate highly developed intellects. That is why they proclaim: — we'll stifle every genius in its infancy . . . The great intellects have always done more harm than good. They will be banished or put to death. Cicero will have his tongue cut out, Copernicus, will have his eyes put out, Shakespeare will be . . . The thirst for culture is an aristocratic thirst". "Slaves are bound to be equal!"

No one dares have more property than his neighbour. The desire of property the desire for family or love are noble, aristocratic desires. "We will destroy these desires! Do away with marriage, destroy the the right of inheritance!"

If nobody among the slaves dares have either more intellect than another, or more property, nobody dares surpass his neighbour by his moral standard. Therefore, "the whole essence of the Russian Revolution idea lies in the negation of honour. For a Russian a sense of honour is only a superfluous burden and it always has been a burden through all his history. The open right to dishonour will attract him more than anything", — says Dostoyevsky. "The essence of our creed" — says one of the "Devils" — "is the negation of honour. . . By the open advocacy of a right to be dishonourable, a Russian can be won more easily than by anything" . . . Therefore the "Devils" demand: "Abolish God! Lock the churches!" we will make use of drunkenness, slander, spying, we will make use of incredible corruption!"

The same are the principles of modern communist morality!

The "Devils", like modern communists, hate our spiritual, social and moral culture. They idolize materialism and hate also our notion of beauty. "The enthusiasm of the youth of to-day is a bright as in our age, — says old Verkovenky in the novel, "all that has happened is a change of aim, the replacing of one beauty by another.

The whole difficulty lies in the question which is more beautiful, Shakespeare or boots, Raphael or petroleum?" The "Devils" prefer boots and petroleum, the "earthly paradise", "the Sixtine Madonna is to their thinking inferior to a glass or a pencil". Pure materialism—that is their ideal, as that is the ideal of modern communists. Therefore Dostoyevsky imagines the coming communist Revolution as a revolution of "contemptible slaves, of the stinking depraved flunkies who will first climb a ladder with scissors in his hands, and slash to pieces the divine image of the great ideal in the name of equality, envy and digestion".

Vision! How many great ideals, which enlightened our Christian civilization for centuries have been annihilated by the bolshevik devils in the souls of the peoples."

Dostoyevsky foretold also the methods of bolshevik Revolution. "Shigalov is fanatical in his love for humanity but remember that Fournier, Cabet and Proudhon advocated a number of the most despotic measures", necessary to achieve socialism. Under these measures he suggests "slander and murder". "There will be an upheaval, there is going to be such an upset as the world has never seen before. . . Russia will be overwhelmed with darkness, the earth will weep for its old gods. . . That is what we need. Yes, it is a new religion coming to take the place of the old one".

Another measure for depriving nine-tenths of mankind of their freedom and transforming them into a herd — is "the education of whole generations": "one or two generations of vice are essential now; monstrous abject vice by which a man is transformed into a loathsome, cruel, egoistic reptile. That is what we need! And what's more, a little "fresh blood" that we may get accustomed to it" . . . And that is not all. The "Devils" suggest a new system of education, — "a system of spying; every member of society spies on the others and it's his duty to inform against them. All are slaves and equal in their slavery".

But Dostoyevsky foresaw more. He foresaw not only the slavery of the people under a regime of the "Devils", not only the dictatorship of a new caste, but that of one tyrant. He speaks in his novel about a time, when the new red aristocrats "would all suddenly begin eating one another"; foresaw the inevitable "purge" in the communist Party and the accession of the red Emperor. Not even a red aristocracy can be sufficiently despotic, but society, where equality rules, must have a despotic government. "What we want is one magnificent despotic will, like an idol, resting on something fundamental and external". This something fundamental, Shigalov's men found in the absolute power of one single dictator, a "pretender", a new red tsar, who "will appear" and whom they gave the name of "Dimitry Tsarevich", the name of one of the false tsars, "the peoples' Tsars", frequent in Russian history; the replacing of one tyrant by another is the sense of all Russian Revolutions. Now, this red tsar is ruler and despot of Russia.

One of Dostoyevsky's heroes says: "they, the communists, will devide his-

From behind the Iron Curtain

COSSACKIA

NEWS ITEMS

In the by-elections for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Victor Suslov was "elected" for the Cossack area. Suslov is the son of M. Suslov, a member of the Politbureau of the Communist Party (b) of S.S.S.R. It has become a tradition, this choosing of the sons of the great ones for Soviet offices; Stalin's son is an example.

Victor Suslov has never been in the land of the Cossacks, so could have no idea of the distress in the populations of the 2 Cossack places under his "charge". The son of another Soviet dignitary, V. Kusnezov, has been "elected" as delegate for the Stalingrad district.

The secretary of the Strawropol district, A. Vasiliyev, announced that during the past year 67 chairmen and 122 secretaries of the local Soviets had been relieved of their posts. At the same time, he said that the cattle breeding target had not been reached.

"Pravda" reports March 6, that owing to bad organization in cattle breeding, lack of fodder, as well as of competent persons, the stock of cattle in Cossackia has decreased considerably.

The Rostov paper, "Bolshevitzkaya Smyena", speaks of badly organized work among the Komsomols in the Rostov district. The Komsomols are not growing as they should, political education is almost nil, clubs and other political and cultural associations in more than one case are not functioning and no mass work has been undertaken.

"Literaturnaya Gazeta" reports "very serious misrepresentation of Soviet life" in recent books by Cossack writers such as A. Kolomyets "Odnoklassniki" and P. Voronko, "The Fairy ale of Sukhovoy".

EASTERN GERMANY

NEW FORCED LABOUR CAMPS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

(I.W.E.) Work has been completed at Neschwitz, near Bautzen, for the erection of a new forced labour camp for political prisoners. Originally the camp, with a capacity for 250 inmates,

tory into two parts: from the gorilla to the annihilation of God and from the annihilation of God."

— "To the gorilla?" — asks another.

It is a pity that these phenomena, the age of a red tsar and of gorillas, the age of Devils, which in his vision Dostoevsky saw 50 years before their birth, cannot be seen by many politicians of our time, when the Devils are now descending from the lucid phantasy of the writer to cover the earth with blood and shame.

was intended for criminals from the convict prison at Bautzen who belong to working squads.

A threefold barbed-wire fence encloses the camp at Neschwitz; Inside this, a yard from the last barbed-wire entanglement, is the "firing zone", so called because a prisoner putting foot on this strip of ground is shot without warning by the sentinels on the watch towers.

ARRESTS AND EXPROPRIATION

(I.W.E.) The Soviet Security Service (M.G.B.), and the People's Police have recently made numerous arrests. In many cases confiscation of property followed immediately after the arrests.

At Ludwigslust the proprietor of a sausage factory, Ernst Schulze, and his chief clerk, Grünwald, were arrested and taken to the Ludwigslust prison. The plant which employs 200 hands and clerks was expropriated for alleged mismanagement.

Accused of allowing "fascist doings" in their public house, the innkeepers, Heinrich Schwenke and Valter Gorka were arrested. 17-year-old Horst Wenk and 18-year-old Siegfried Betko of Dresden were taken into custody for being in possession of western newspapers.

Accused of connections with the West, a 32-year-old clerk in the secretariat of the Chamber of Technics, in East Berlin, Werner Buchert, was arrested on February 21st.

According to the People's Police station at Pardum, 11 persons from the town and its environs have been sent to prison for political reasons, among them the district secretary, Karl Sielov (S.E.D.), Günther Schibern and Georg Lenz.

HUNGARY

A MOSCOW COLONY?

"Pravda" published an article, March 1, 1952, by the secretary of the "Hungarian Workers' Party" who, in somewhat veiled language, reveals that Hungary is in a fair way to becoming a colony of Moscow's.

A few years ago Hungary was essentially an agrarian country. In 1938 agriculture took first place before industry in the revenue. Today industry's share is 10% higher than that of agriculture and is on the increase. In 1951 the total increased plan for industrial production was fulfilled with 103.4%, an increase in industrial production in one year of 30.1% compared with the previous year, the share of heavy industry being 37.7%.

Four times as many machines are now produced in Hungary as in 1938.

Decisive changes in the economy of the country are reflected in the complete revolution in foreign trade. In 1938 most of Hungary's exports consisted of raw materials and agricultural

produce, whereas in 1951 raw materials only amounted to 29%, while the export of half-finished and manufactured products accounted for 71%.

If we compare this active trade balance with the low living standard of the population, the growing shortage of foodstuffs and the lack of commodities, it is easy to see where the intensified production is going to. By the "complete revolution in foreign trade" what the population produces, as a result of "the most recent achievements of the stakanov worker and by the approved methods of economic directives as practised in the Soviet Union", flows into the Soviet Union.

Such methods call for no comment: workers denied the right of changing their place of work; ever-higher norms; severe punishment for the least negligence in the case of "free workers", faced with the rising number of convict labourers. Under this alien system the colonial character of the state administration is confirmed.

LITHUANIA

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS LIVES ON

"Pravda" of March 11, 1952 is concerned with the Lithuanian Academy of Science. The party organisation in the Academy is reproached with slackness in carrying out party directives in all branches of learning. "Party organisations do not adequately equip instructors for the fight against bourgeois nationalism: the connection between ideological work and the practical problems that face instructors is too vague. The party has not noticed cases of the gross distortion of the history of national liberation in Lithuania, appearing in some works by Professor V. Mikolayis, nor the admiration of Western science expressed by Y. Yurginis, of the Historical Institute.

The weaknesses in political training might have been overcome long ago, but neither the party bureau, nor the party committee in the Dzerzhinsky district, nor the municipal party bureau in Wilna have paid any attention to them."

In the seven years of occupation, the Soviets have seemingly failed to find suitable means of stamping out Lithuanian resistance to oppression.

SLOVAKIA

A SIGN OF RESISTANCE

SMRŤ KOMUNIZMU! SMRŤ ČSR!

SLÁVA SLOVENSKÉJ REPUBLIKE!

SLÁVA DR. ĎURČANSKÉMU!

SLOVENSKÁ PODZEMNÁ ARMÁDA!

Slovak refugees have brought to Austria a leaflets, the text of which in translations reads as follows:

"Death to Communism! Down with the C.S.R.! Hurrah for the Slovak Republic! Long live Dr. Duncansky!—Slovak Underground Army."

These leaflets were pasted up, chiefly on Communist party buildings, in many places in West and South Slovakia, in February this year. They were even to be found in trains and railway station waiting-rooms

NEW SYSTEM OF DISTRIBUTING RATIONS

A new system of distributing ration cards was introduced in Slovakia last December. Laborers now receive higher rations, pensioners and non-laborers get half their former rations while these are unchanged for employees in public service. These measures are intended to encourage people to work in mines and factories, so that the target for exports to the U.S.S.R. may be reached. When we bear in mind that there was no rationing at all in the Slovak Republic even in war-time, we can easily imagine the reception the new measures are enjoying, the increased irritation against the regime.

TELEPHONES TAPPED

Detectors have been installed in the central telephone office in Bratislava for the purpose of tapping the telephones of about 250 subscribers. Four members of the communist party have charge of this supervision which is extended to all conversation with people abroad, including communists.

TURKISTAN

RUSSIA'S ALIEN DOMINATION

While Russia on the one hand does all in her power to conceal from the outside world the fact that the non-Russians of the Soviet Union are still resisting what they feel is alien domination, on the other hand these forces of resistance are so powerful and general that the Soviet press is obliged to mention their existence.

On February 2, 1952 "Pravda" reported from Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan — one of the five Soviet republics into which Turkistan was cut up — at a plenary meeting of the communist party of the Uzbekistanian S.S.R. at which the speech of the secretary of the central committee, Niyazov, as well as the debate thereupon, were chiefly concerned with the backwardness of the work on the history of the Republic. "In the study and elucidation of the history of Uzbekistan serious errors and distortions have been tolerated. Instead of making a serious study of the historical problems of the day, a number of Uzbek historians devote themselves too much to the study of ancient history and culture, and allow the feudal past of Uzbekistan to be idealized."

"Fundamental errors crop up in the second volume of 'The History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan'. Historians have not given a scientific, marxist explanation of the reactionary monarchist

movements at the close of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, but present these movements as national liberation movements, which is contrary to historical fact."

So it would seem that the Usbek historians had the courage to present the struggle of their people against Russian domination as a positive fact and that the publishers were ready to print it.

The second reproach was directed against the interpretation given by historians of Russia's importance for the country in the second half of the 19th century, including the October Revolution, 1917. They neglect to stress that the "Anschluss" with Russia was an indication of progress, in contrast to England's policy which was to settle in this area and oppress the people, at the same time underestimating "the extreme importance of the socialist October Revolution and the part played by the Bolshevik party in founding, developing and strengthening the Usbekistanian S.S.R."

This blame is significant, for it hits not only the Usbek historian but also the ideological, political sinner, and the communist functionaries as well, and points to their having preserved some national consciousness even in face of Russian oppression.

Just before this the same reproaches had been put forward by the official Soviet press against the Kazakhstanian S.S.R.

U K R A I N E

THE RICH "HAVE NOTS"

A conference of the heads of the collective farms in the Kyiv district, which took place in February 1952 at Kyiv, and at which the district secretaries of the C.P., the chairmen of the executive committees and press men took part, deserves more publicity as it is a very significant mark of Soviet Russian kolkhoze policy. S. Hryza, chairman of the district executive committee, stated in his lecture that:

"The incomes of the collective farms have increased considerably in the year under review, making it possible to lace no less than 129 million roubles to the reserves. At the present time every seventh kolkhoze in the area is a millionaire. The average milk output per cow in our area was 2413 litres..."

Soviet economy calls the clear profit of the kolkhoze, which has been gained in the course of the business year but not distributed among the members, a "reserve". This capitalist "reserve" is used for state loans, investments and similar transactions.

Although comrade Hryza was in a position to give the exact quantity of milk per cow he could not state to what measure the kolkhoze worker was, on average, a participant in the yield of his work. Only such a comparison would give a clear picture. The kolkhoze itself, as owner of the reserve, is a millionaire, its individual members, however, have so little share

in the social products that they are forced to go about in ragged trousers. Their pride is supposed to be that their kolkhoze has swallowed so much of the output of their work that it has become a millionaire.

Herein lies the explanation of a typical Soviet paradox: the poorer the kolkhoze the better their workers live, the richer the coldhouse, the more the living standard of their labourers sinks.

It is a curse to be a Soviet collective millionaire.

CAPITALIST MANOEUVRES

In a recent article, the "Isvestiya" complained that many businesses in Ukraine were going their own "capitalist" ways, paying more attention to amassing profits than to fulfilling their duty to the State.

The volunteer fire-brigade in Lutsk, for instance, is less concerned with extinguishing fires than with making money by taking over repairs as a side-line. The beekeepers' association in Kherson has only 11 hives and its deliveries in 1951 did not exceed 60 cwt. of honey; but it managed to make a net profit of about 100,000 roubles on trade with honey, apples, potatoes, etc. It bought its goods from the local kolkhozes and sold them on free markets. The fishers' collective at Odessa prefers to make iron chains. A union in Voroshilovgrad, whose duty it is to equip special workers in municipal offices, has two retail shops. A bakers' union in Kovel devotes most of its time to repairing shoes. The fishers' union in Chernyiv, instead of catching fish, conducts a lively trade in postcards.

The "Isvestiya" does not say why these state concerns are driven to earn extra money.

MORE CENSURE FOR ARTISTS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Ukraine has launched a new storm of criticism against "bourgeois nationalism" in modern Ukrainian art and literature. The Moscow press paid great attention to speech by L. Melnikov, the secretary of the committee, in which Ukrainian writers, artists and composers were reproached with "serious faults and errors" in their work. He said:

"Our task now is to repair the damage before it goes any further, to wage constant war against every sign of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism, to educate our working people in the spirit of soviet patriotism and internationalism, in the spirit of indestructible friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union."

U K R A I N E

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VERLAG UKRAINE

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Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

Continued from the last issue

III

Russian Methods of Suppressing Ukrainian Insurgents

In their armed terrorist fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement and the Ukrainian people supporting it the Bolsheviks applied various means of terrorisation ranging from broad actions of a military character carried out by the army and police troops, to public murdering and torturing of Ukrainian insurgents and their relatives. At the times of their big operations against the U.P.A., the Bolsheviks did not cease systematically harassing and blockading Ukrainian villages and woods throughout the entire country. The Soviets gave this assignment to special M.G.B.-M.V.D. troops with full powers to murder any Ukrainian they pleased, rape the women and pillage the houses. The Ukrainians could write a big "Black Book" about despicable maltreatment, atrocious crimes, tortures and murders committed by these gangs of Soviet hangmen, a book no less terrifying than the accusations drawn up by the peoples of Europe against the German Nazis. They ravaged like ferocious beasts. It is impossible to speak without a feeling of boundless anger and indignation at their deeds. All their methods are a living mockery of "freedom from fear". And to instil this fear among the Ukrainian people it was necessary to apply "tested" sadistic methods. It was necessary to cut off hands with axes, to saw the bodies of captured insurgents in two, to strangle them with ropes and to burn them in locked houses, to bury them alive, and to slaughter whole families including women and small children. It was necessary to execute all this torturing in public and not to limit it to the torture-chambers of M.G.B. with its experienced "body-mechanics". In the village squares of Ukraine, captured Ukrainian insurgents were boiled and roasted alive, girls were violated in public, the wounded were summarily executed and the whole population of the "insurgent villages" were slaughtered systematically, until but a few were left in the ruins. Even the corpses and graves of the dead insurgents were dishonored by the Bolshevik beast in uniform. All this in order to "edify" the citizens of Soviet Ukraine and to compel them to obey the Soviet criminals.

Such was the Soviet terror in Ukraine at the time of big Soviet actions against the U.P.A. in 1945 and 1946 as described in the document mentioned above. But alarming news is now coming from Ukraine, that the Soviets have not ceased terrorising the Ukrainian people. Despite the fact that bacteriological warfare is forbidden by international law, it has constantly been used by the Bolsheviks in their warfare against the U.P.A. The Bolsheviks know that the Ukrainian underground is buying antitoxins on the black market; so the

Soviet agents began to sell poisoned injections in large quantities. The victims of these "injections" died in torture. Another method was spreading typhoid fever in the territory of the activities of the U.P.A. Still another method was infection with Siberian syphilis brought in by special units of Siberian N.K.V.D. The systematic pillaging and blockading of Ukrainian villages, especially in the Carpathian mountains was intended to cause large-scale hunger and starvation in order to force Ukrainian peasants into the much-hated collective farms. The Soviet-sponsored famine is not a new instrument of attaining economic and political ends. May we recall that, in the years 1932/33, some five million Ukrainians died of starvation? Apparently Moscow is now using the same device again in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, with the aim of collectivizing this territory, but also of exterminating the recalcitrant Ukrainians who support their U.P.A.

No Methods Too Foul

The methods of Soviet provocation used in the fight against the Ukrainian people surpass all description. The Bolsheviks have always laid special stress on placing their agent-provocateurs among the Ukrainian underground, aiming at its infiltration and disorganization from within. To dispel any possible doubts on the part of the U.P.A. counter-intelligence, the Bolsheviks organized "breakouts" from prison, "flights" from detention camps, etc. Another method was to send "rats" to the U.P.A. who claimed to be anti-Bolsheviks and who offered their services. They tried to gain the confidence of the U.P.A. by fair means and foul. A major of N.K.V.D. was admitted to the U.P.A. Trying to get the full confidence of the U.P.A. command, he "discovered" the network of minor Bolshevik agents within the ranks of the U.P.A., put them before the U.P.A. court-material and himself executed the death-sentence, hanging the condemned with his own hands. Of course, he was allowed to do so by the all-powerful N.K.V.D. which used him as its big "rat" in the ranks of the U.P.A. It revealed minor or ineffective "agents" in order to let its "rat" get a higher position in the ranks of the U.P.A. and its full confidence in his loyalty.

In 1947, another representative of the all-powerful N.K.V.D. ordered an agent-provocateur to kill M.V.D. major Anosov, a former Red partisan with many Soviet war decorations and chief of the M.V.D. department in the district administration, in order to secure him admittance to the dangerous insurgent group which was active in this district. Something similar took place in a village near Lviv, in 1946. One day, a "political prisoner" was brought into the building of the local Soviet and the village populace was asked to "recognize" the man. Nobody knew him. Asked about his name, the "pri-

soner" did not answer the questions at all. He was severely beaten by his guards two M.V.D. officers and four men, and the blood flowed from his many wounds. During the questioning, one of the officers put his pistol on the table. Suddenly, the "prisoner" seized the pistol from the table, shot down another officer and ran from the room. The ordered "chase" brought no results. The "prisoner" could not be found because the local populace gave him protection. He told the man who gave him shelter that he was an officer of the U.P.A. and asked him to contact the next group of the U.P.A. "Incidentally", the man who gave the "prisoner" shelter was a supporter of the U.P.A. and could manage the contact. But, despite all this performance in shooting down the M.V.D. officer, the new arrival was suspected and soon was revealed as an officer of M.V.D. sent to the U.P.A. with a special job. The whole performance with the shooting was organized by the M.V.D. in order to gain the necessary confidence of the local populace and to contact the U.P.A. group. But the captured agent-provocateur could not disclose whether the shot "officer" was really an M.V.D. officer who had to be shot for some higher reasons, or a political prisoner dressed up as an officer of the M.V.D.

The list of such provocations is endless. In 1947, at the time when the kolkhozniks of Eastern Ukraine paid mass visits to Western Ukraine to get some grain, potatoes, or vegetables the M.V.D. organized a gang in a Western-Ukrainian district. Disguised as Ukrainian insurgents, the members of this gang murdered the Eastern-Ukrainian "kolkhozniks" visiting Western Ukraine, but always saw that one, or two men from the kolkhoznik group escaped and told others about the dangers incurred by Ukrainian Insurgents. Disguised as kolkhozniks from Eastern-Ukraine, the members of the gang murdered Ukrainian peasants from Western Ukraine in order to implant hatred against the numerous visitors from the East. Thus, this agency of the Soviet power — the M.V.D., in its own double way tried to solve the perplexed Ukrainian question.

The Policy of Deportation

Soon the Bolsheviks realized that all tested Muscovite methods of terror had not been able to break Ukrainian resistance. They had only caused boundless hatred of the Soviet regime. The Ukrainian people continued to give their full support to the U.P.A. and affiliated organizations. Therefore, the Bolsheviks started their famous deportations of the Ukrainian population to the tundras of Siberia and wastes of Central Asia. Deportations are also an old Muscovite specialty often used by Russian rulers, to muzzle their opponents. Today Russia's deportation policy is guided by a consideration even more potent than the victim's political unreliability. A new great industrialization drive with the help of the vast quantities of factory equipment looted from Germany, Manchuria, etc. has greatly increased Russia's need of labor. To solve this problem, Russia is resorting to deportation on a scale hitherto un-

Open Letter

Editorial Notice: General Lev Prchala and Karel Locher, in the name of The Czech National Committee in London (a Czech organization which has been fighting the bolshevisation of Czechia ever since 1945), have published an open letter addressed to Major E. Beddington Behrens M.C., Chairman of the Central and Eastern European Movement, which deserves notice and should be brought to the knowledge of the general public.

The most striking thing about it is that these two prominent Czechs and their whole organization are contending so courageously against the imperialism of their own countrymen.

This is their letter verbatim.

Sir,

In your pamphlet "Basis for An Eastern European Policy" you stated rightly that: "European Union cannot be complete without the inclusion of the European countries behind the Iron Curtain". In paragraph one, page seven of your pamphlet, you declare that: "Europe cannot survive unless it is united. It can only be united on the basis of the moral and political principles which have made European civilisation. That means that every nation has the right to choose its own government and determine its own social structure without any outside interference".

We agree wholeheartedly with this principle which, in similar wording was already formulated in the Atlantic Charter and, as you certainly know accepted by the Western democracies and their great Eastern ally, Soviet Russia, in their common struggle for freedom and democracy in the Second World War. Unfortunately the powers which accepted this principle at the conference at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam (where the nations, whose fate was determined, were not represented) interfered with the social structure and right to choose their own govern-

ment of many Central and Eastern European nations.

Being firmly convinced that your intentions are absolutely honest, we take the liberty of asking you to bring into effect the strictly moral and political principles for which you are trying to fight, in order to avoid any confusion as to your real meaning and intentions in the minds of those to whom you are speaking.

In the foreword of your pamphlet you speak about countries behind the Iron Curtain, while in the first paragraph of the same pamphlet you speak about nations. To mix these two terms, without expressly stating that a nation has its national rights within its ethnographical boundaries, might be confusing.

According to your statement there are representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia in the European Movement. You rightly state that "European union cannot be complete without the inclusion of the European countries behind the Iron Curtain." We take the liberty of calling your attention to the fact that the following peoples are also living in their own countries behind the Iron Curtain: Estonians, Latvians,

known in the annals of history. It becomes an established adjunct of Russian police rule and is widely known under the name of "exile by administrative order". There is no legal procedure of any kind, no possibility of appeal. If the Soviet Police decided that you should be deported, you were roused from your bed in the night, and off you went to join an echelon of other such unfortunates, who, as in the times of Ivan the Terrible or Peter the "great", had "to repent their sins" as slave laborers working at gigantic projects of the Kremlin maniacs.

Resistance Still Strong

Soviet terror has not succeeded in breaking Ukrainian resistance. The U.P.A. has not ceased fighting to this very day and its final chapter is not yet written. This fight is a source of continuous comment by foreign observers. The Soviet authorities themselves have been repeatedly forced to admit the existence of the U.P.A. In a recent report by L.G. Melnikov, Stalin's "gauleiter" in Ukraine, it was stated that "socialist transformation of agriculture in Western Ukraine has been taking place amid a bitter struggle against the

"kulaks" and their agents, the remnants of Ukrainian nationalists". The Russian rulers could hardly, officially, be franker.

Today, when the world has a glimpse of Russian terrorist methods in Korea and when it begins to see the Bolsheviks in their true colors, when it recognizes them as a clique of conspirators planning to overthrow world order and peace and to destroy the very foundations of ancient Christian civilization, there are still a great many people in the West who do not realize how much heroism, patriotism, self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of liberty is required to successfully wage a struggle, already in its sixth year since the end of the war, against the barbarism, which today has its breeding ground in the Kremlin and which plots the total destruction of the Western world.

But Ukraine, and other Central and Eastern European countries subjected and terrorised, are a warning to the West and a forecast of what is in store for it. Once the menace of Russian imperialism becomes a reality. It is a nightmare, but a nightmare which is to be taken with grim seriousness.

Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, etc.

According to the "moral and political principles which have made European civilisation", do these nations not have the right to choose their own government and to determine their own social structure? If not, of what sort then are the moral principles of which you are speaking? If they have the right, why then are they not represented in the European Movement? If the communists have the right to agitate in Western democratic countries for the overthrow of democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, why have not the nations enslaved by communism in Eastern Europe the right to agitate for their national freedom?

The representatives of Czechoslovakia in the European Movement, for which nation are they trying to obtain freedom? Do they speak for the Slovakian nation which, in 1939, took the very first opportunity to be liberated from Czechoslovakia? Or do they speak for the Hungarians who in 1919 were forcibly incorporated into Czechoslovakia, only for the bulk of them to be forcibly expelled from their native land in 1945? Or do they speak for the Carpathian Ukrainians to whom in 1919 Czech imperialists gave a solemn promise of autonomy which has never been kept, but instead found themselves seduced to Russia in 1945 without being asked whether they agreed to this bargain? Or do they perhaps speak for the Sudeten Germans who were forcibly incorporated into Czechoslovakia in 1919, and barbarously expelled from their native land by those very people from Czechoslovakia who are today speaking for the freedom and "right of every nation to choose its own government". There never has been a Czechoslovakian nation, and, consequently, nobody can speak on behalf of the Czechoslovakian nation.

One of the "Czechoslovak" delegates of your Conference, Mr. H. Ripka, broadcast from the London B.B.C. on November 7th, 1942, that: "The Russian Soviet State raised to greater heights than ever before the standard of civilisation, culture and living of the wide masses of the Soviet people." Is it now Mr. Ripka's intention to liberate the nations of Czechoslovakia from the high standards of civilisation introduced there with his assistance, by Soviet Russia?

For whom do the representatives of Poland speak? Which Poland do they represent? Do they represent the Poland which originated in 1918, and into which, against their will and by military force, were incorporated the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, do they represent these two nations? Or do they represent the Poland which was established — with the assistance of Generalissimo Stalin — in Potsdam in 1945, and, in consequence, do they also represent the eight million Germans who were expelled from this Poland?

For what do the representatives of Yugoslavia speak, and whom do they represent? The present Yugoslavia is a federal state of Slovenians, Croats, Montenegrans, Serbians and Macedonians.

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We Know the Truth, You Should Guarantee Freedom

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in this spirit, his voice would spread among our peoples like fire, without the aid of any floating transmitter. It would be heard in Minsk, Kyiv and Tashkent, and would shake the foundations of Muscovite despotism, and no Iron Curtain would avail to cut it off. But because our peoples are always referred to in the discriminating terms of "population of the U.S.S.R." or worse still, "Russian people", we grow suspicious and feel compelled to ask: Why do you hesitate to recognize our claim to freedom and to promise its realization? Is the reason really consideration for Kerensky and his like, whose favour you wish to preserve, even at the risk of embittering more than 100 millions of tortured men athirst for freedom? Are you actually planning once more to set the fox to guard the geese in Russia? Do you really mean to push our peoples back into brutal Russian tyranny after they practically won their liberty and independence in battle after the end of the First World War? We refuse to believe it, but your attitude puts our confidence in you to a severe test.

Allow us to put the matter plainly to responsible statesmen in the West. If you want to give us proof of friendship, show us clear and concrete plans

Open letter

Continued from Page 11

ians. Should this federation be abolished and the pre-war regime — which was neither democratic, nor nationally just — be re-established? Or should the present federal form of Yugoslavia be preserved and only its social structure changed? If the Yugoslavian representatives in your Conference are for national justice, why are there no Montenegrins or Macedonians among them? Are they perhaps not recognised as nations? It is up to the Montenegrins and Macedonians themselves to decide whether they are nations and whether they wish to be Serbians or not, but not for the Serbians to do so.

As you can see from this brief statement, your solemn proclamation of "the right of each nation to choose its own government", is in practice denied by the procedure of your organisation.

By the appointment of representatives of the various European states "although they are representatives without their states", you inevitably create in the minds of the oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain the impression that you do not struggle for the freedom of the enslaved nations, but for the freedom of the various Central and Eastern European imperialists to oppress other nations.

The only moral and political basis in the struggle for the freedom of European nations and the Union, is the unconditional recognition of the right of each nation to self-determination in its ethnographical boundaries.

This is the basic political principle for which we have been fighting. As you may observe, we have not the honour of being represented in your European Movement.

for the future. What Ukrainians, Turkestani, Georgians and all the other peoples in the U.S.S.R. desire to hear from you is not general phrases about justice and peace, still less about an illusory democratization of the Russian imperium, but above all the assurance that you are decided not to leave these peoples any longer in humiliating Russian slavery, no matter its colour. What a Slovakian or Croatian people hopes from you is not help in shaking off the bolshevist regime but the prospect of liberation from the national oppression to which they have been subject in states that were constructed on the basis of caprice and force. And every other people behind the Iron Curtain hopes to find your sympathy and support for its just national claims and elementary vital interests, so that the promise of the peaceful and happy cooperation of all peoples may be fulfilled.

Tell the Ukrainians, therefore, that you agree to their being no longer the booty of Moscow, but to their living their own lives in their own state; say the same to all other peoples in the U.S.S.R. who have proved for centuries and sealed with their blood their right to national independence. Assure Croats that their representatives will no longer be shot down in their "own" parliament and Slovaks that they need no longer live as fair game in their own state, but that these peoples will enjoy sovereignty. Promise all people on both sides of the Iron Curtain that they need have no fear for their natural and ethnically determined claims and that they will enjoy a life in freedom without having to sacrifice their na-

tional substance to favoured neighbours or without being treated badly in the interest of an antiquated power-policy.

This alone would provide a healthy foundation for European cooperation in future, in which all nations would share willingly and without suspicion. Let the dead past bury its dead. Break off unworthy connections with notorious traitors of their own peoples and secure the cooperation of their true representatives. Proclaim a concrete policy and no power in the world will prevent you from carrying it out. As long as you cannot decide to do so, your efforts will be barren and the success of your crusade doubtful.

Dr. D. B.

Churches Used as Storehouses

Communistic every day life in Lithuania — once called the Land of our Lady — is characterised by the following events which need no comment.

In Kaunas the tower of the 15th century church of Vytautas the Great was torn down. This Jesuit church being used as a storehouse in which belongings of the people exiled to Siberia are kept. The Pater Marjonas Church has been closed. The Church of the Ascension has been turned into a library, in fact only two of the twenty-one churches in Kaunas have been left.

Some girl students who tore down the proclamation of the closing of the churches and a few others who were onlookers of this scene, were condemned to six years' hard labour and sent to Siberia. A number of valuable monuments in the cemetery have been destroyed, while among those preserved, busts of Stalin and other leading communists have been set up. Religious liberty exists only on paper.

The 34th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Byelorussian National Republic

After the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution in the Russian Empire, the Byelorussians continued their struggle for the restoration of their independent State. The first all-Byelorussian Congress was convened in the capital city, Minsk, on December 18, 1917, at which 1872 delegates were present, representing the whole ethnic Byelorussian territory and also every class of the population. The Congress elected a Council of Elders, numbering 71 persons.

The bolshevists, displeased with the resolutions passed, sought to break up the meeting by every means; not succeeding in their purpose, they resorted to arms in order to scatter the delegates, December 30th 1917.

The Congress came together again, however, the next day and placed all authority in the hands of the Council of Elders, till the next general election. The Council at once appointed an executive committee which, on March 23, 1918, proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian National Republic.

That driving out and scattering of the first all-Byelorussian Congress was significant for the bolshevist policy of

the future, for by means of unheard of terrorism they scattered and drove this people into the marshes of northern Europe and Asia and into the deserts of Central Asia. But this action was soon to turn back on its perpetrators. Armed revolts arose aiming at the liberation of Byelorussia from the bolshevist yoke.

The people yearn for the day when the defected occupation will end and the bolshevist hangmen and torturers will be hounded out, so that the proclamation of March 23, 1917 will come true.

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Editorial

Quo vadis, America?

Faults and Inconsistencies of U.S.A. policy towards the enslaved Peoples of the Russian Empire

The Irony of Fate

When Secretary of State Acheson recently made the historic statement that in reality bolshevism is only a continuation of Russia's century-old policy of conquest, thus revealing plainly the cause of the present crisis in world affairs, we hoped that a new era

American policy had begun towards the peoples who had had the misfortune to fall a victim at some time or other to the same Russian imperialism. But what a bitter disappointment! These significant words from the mouth of the responsible leader of American foreign policy received no more attention than an ordinary notice in the newspaper, and the change expected in this policy as far as it concerned peoples languishing under the yoke of Moscow's tyranny has not taken place. The State Department remains as before under the pernicious influence of those Russian imperialists in exile who strive at all costs to get from Washington a guarantee that the Russian imperium will continue, if behind a facade of "federal democracy".

Thus, for instance, the so-called *American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia*, now under Admiral Kirk's leadership, is still in the hands of people like Eugene Lyons, who continue their attempts to bluff the American public by pretending that it would be possible, in the event of war, to win the Russian people for a mass movement of resistance against Moscow, but that it would be necessary to promise it the continued existence

of its imperium and to conduct the war against Moscow solely as one against bolshevism. In a decisive hour American policy is thus misled, and loses a unique chance for the sake of illusory advantages, a chance of mobilising in the coming conflict the huge potential of more than 90 million people of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow who represent the West's safest and most natural ally. Still worse! By yoking American policy to the inviolability of the Russian imperium and by ignoring the claims of all these non-Russian peoples to freedom and independence, the sacred, national feelings of these masses of people are deeply wounded. They will even be driven right into the arms of Stalin, who is in any case trying to win them, if with hypocritical promises of national independence, and to stir them up against the "imperialist, reactionary" West and even to inspire them with Soviet patriotism.

Amerikans misused by Kerensky & Co.

Kerensky's influence in the State Department and the policy pursued by the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia will ultimately lead to American soldiers being made a cat's paw of in a future war by an unaltered Russian imperialism, if of a new brand. The sons of the freedom-loving American people, therefore, the descendants of Washington and Lincoln, the world's great symbols of liberty, will have to fight and die so that our peoples may be burdened with another yoke instead of that of bolshevism. Russian exiles throughout the world have always attempted to suppress protests against the subjugation of non-Russian peoples by Russian tyranny. They have always wanted to convince the world that all evil in the Russian imperium is the work of the government at the moment and not of the despotic nation that keeps other peoples in slavery. Paradoxically enough, this Russian propaganda finds support in the United States of all countries, the land of liberty, where political persecutes from all nations have found asylum for years. Thus Americans to-

day allow themselves unconsciously to be misused by Kerensky and his like to champion slavery in the East. This is the role played by American institutions, called "private", but in reality half-official, under men like George F. Kennan or Admiral Kirk, bodies that try to whitewash the red sign of the bolshevist dungeon of nations and to replace its letters "U.S.S.R." by those of a so-called "Federation."

Propaganda that has misfired

Whilst the Kremlin is making determined efforts not to lose face with the many different nations in the U.S.S.R. and only dares to address them as "peoples of the Soviet Union", even granting them delegates of their own in the U.N., the official voice of America continues to talk with the accents of old Russian imperialism. Even in broadcasts intended to be propaganda for our peoples, the latter are always addressed as either "Russian peoples", "peoples of Russia", or simply as "inhabitants of the Soviet Union", without regard for the effect on all non-Russian peoples who, as nationally conscious peoples, cannot welcome such forms of address. As long as American propaganda broadcasts use their present language for the "Russian peoples", the rulers in the Kremlin would scarcely have any reason to forbid listening in to these broadcasts, or to prevent their transmission.

If American propaganda broadcasts to our peoples are to have the success they promise, they must first of all outdo the lying but cunning propaganda of Moscow bolsheviks. But fine words about freedom and independence are not enough. So if America today wishes to dissipate the scepticism and mistrust of the sorely tried non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., and win them as reliable allies, it must recognize their political independence not in words alone; it must provide concrete guarantees that it takes such a policy and plans for the future seriously.

"Voice of America" is not enough

One of the essential guarantees is genuine cooperation with our peoples and their true representatives even now,

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in the cold war against Russia. For instance, it is radically wrong that members of our peoples should be allowed to address their enslaved fellow-countrymen at home only through the "Voice of America". Let the "Voice of America" be America's voice in which Washington's views and intentions as regards the problems of the subjugated peoples are interpreted to them. But the speakers and representatives of our peoples must have the possibility of addressing their fellow-countrymen directly and in a language uninfluenced alike by prevailing tendencies in America's policy towards the Soviet Union and by the political barometer in Moscow.

Just as, during the last war, there was a "Voice of Free France" as an ally of the West, there ought now to be a voice of Georgia, of Ukraine, of Byelorussia, of Turkistan, of Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, etc. Our peoples now living under tyranny and engaged in a desperate fight of resistance, want first and foremost to hear *our* voice, uncensored, and as it actually is. It is only when our peoples hear that we are waging war in the ether as full partners and allies of the West, enjoying equal rights with others, and acting in the real interests of our peoples, that they will be convinced that the West, and above all America, is seriously concerned with the fate of the subjugated peoples and their freedom in the future. But as long as members of our peoples are forced to beg humbly for permission to lament the fate of their people in one or part of a broadcast, and to submit their script for a Russian or Czech imperialist to censure, all wireless propaganda will be in vain and the dollars it costs, useless.

That is why the A.B.N. is not pressing for admission to the "Voice of America". We want to be able to speak freely to our peoples as independent and equal allies of the West. If the West cannot make up its mind to provide us with the necessary technical help yet, we can wait, for we have nothing to lose, except our fetters. It is doubtful whether the West, which has much to lose and perhaps fetters to gain, will be able to wait as long.

The Power of the Idea of Liberty

"The peoples are the thoughts of God", says the philosopher. Every people, small or great, has an equal right to liberty, life and happiness. All peoples are equally pleasing and valuable in the sight of God. Why does freedom-loving America think that it is entitled to interfere with this or that people's way of life and determine its relations to its neighbours and even with what peoples it must live in one community? Would it not be better for America as the leading power in the world to help these peoples shake off

their alien yoke and erect states of their own within their traditional ethnic frontiers, in accordance with freedom-loving America to stand up for the principle that every people has an inalienable right to the land of its fathers and that all violations of this principle by forced mass-deportations of populations and whole tribes be made good by the reestablishment of the natural order as desired by God?

Only when these fundamental conditions are fulfilled will our peoples be able and willing to find the way to a continental community and thereafter to a world organization. If the peoples sit round the table of such an organization as free and equal members, thorny problems and differences will be easier to solve. Then, if geopolitical, economic or other considerations should induce any peoples to form any kind of communities, then only as the result of their own free will. But no one may force such communities on peoples against their will and interest; nor may they be prevented from forming communities in their own interest and by their own free decision.

But why do Great Powers keep finding their own new formulas for our alleged "liberation"? First, they created for us a "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"; then they gave us a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"; tomorrow they will perhaps present us with an organization, entitled, say, "The Anti-Soviet Union". Enough of those recipes! We want to have a chance to build our temples of liberty according to *our* own creed, and to, hold the prayers of our countries for freedom in *our* own language! And once we have established our own free states, then the Great Powers should sit down with us at the same table, to discuss world problems.

Today all of us — you as well as we — strive for the same goal. Our first aim is *to remove the Russian rule of despotism and to help the victims of Russian imperialism to their freedom*. It is only when this goal has been reached that the world will be able to breathe freely; all other problems will solve themselves. That is the order of solution for all the questions with which our century is faced. They cannot be solved by presuming to determine the state of the world for a thousand years in advance and to attack a mass of problems indiscriminately and at once.

The world cannot be made happy merely by the establishment of extensive states, still less by the formation of one world-state out of continents seething with millions of enslaved peoples, but only by the realization of true national freedom. The power of the idea of liberty is greatest, the power symbolized by the statue that guards the entrance to New York har-

bour, and its torch lightens the world's darkness.

Questionable "liberation policy"

Hitler invented General Vlassov's "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", he, too, fondly dreaming that it would awaken resistance in Stalin's rear. But the movement was a farce and a bitter disappointment for the Germans. Certain officious American circles who seem to have learnt nothing from history and the experience of the Second World War, want to launch America's "liberation policy" with the experiment that already proved wanting in fighting the Soviet Union. They, in their turn, created a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" and replaced Vlassov by Kerensky. Nay, more! After Kerensky failed miserably, after it was obvious that the whole movement had no ideals to inspire the masses to resist, after the Committee was turned down by all non-Russian peoples in the U.S.R. and their real representatives, some American circles are now trying to make up for the lack of ideals with dollars! The policy of these American circles towards the subjugated peoples and their exiled representatives was marked by corruption and the protection of treason. Instead of cooperating with the genuine representatives of our peoples and supporting their existing movements of resistance, these circles in America negotiate with mercenary quislings and cultivate national treason.

When Russian bolshevists seek renegades among our peoples to carry out their plans, they at least cloak treason in the idea of a world revolution that will bring salvation to all peoples. They give the traitors the weapons of slogans about socialism, communism, etc. Americans simply give them dollars as the price of supporting Russian imperialism. This is a painful statement for us to make, but our love of truth leaves us no alternative.

A Severe Verdict

The situation becomes positively tragic for us when, in addition, American courts condemn our champions of freedom to spend long years in prison merely for reacting spontaneously to such treacherous provocations and giving vent to their deeply offended national feelings. Recently, for instance, an American court condemned three Ukrainian patriots to a total imprisonment of 21 years, only because they could not help chastising a Ukrainian traitor who had sold himself to Russian imperialism for American money. One of the men condemned was for years a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and had arrived in the West only two days before the incident. Although it was proved that

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Triumphal March of our Ideas

Yaroslav Stetzko, A.B.N.-President, speaks in the New World

The President of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), arrived in Canada from England on March 26, this year. The object of his visit is twofold, to get into personal touch with the emigrants from the nations subjected by Moscow, who are embracing the A.B.N. ideas in masses, and besides, to make these ideas, problems and aims, clear to the public abroad, at last from an authentic side.

President Stetzko's visit to Canada aroused much interest in the newspaper world and general public. Leading Canadian papers, as well as the émigré press published interviews, photographs and outlines of his life. He was pointed out as the personification of the stubborn, unbroken resistance in the struggle for liberation being carried on in his Ukrainian home-land and by all other A.B.N. peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

There was a great rally April 13, in Massy Hall, Toronto, at which President Stetzko spoke before 2,500 people and appealed to the world to collaborate with the A.B.N. The "Toronto Daily Star" had two exhaustive articles and quoted verbatim from his speech:

"A weapon much stronger and more effective than the atom bomb, is the idea of the national liberation of nations under Russian domination" . . .

"A.B.N. is determined to fight for the sovereignty of each member nation in its belief that only in this way can the Russian threat be eliminated."

In all the Toronto papers e. g. "The Globe and Mail", as well as all the leading Canadian papers, the speech was received with interest and sympathy. After his speech, Mr. Stetzko was asked for several interviews and to speak on the wireless. Invitations to speak in other towns, Ottawa, Fort William, Winnipeg etc. reached him, which he hopes

accept in the course of his stay. Wherever it might be, Montreal, Toronto—everywhere, Mr. Stetzko was warmly received by the Canadian public as well as by the different organizations of Ukrainian and other subjugated nations. Several radio stations reported on the A.B.N., quoting slogans and articles from our "A.B.N. Correspondence".

"MacClean's Magazine" of May 1, 1952 published a five page illustrated article about the A.B.N. and the heroic underground fight behind the Iron Curtain, just when Mr. Stetzko was in Canada on his much discussed journey of enlightenment. The report bases on an interview the editor of this magazine had with Mr. Stetzko. During the interview he was informed of the conditions under which the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was still carrying on the heroic conflict, the stubborn resistance of all the peoples in the A.B.N., as well as their political ideas and aims. The above-mentioned article is illustrated with interesting photographs of armed U.P.A. detachments underground, A.B.N. rallies etc.

At the public rally in Massy Hall, To-

ronto, on which a Toronto paper, "Homin Ukrainy", (Ukrainian Echo) reports under the heading, "We ask for Nothing, we will only warn the West of the Menace", the audience of 2,500 unanimously adopted a resolution, which was printed in the newspapers and of which we give some extracts:

"The combination of the two elements, historical Russian imperialism and its present tool, international communism, forms the foundation of the present Soviet-Russian political theory and practice, aimed at the domination of a whole and undivided world.

It is a dangerous illusion to believe that any reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is possible. Any assumption that a peaceful co-existence of the two power blocs within this world is possible is a misrepresentation of the firm facts of the present political life and future development. Considering the continuous Russian aggressiveness and the idea of a peaceful co-existence, based on any spheres of influence or the balance of power, is a dangerous illusion which might result only in a full defeat and surrender of the peace-loving partner.

Bolshevism with all its theory and practice lived and still lives to-day psychologically in an atmosphere of war. This atmosphere strikes out any possibility of agreement and co-existence. All peaceful declarations and propositions made by Moscow are in reality propaganda moves to cover its preparations for decisive action and to demoralize the democratic world in order to facilitate the way to achieve their purpose.

Since a true reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is impossible, the only way left to the free world to secure peace and normal conditions is to remove and destroy the only source of to-day's crisis, Russian imperialism and its tools.

To secure victory two things are necessary. The first one is the maintenance of the

physical and moral strength of the free world, and the second is to win the sympathy and understanding of oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain by supporting their national movement for freedom, their political underground organizations and insurgent armies and fighting groups within the U.S.S.R. and their satellite countries, and by recognizing all fighting groups and still underground armies behind the Iron Curtain as regular fighting forces in accordance with the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907.

It is necessary to combat not only communism but also Russian Imperialism which is the actual moving force behind the screen of communism, social justice etc. The Russian Empire always was and still is a prison of nations which must be disbanded for the sake of world peace. The necessity of the partition of the Soviet Empire into independent national states on ethnic principles must be recognized. Russia must be forced back to its ethnic boundaries. This would deprive Russia of huge natural resources and manpower which would make her unable for future aggressions against the democratic countries. This is the best and the only warrant of the preservation of everlasting peace in the future.

It is necessary to create an atmosphere in which the soldiers of the Soviet Army will prefer to fight on the side of freedom. The majority of them are mobilized from the non-Russian people who are strongly anti-Russian and would utilize the possibility to turn their arms against their Russian oppressors which already happened once during the the last war.

There is every reason to assume that the journey of the President of the A.B.N. in Canada will leave a lasting impression both on the émigrés from the countries behind the Iron Curtain and the whole of Canada. While it means a powerful impulse for the people of our subjugated countries to fight on, giving them confidence in the overthrow of Moscow's tyranny, this campaign of enlightenment reveals a new aspect to the outside world for the study and solution of the present world crisis. Thus A.B.N. ideas go their slow but sure way to victory.

Impressive Rally in New York

**General Farkas de Kisbarnak, Chairman of the A.B.N. Military Commission
speaks before an Audience of 4,000**

Just before going to press the news reached us, that a rally had taken place in Manhattan Centre, in New York's largest hall, on May 4. The rally was arranged by the American Friends of the A.B.N. and directed by the Slovak representative, Mr. Sciranka, an editor. The following countries were represented: Aserbajan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, National China, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Slovakia, Turkistan, Ukraine.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. was represented by the chief of a Hungarian national delegation and Chairman of the A.B.N. Military Commission, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, who held a much

applauded military speech. He spoke of the potential importance of peoples subjugated by Moscow, in the fight against Russian bolshevist tyranny and warned the West against missing the opportunity of preparing a second front with the help of these subjugated people, against bolshevism, if victory is to be secured.

Representative Ralph W. Givinn of Westchester, and Representative O. K. Armstrong, of Missouri, as well as many other representatives of public life and the press were among the American guests. Representative Armstrong even addressed the meeting. Messages and telegrams were received from Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican candidate for the Presidency, Governor John



Side Lights:

Incitement Against A.B.N.

There is no denying that the political importance of the A.B.N. is growing both behind the Iron Curtain and in the West. Its adherents and also its opposers are increasing in number. Prominent persons in Great Britain, America, Italy and Germany, even whole organizations and societies, declare they are in sympathy with our struggle and aims.

At first our enemies tried to make light of us. For years, about from 1945 to 1947, they never deigned to mention us, believing that we should thus be smothered.

These times are long past. Anyone reading the Russian anti-communist papers will bear us out when we say that there is hardly a copy of those papers which does attack the A.B.N., and with malicious intent.

We are, above all, accused of chauvinism of "zoological nationalism". They accuse us of not wanting a union with Moscow, an unheard of thing in the age of unions on a grand scale.

No consideration at all is given to the fact that there is little or no room for chauvinism where a people is subjugated. These writers are heedless enough to call their own policy of oppression, magnanimity and the intention of taking the lives others "grand adjustment for co-operation among the peoples in the Russian democratic empire". They have no scruples in glossing over the fact that though we are living at a time of close collaboration among nations on a super-national basis, each remains a sovereign state, on an equal footing with the others.

The Russians offer the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, Turkistanians "generous" cultural autonomy in a centralized Russian empire. We thank them kindly for their offer, but prefer not to accept. We are too much aware of our role in the world even to discuss such a proposal. We want to be free from Russian tutelage, free from Russian obtrusiveness in forcing us to do their will.

That is all we ask. If such a natural desire is chauvinism then it would be difficult to say what the Russian attempt at enslaving our people should be called. General Fuller, in his pamphlet "Russia is not Invincible", says "Lenin took the basic maxim of Western civilization — the truth shall make you free — and inverted it. Thus in the Bolshevik vocabulary every word is perverted; a lie is called the truth, truth is denounced as a lie. Police ter-

Davis Lodge of Connecticut, and many, many others. The greetings from these prominent men were read to the enthusiastic audience.

Afterwards there were two press conferences for American newspapers and press agencies, held by General Farkas. The rally was given much space in the American papers.

We shall publish further details of this memorable rally in New York in the next number of the Correspondence as well as reports about the information campaign of the A.B.N. in U.S.A.

ror is called democracy, serfdom is called freedom, conquest is called liberation. Subjection is called self-determination, and the political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party is called the proletariat, in the interest of which all individual freedom and natural rights are suppressed."

It seems as if the astounding ability to twist everything round is not a monopoly of the bolshevist alone, but an attribute of the Russian imperialists altogether.

Moreover, why should the non-Russian peoples join just the Russians in a grand alliance and share a common fate? Is it not conceivable that they might cling together, or join other peoples in central and southern Europe? Might they not enter the European Union without having to take the round-about way over Moscow?

There are sufficient possibilities, and varied enough, to suit the spirit of the times. We refuse most decidedly to have just the Russian version of this spirit thrust upon us.

In order to give expression to their free will, nations must first be free, only then can they decide what they will do in the question of alliances on a grand scale, not, however, vice versa!

Admiral Kirk's First Political Pronouncement

A political declaration was recently issued in the form of a pamphlet by the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". It is the first political announcement since the resignation of the former president, Eugene Lyons, who was succeeded by Admiral Kirk. As our readers know, we have not shared the political views of the Committee hitherto, and have therefore read the declaration with the greatest interest to ascertain whether any considerable change in policy has taken place under the new leadership.

Our attention was, of course, first turned to that part of the pamphlet dealing with the nationality problems in the Soviet Union. The American Committee, as we know, took the standpoint that the revolution in the Soviet Union was only to be under the motto of a fight against the bolshevist regime, while the solution of the nationality problem was to be shelved, as far as possible. The peoples of the Soviet Union were to decide after the day was won whether they wished to live with the Russians in one empire, or whether they preferred their own national States. Their decision was to be settled by a plebiscite.

That program was unacceptable for the non-Russian peoples, as they upheld the conception that the anti-bolshevist revolution should decidedly not be waged with social and political captions, but won by actuating national problems. They base their arguments on the intense urge of the non-Russian peoples for independence, and estimate it so highly that they can never disregard it. They reject the suggestion of a plebiscite because through all the centuries of their history they have proved to be independent people with the determination to govern themselves.

This new declaration by the American Committee does not go into the matter with the necessary clarity. They state,

it is true, that the Committee is founded on the principles of democracy, and the right of self-determination, but avoid stating in so many words whether that right is now unreservedly acknowledged, or whether the previous conception still holds good that a plebiscite is to be held later to validate that right. The tone of the whole declaration points rather to the fact that Admiral Kirk has decided for the policy of his predecessor and has taken on, thereby, a burdensome mortgage from the Committee's past. If this interpretation is correct then, much as it is to be regretted, there can be no co-operation between the real representatives of the non-Russian peoples and the American Committee in the future.

We are far from taking Admiral Kirk's decision lightly, for we well know what far-reaching effects these principles of the American Committee, which may be regarded as the expression of semi-official American Russian policy, may have. Principles are here laid down which may be decisive for the success or non-success of the revolution within the Soviet Union and the outcome of the conflict between the West and the Moscow despots.

We have often pointed out what a serious danger the line taken by U.S.A. may become in turning the conflict against the West. We shall not cease from repeating this warning as long as there is time.

R. I.

The First of May

In the course of the last decades, May 1st has become one of the most impressive international holidays. In every country millions of people march out to demonstrate their wish for social justice. At bottom, this day displays the untiring efforts made by man for a better distribution of this world's material goods and the ideal of equality before the law. These efforts are an ineradicable part of the history of mankind. Man has experimented unceasingly, sought new forms and state systems and methods of statesmanship, in the attempt to reach the ideal.

In this lies the deeper sense of the mass demonstrations on May Day free countries. It gives the working man or woman always the chance of bettering his or her living conditions by his or her own initiative.

All that is quite different in the Russian sphere of influence, for there, every attempt at improving the worker's position is prohibited. In communist-controlled countries the struggle for the further improvement in social conditions is regarded as concluded. Communism is officially considered the last step in possible social justice. Any attempt at something new or different is looked upon as a crime and punished accordingly.

The most despotic dictatorship, however, cannot curb the human spirit. Underground and in exile, mighty currents are working, ready to sacrifice all in order to make the way free for social justice in those countries ruled by Bolshevism.

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to give some reports of the free trade union movement of workers behind the Iron Curtain.

1945 marked the commencement of the movement. It was in that year, that

the Ukrainian, Slovak and Polish workers in France joined the Christian Trade Unions in that country in their national sections. Their example was followed by the exile workers in Belgium, England and other places. By 1951 the movement had grown so much that March 31, and April 1st 1951, under the patronage of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions (C.I.S.C.), the first conference of the Free Christian Trade Unions of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and the Balkan States was held.

At the conference there were delegates from France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland, 81 all told, representing 13 nations. The exile trade unionists of S. America, Australia, Canada and U.S.A. were represented by European members. The French ministries, Labour and Health, the International Labour Office and the Vatican Emigration Office, sent delegates. F. Krakowski (Poland) and the Secretary-General, Ivan Popovich (Ukraine) were chosen presidents of Free Exile Trade Unions. That the Exile Trade Union Organization was accepted as a member of the Association of International Christian Trade Unions, domiciled at Utrecht, in November 1951, was the result of the conference.

In the proclamation which the International Federation of Christian Workers in Exile issued on May Day 1952 it states, "We raise a lively protest against the enslavement of workers in countries behind the Iron Curtain and appeal fervently to all peoples in the free world for the sake of solidarity and the sacred principles of individual freedom to support us. Help us to change the terrible social, economic and political conditions in our countries. Demand from the present despots in the U.S.S.R. that they introduce the principles laid down in the Declaration of Human Rights, without delay. It is a question, above all, of releasing all deported workers, permission for free trade unions to function, and for those labour laws which are, valid in free countries and recognized by the International Labour Organization.

Croatia's National Holiday

Every year on April 10th the Croatian exiles celebrate their national holiday, as on that day in 1941 the "bastille" called "Yugoslavia" fell together like a house of cards and gave place for the reinstatement of the independent Croatian State.

The Croatian Association in Germany celebrated the day on April 14, 1952 in Munich, where Dr. S. Buc and Dr. Kukolja, a priest, spoke before a packed house of the meaning of the day. Both speakers stressed the determination of their people to reject a "Yugoslavia" of any form whatsoever for all time to come, and to fight for an independent Croatian Republic until it was achieved. "At the first opportunity", Dr. Buc said, "the Croat people will rise and show its determination even more clearly, if possible, than in 1941, and gain its State independence".

Mass Murders in Vinnitsia

Eye Witness Report by Ihor Zhurlyv

Vinnitsia was merely a system

Two heinous crimes committed by the bolshevists in the last World War were discovered and proved almost at the same time. In the forest of Katyn the bodies of several thousand Polish officers were exhumed and in the Ukrainian town of Vinnitsia more than 11,000 Ukrainians were found buried in mass graves, who had been shot without trial between 1937 and 1939 by order of Moscow. The number of the victims

documents about the Vinnitsia crime when reporting to the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the American Senate about Russian bolshevist methods of genocide. A year later the Ukrainian Youth Association in New York published a pamphlet in Ukrainian dealing with this subject. On March 30, 1952 three thousand Ukrainians in Newark (U.S.A.) held a mass demonstration to protest against Russian bolshevism and imperialism. On this occasion Frank E. McKinney Chairman of the Democratic



Bodies of victims exhumed at Vinnitsia

of bolshevist terrorism in Vinnitsia exceeds those of Katyn; the important fact, however, is that the murder of these 11,000 Ukrainians is only an example for the mass execution then and later of millions in Ukrainian towns, as well as in Byelorussia, Cosackia, the Caucasus, Turkistan, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia.

Leaders of the German Reich at that time were naturally interested in showing the world the true character of the rulers in the Kremlin. Though the Ukrainian population told them of similar mass graves in other towns of Ukraine, they confined themselves to Vinnitsia, but this was probably owing to war conditions.

Why was Vinnitsia given second place after Katyn?

During the war the world was more shocked by the Soviet crime of Katyn than by the discovery of mass graves at Vinnitsia: General Anders' Polish Corps was fighting on the side of the Western Allies, and German propaganda wanted to make use of Katyn in order to undermine the morale of the Polish soldiers. The Western Allies had no Ukrainian corps. Had there been not only a Polish but also a Ukrainian exile government in Western Europe, the world would have been better informed both about the mass-murders at Vinnitsia and similar horrors.

Since, Ukrainians in exile have done their best to make up for this neglect on the part of the Western World. In May 1950 Prof. L. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress of American Committee, submitted

Party in the United States, in addressing the meeting, said: "We know about the mass graves of Vinnitsia" . . .

What I saw with my own eyes

I offer my testimony in the inquiry on the bolshevist crime at Vinnitsia. On hearing of the exhumation in 1943, I immediately went to the place. I had very good reason, for in March 1938 my father had been arrested in Odessa by the N.K.V.D. and I had heard no more of him since; even before 1938 several of my relatives and friends had been arrested and disappeared without leaving a trace. I went to Vinnitsia hoping to find out what had happened to my relatives.

The evidence of the following citizens of Vinnitsia — H. Hulevych, Opanas Skrepka, Maria Ponomarchuk, Fedir Staronyzha, Vasyl Koslovsky, Trokhym Amosov, etc. — was later officially recorded, stating that in March 1938 the big market garden in Litynska Street was surrounded by a fence 3 meters high. At night trucks drove into the garden. The plot was guarded by members of the N.K.V.D. until the Germans entered the town. Other witnesses — Hulevych, Klymenko Jurij, Petro Bockhan, Eugeniya Prolincka — stated that in Autumn 1937 huge graves had been dug in Vinnitsia cemetery, that trucks drove into the cemetery at night, that loads were thrown into the graves that were immediately covered with earth. N.K.V.D. guards were present here, too.

Similar happenings were observed in the Town Park in Spring 1939 by other citizens.

Mass graves of Ukrainians who had been shot were found in all the places indicated.

Mass graves under a pleasure park

Thirty-seven mass-graves were found in the garden in Litynska Street. There were 100—130 bodies in most of them, in two there were 250 and 280. The total number of corpses discovered here amounted to about 4000, in the cemetery some 3000 and in the Park about 4000. All the graves were of the same size — 2 meters wide, 3 meters long and 3—4 deep. The distance between them was generally the same, so that excavations revealed to the survivors a huge subterranean world laid out on a geometrical plan and peopled by the dead.

The bolshevists erected over the graves in the Park a platform for dancing and a bandstand and a merry-go-round. The young Ukrainians never dreamed that they were dancing on the graves of their fathers and brothers. The official name of the park was, "The Municipal Park of Culture and Recreation".

An international commission of important European authorities for forensic medicine and pathological anatomy worked in Vinnitsia for two days, July 13 and 14, 1943. Among them were: Dr. Senon, Ghent, Belgium; Dr. Mikhailov, Sofia, Bulgaria; Dr. Pesonen, Helsinki, Finland; Dr. Duvoir, Paris; Dr. Kazzaniga, Milan, Italy; Dr. Yurak, Zagreb, Croatia; Dr. Poorten, Amsterdam, Holland; Dr. Birkle, Bucharest, Rumania; Dr. Chegkwist, Stockholm, Sweden; Dr. Kresek, Preßburg, Slovakia; Dr. Orsos, Budapest, Hungary.

The commission worked on the scene and openly, so that everyone interested might watch. I myself watched the Commission at work. The medical men themselves selected the bodies they wished to examine. Many of them had broken jaws and shattered skulls. From the stage of decomposition, and other signs, the Commission decided that the shooting in the market garden must have taken place in 1938. Here are some extracts signed by the Commission:

Scenes of Horror

"Eleven examinations of corpses were conducted by members of the Commission personally, and in twenty-four cases an inquest was held. The male corpses were without exception clothed and nearly all had their hands tied behind them. The three female bodies, taken from the grave in our presence, were completely naked and not fettered. Many of the dead had two or three different shot-wounds. In one case, to judge from the lump of clay in the esophagus and the pear-shaped bulges in the throat, the victim must have swallowed earth while still alive."

The relatives of the victims demanded that the bodies should be exhibited. In spite of the almost unbearable stench, many thousands, especially women, came to inspect the bodies. The faces of the dead were unrecognizable, but 450 were identified by clothing, monograms, letters and papers found in pockets. Indescribable scenes occurred.

I spoke to several women who had recognized relatives. They all declared that their husbands, brothers and fathers had been arrested for political reasons in 1937/38. A few months after their arrest, N.K.V.D. men appeared to confiscate their clothing. In 1938 families were informed by the authorities that the prisoners had been condemned to "ten years hard labour in remote areas and were not allowed to write letters".

The experience of Vinnitsia was a frightful shock for me. While my father was under arrest in Odessa in March 1938, the N.K.V.D. people searched the house for arms and anti-bolshevist literature. Nor had I been able

An Open Letter's Accusal**The Gold Medal of Disgrace**

Last year the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, Dr. Jewlet Jonson, the President of the "International Democratic Federation of Women", Mrs Eugenie Cotton, and the President of the "International Peace Council", M. Frédéric Joliot-Curie, received the so-called International Stalin Prize for their services in strengthening the cause of peace. The former political prisoner of the Soviet convict colony Kolyma, Mykhailo Mlakov, who escaped from this hell upon earth and who has written a novel in Ukrainian about his experiences there, called "For What?", published in Argentina, has directed an open letter on the occasion of the above award to the three prize-winners. A remarkable letter of which we give extracts. (Ed.)

Dear Madam,

Dears Sirs,

From Russian newspapers I have learned that you received the so-called "International Stalin Award", for strengthening peace among the nations, in the Kremlin in summer 1951. This award consists of a diploma and a gold medal, bearing the head of Stalin . . . According to Russian press reports you were delighted with this prize. Gold medal in hand, you emphasized in your speech of thanks the importance of the fight for peace and truth and against war. War brings horrible suffering, the annihilation of thousands of lives; it destroys the happiness of families and makes orphans of the children. You closed your speech with the words: "Long live the leader of all progressive mankind, the great champion of welfare for the whole of mankind, J. V. Stalin." On reading all this the question arose in my mind which I am now taking the liberty of asking you publicly:

Are you, or are you not, aware of the great deception that is being practised and spread all over the world by the man you call the leader of progressive mankind, greatest champion

to learn anything about my father's fate. N.K.V.D.-men came some months later to me, too, to confiscate my father's clothes. And I, too, was finally officially informed that my father had been condemned to 10 years imprisonment in a remote camp without the right to correspond with us." And the same thing had happened to many of my father's friends and acquaintances.

Uneasy premonition or horrible certainty?

The gloomy premonition darkened to horrible certainty and has lain like a heavy weight upon my soul ever since. I gave up all hope of ever seeing my father again. But from beyond the grave our murdered fathers and brothers call to us:

In Vinnitsia, a town of 80,000 inhabitants, 11,000 people were murdered in the course of 2 years. How many may it have been in Odessa, a town of half a million inhabitants, or in the whole of Ukraine with its 40 millions? How many in the other republics of the Soviet Union?

When will investigations into the mass murders at Vinnitsia begin? A Vinnitsia committee must be formed! The world must be enlightened about all the other peoples enslaved by Moscow.

Editor's note:

Reports, information, documents and other evidence about Vinnitsia, or about any other cases of bolshevist mass-murders should be addressed to our office.

of peace, truth and the welfare of all?

May I draw your attention to a fact which proves how much Stalin cares for "the welfare of human beings"? You actually have the proof in your hands, in those gold medals, for they, or rather the material they are made of, are witness to Stalin's tyranny. If you look carefully at your medals you will notice dark spots on them . . . and I, as one of the many hundreds of still surviving, or already succumbed, Kolyma slaves can explain these spots—they are made by our tears, our blood, our deaths. They represent the misery, the tears shed by our parents, our brothers and sisters, wives and children tyrannised by Stalin's henchmen merely because they were our relations.

There you have Stalin's "truth". I have written a novel showing the circumstances under which political prisoners extract this gold in Kolyma, giving it the title "For What?", which has appeared in Argentina in the Ukrainian language. Concisely put, these are the circumstances.

Under the pressure of N.K.V.D.—M.V.D. interrogation methods in the prisons, innocent victims are obliged to confess political crimes which they have not committed. They are condemned to long terms of imprisonment in absentia and thousands of them are dragged to the forced labour camps of Kolyma. Conditions there: Warders placed over the political prisoners beside the N.K.V.D.—M.V.D. are criminals, murderers, robbers and thieves.

Political prisoners are looked upon as entirely without the law and exposed to every kind of chicanery, punishment and ill-treatment, which is excused by the necessity of fulfilling the norm required for the extraction of gold (socialistic planned economy).

The working day is supposed to last twelve hours, but is extended to fifteen, sixteen or seventeen hours. Without a day of rest prisoners work the year round, in the open without regard to climatic conditions, rain, snow and sharp frost (up to 70° C.).

The norm to be fulfilled is far beyond the physical strength of a prisoner. The quality and quantity of the food supplied depends on the fulfilment of the norm. Those who do not fill it satisfactorily have to starve. The living conditions are horrible, clothing absolutely insufficient and owing to these circumstances mortality is high and mutilation, and even suicide are prevalent.

I know that you will not believe me, but there is a way. Go to Kolyma your

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

INSTRUCTIONS ALONE, INADEQUATE

The Soviet Republic Aserbaijan, important for its oil and also for cattle-breeding, is giving the Moscow central offices a good deal of trouble, as the local party offices have proved incapable of making their people feel at home with Soviet working methods.

April 24, 1952 the Moscow "Pravda" published a long article by T. Yakubov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Aserbaijan, from which we take the following extracts.

"It must be confessed that not all of our party functionaries have mastered the bolshevist method of work supervision. Many of them lack energy and perseverance in realizing the instructions of the party and government in the task allotted them.

Cattle-breeding is one of the most important agricultural branches in the autonomy of Nagorno-Karabachskaya. In the course of the past year the question of fulfilling the plan for cattle-breeding in the kolkhoze was discussed no less than 18 times at bureau meetings and the plenary meeting of regional committee. And with what result? In no breed of cattle was the plan fulfilled.

The explanation is that the bureau of the regional committee of the party believes too much in the power of its instructions and gives no thought to their execution.

The fact that the party functionaries do not know how to concentrate on the most important and decisive kind of work there is, is one of the wide-spread

self and see it all with your own eyes. Ask Stalin for a pass to Kolyma, otherwise you will publicly give back your gold medals.

Please look at the slaves there. They go about, drag themselves, in the most impossible rags, rags such as you have never seen in your life. They are all branded with the mark of Stalin's forced labour, the mark of slaves who work unceasingly, a fact which distinguishes them from the inmates of other camps. Look at their faces, hands and feet deformed, distorted and frozen, swollen from lack of food.

These creatures, so unlike human beings, get about on sticks or crawling, driven by their guards and by the dogs which play an important role in this "peaceful socialistic economy". At a word from their masters these dogs knock down and bite cruelly any one who lags behind his group, while the guards scream "nye atstwatj!" (get on with you!) ... Don't forget the cemeteries lying close to the main camp and the "Kommandirokwas".

The chief cemetery of the gold mine "Odinokiy" lies left of the camp entrance, and stretches about a quarter

flaws in the work of local party organizations. It may happen that a party committee has grasped the solution of a problem correctly but then stopped half way; a thing that has often occurred in the Asibekovsky District Committee in Baku.

COSSACKIA

MOSCOW NOT SATISFIED

In the budget for 1952 which has just been accepted by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian S.F.S.R., only 6% is provided for the Cossack areas whose population is 12% of the inhabitants of the Russian S.F.S.R. This sum does not even approach what has been provided for the two towns of Moscow and Leningrad.

The VIII plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Komsomol in the Russian S.F.S.R. which ended April 12, ascertained defects in Komsomol organizations in the Cossack area in matters of ideology and organization. The plenary required of them that they should keep the minimum of the prescribed working days, attend to working discipline and combat the laziness of Komsomol members. The Komsomol paper, "Komsomolskaya Pravda", demands the co-operation of these organizations in raising the amount and quality of work, the reduction of the prime cost of production and economy in the consumption of raw materials, fuel and electricity.

In an open letter to Stalin the workers and technicians in the oil industry of the Cossack area bind themselves to fulfil the plan completely. At the same time, they promise an increase of 1.2% in oil production and a reduction of the

of a mile across the slope of the "Sopka" (hill). There, among others, Khrystenko is buried, professor of the Ukrainian language at the University of Charkiw. On the little board stuck in the grave stands the number 19/21. I do not know what it means and it is dangerous to ask. Doubtless it indicates the contents of this mound, i. e. the number of bodies lying in it, for it is Soviet practice to make a mound over collective graves, here too...

The whole cynicism of Stalin's demagogic utterance "Of all the treasures in the world, man is the most precious" is exposed here before you, in all its nakedness.

I feel sure that it will be Kolyma which will heal you of your political blindness, that just this wild country will tear the Stalin veil from your eyes... And then you will call Stalin by the only name he deserves: the red tyrant of the present.

Having convinced yourselves of Stalin's fraud and his crime against humanity by seeing with your own eyes what it means, I am sure you will have the courage to throw his golden medals openly at his feet...!

cost price of 0.6%. That is not much of a promise.

In reviewing the quality of the political work, the Stavropol district Committee discovered a very low standard. They complain that the leading role of the communist party is as inadequately explained as "the reactionary character of American imperialism". ("Komsomolskaya Pravda", 16. 4. 52.)

ESTHONIA

RESISTANCE AGAINST RUSSIFICATION

The Moscow "Pravda" of April 14, 1952 reports on a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia among other things that:

"Members discovered defects in the political work among the masses. The necessity of raising the standard of lectures and talks was emphasized and demanded, so that the remnants of bourgeois nationalism might be the better combated.

Comrades taking part in the discussion criticized the work of the department for propaganda and enlightenment because the District Committee of the Party was inadequately supported by the Estonian Central Committee in the work of building up their propaganda and because the cultural care of the workers in the shale water basin and fishermen and colchose labourers on the island of Saarem was given too little attention."

For months the public institutions of the non-Russian republics, including their party organizations, have been hauled over the coals by the central authorities in Moscow because their work breathed the spirit of "bourgeois nationalism". That these reprimands are so systematic indicates that there must have been some serious incidents, which in the eyes of Moscow appear to be "ideological deviations" while in the hearts of those concerned they are merely the natural expression of the people against alien domination. The fact that no such "ideological defects" or "distortions" are discovered in the work of the Central Committees of the Russian Communist Party is a significant indication that anti-bolshevist resistance only exists where national oppression is added to social.

EASTERN GERMANY

FRESH TERRORISM FROM THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE

(I.W.E.) In the period from 1st to 31st of March 189 persons were arrested in Dresden by the Soviet M.G.B., among them 12 youngsters. They were accused of anti-communist activity or "crimes" against economic life.

ANTI-COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATIONS in LEIPZIG

(I.W.E.) During the Easter holidays anti-communist demonstrations took place in all parts of the town. At Leipzig-Leutsch commandos of the People's Police were called out to remove

slogans which had been put on the walls of houses during the night. Thousands of anti-communist leaflets were distributed at the stadium where international sports were going on.

THE ARREST OF RED ARMY MEN IN SCHWERIN

(I.W.E.) On the night of April 11th the barracks of the Soviet garrison at Schwerin were suddenly occupied by a special force of the M.V.D. The investigations lasted till early morning, 45 members of the garrison, officers and men, were arrested and taken away to an unknown destination. The N.K.V.D. action was in connection with the anti-communist placards in Russian which had appeared in the streets of late. The cinema requisitioned for Soviet troops had been closed for a few days by order of the N.V.D. because anti-Soviet leaflets had been found there, shortly before the above event.

WORKERS ATTACK PEOPLE'S POLICE

(I.W.E.) On April 26, a skirmish occurred at the station of Oberschema between workers of the Wismuth Company (Uran Mining Company) and a force of the People's Police. 5 policemen were injured. A squad of mobile police arrested 6 workmen. The riot began when the police were about to search the men.

LITHUANIA

RESISTANCE ON THE NATIONAL HOLIDAY

As in other years, the bolsheviks kept a sharp watch on the 16th of February, the Lithuanian national holiday, but in spite of that leaflets were scattered, not only in Wilna as usual at the famous Rasai cemetery where so many historical personages lie buried, and the castle of former rulers of the country, but in Kauen, Schaulen and other towns to remind the inhabitants of the meaning of the day. These leaflets were directed, too, against the occupation authorities and contained many a warning. Where and whenever possible the Voice of America, the Vatican radio, Radio Paris and other foreign senders were listened to, although extreme personal danger was entailed thereby.

CAUCASUS

EVEN THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE TOO LENIENT

The subjugation of the Caucasus peoples in the past century cost Russian imperialists a great deal of blood. By their countless uprisings, these peoples and among them the Ossetins, have shown the world that they refuse to be ruled by Russia and will have a national life of their own. Though Moscow attempts to-day to hush up the fact that the presence of its statthalter in the Caucasus is still regarded as vexatious compulsion, the Soviet press offers proof

enough that the national spirit is still alive in the Caucasus.

The Moscow Pravda of April 21, 1952, has an especially clear hint of the difficulties facing the Russian-communist policy in the Caucasus Republics.

"A few days ago there was a plenary meeting of the communist party of the North Ossetin area to discuss the lecture given by the secretary of the regional committee, comrade Kulov, on "The Position and Measures taken for the Improvement of the Ideological Work in the Republic."

The speaker and others taking part in the debate, declared that the regional committee had suffered serious errors to appear in its supervision of the ideological work.

It was maintained at the plenary meeting that town and district committees for political training showed little interest in their work and were not using the proper measures to raise the standard of instruction...

In books and pamphlets which had appeared in the last few years in the field of history, linguistics, and literature as well as in some works of literature and art, serious mistakes of an ideological nature and a wrong picture of bourgeois national life had crept in.

In the works by W. Abajew "The Origin and Cultural Past of Ossetin as Shown by the Development of the Language", B. Skiskij's "History of the Ossetin People", in the tales by M. Totojew, W. Galzew and others the patriarchal-feudal period in the history of Ossetin is idealized.

The North Ossetin Institute for History, Linguistics, and Literature has failed to solve the task of research in the study of Ossetin's history, language and literature. There are many ideological misconceptions in books issued by the institute... Although serious literature can boast of a certain advance, it must be stressed that Ossetin writers have little to say of the Soviet way of life in their works, or the development of the new man, the builder of communism or of the economic and cultural achievements in the republic. They propagate the idea of internationalism, of friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, too ineffectually.

POLAND

MOSCOW'S DANAE GIFT TO THE POLES

All the denials and counter declarations made, by the Soviet press in the Katyn question have not been able to prevent the old anti-Russian feeling the Poles have always cherished from becoming sharper. The comments made by the official Soviet papers have made no impression on the Poles.

Moscow thus has no alternative but to seek other means of cajoling them. The Soviet government has decided to erect a Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, at its own expense, to be finished in 1955. A congress hall for 3,700, a theatre for 800, two cinemas for each 480 and a concert hall for 500 persons are planned. Ten floors (5-15)

are to be provided for the Society for Spreading Science and the Institute for the Training of Scientists; 15 further floors are intended for the Polish Academy of Science. The Polish Youth Organization will have rooms put at their disposal in one wing of the building.

Thus Moscow will pay in money for the blood of the Polish officers who were shot—that is one side of the matter, on the other, this step of Moscow's will contribute essentially to getting Poland's political and cultural life more firmly into Russian hands, as the political, scientific and cultural organizations are obliged to move into the palace owned by Moscow and will therefore feel bound to their host.

RUMANIA

LIQUIDATION OF THE MIDDLE-CLASSES

The new acts of terrorism by the Russian bolshevist despots in Rumania are in a fair way to exterminate the middle classes entirely. State Militia and secret police began in March with the eviction of the "enemies of class and State" from all large towns.

SLOVAKIA

PARTISAN ACTION AGAINST ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

It has now come to our knowledge that in December 1951, detachments of the Slovakian White Partisans in the Michalovce, Humenne and Sabinov areas (east Slovakia), carried out courageous sorties against their oppressors. They raided a number of villages in the district and liquidated the leading and most dangerous communists. After the raid they withdrew to the mountains.

In this connection the incorrect information spread by some Czechoslovakian broadcasts that former communist partisans are now taking a leading part with anti-communist partisans must be refuted. On the contrary, former red partisans are placing their experience in plundering and murdering, gained in 1944, at the disposal of the communist army and police, for putting down Slovak partisans. While the red partisans fight for Moscow and communism, the Slovakian White Partisans fight for the freedom and independence of Slovakia.

TURKISTAN

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS OPPOSES MARXISM-LENINISM

Under the heading "Some Questions Concerning the Ideological Work in Kazakhstan", the "Pravda" of April 10, 1952, writes of the difficulties the professional men in the Kasakh S.S.R. are encountering with the "party line". The secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party there, himself says, "The Party organization has closed its eyes to a number of serious errors in its ideological work. Not only in history where most serious errors have

been allowed, but also in literature and art.

Some historians, literary critics and writers have left the Marx-Lenin point of view in their writings on Kazakhstan's history and adopted that of the bourgeois nationalists. They have not been correct or scientific in their elucidation of the progressive character of Kazakhstan's voluntary union with Russia. This false conception derives chiefly from the glorification of the feudal-monarchic movement of Kenessar Kassymov in the forties and fifties of the last century. Kenessar never defended the interests of the Kasakh people. He followed one aim and that was to separate Kazakhstan from Russia, and with that object in view he kept in close contact with the foreign enemies of the Kasakh people.

Instead of giving this feudal monarchic movement a correct interpretation, some historians have regarded the proceedings from the bourgeois national viewpoint and in contradiction to the historical truth have represented them as a national liberation movement.

Some authors and literary critics have given licence to serious ideological distortions in their work. Instead of a thorough analysis of the class character of a number of Kasakh legends and songs, told and sung by royal poets, they have idealized them. In one or two of their books even Soviet life has been misrepresented, while life in the feudal period (that is the time before Kazakhstan came under Russian domination. Ed.), has been glorified. It must be added, too, that the compilers of a number of text books on Kasakh literary history and language have taken advantage of the short-sightedness of the Kasakh S.S.R. Ministry for Education, and propagated alien ideas among the people.

In the time since the fifth congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan important ideological work has been achieved. The Institute for History, Archaeology and Ethnographology at the Science Academy of the Kasakh S.S.R. is preparing the third edition of the history of the Kasakh S.S.R. At the discussion over the first volume, historians from Moscow and Leningrad took part as well as those of the Republic itself... The discussion concerning the character of the national movements in Kazakhstan aroused great interest... It showed that considerable differences of opinion existed among the historians of the Republic as to the interpretation of these movements and that a deeper study of many of the questions was called for. ("Pravda.")

We may assume from the last paragraph that Russian historians will now be put in to work over the history of Kazakhstan to guarantee the ideological line prescribed by Moscow.

UKRAINE

BETTER WORKING DISCIPLINE REQUIRED

The Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" published an alarming report, April 17, 1952 from the town of Khar-kiv, showing what little enthusiasm the Ukrainian youth has for the "building up of communism". Even the young

Bolshevist "Church Conference"

According to reports in the Soviet press, the head of the "Russian Orthodox Church", Patriarch Alexey, has asked the churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union to attend a conference to discuss, in common with representatives of foreign churches abroad who will be invited, measures for the defence of peace. The following churches and religious bodies within the Soviet Union have already consented: the Georgian Orthodox Church, the Armenian Church, the Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the All Soviet Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists, the All Soviet Council of the Seventh Day Adventists, the Russian Church Old Order, the administrative body of the Musselmans in the European part of the Soviet Union and Siberia, the administrative body of the Musselmans of Turkistan, the administrative body of the Musselmans of countries beyond the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbajian), the administrative body of the Musselmans of North Caucasus, the Jewish Religious Communities, the administrative body of the Buddhists in the Soviet Union etc.

The conference which is planned for the first half of May, is to be under the motto which is the subject of the main

Ukrainian communists who belong to the Komsomol (Young C. League) are accused of sabotage. Among other things the paper mentions that "33 young workmen, without any reason, failed to report for work 2½ months at the Khar-kiv plant "Light of the Miners". Many of the young workers, also Komsomol members, did their work as if they were half asleep, and produced defective instead of quality goods. For that reason the Komsomol organization of the plant decided to call a meeting of the young workers to discuss the question of working discipline".

The meeting resolved, according to the same report, that the "moral responsibility of every young worker for his comrades' behaviour, must be intensified".

PURGATORIAL CRITICISM

According to reports in the Soviet newspapers, an all-Ukrainian discussion between leading representatives of all branches of art took place in Kyiv from April 3, to 5, 1952. The president of the Committee for Art in the cabinet of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, D. D. Kopyzja, held a lecture on "Conditions and Measures for Improving the Work of the Institutions and Collectives, on Art in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic with the Object of Fulfilling the Resolutions Passed by Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that of Ukraine, in Questions of Ideology".

What this circumstantial title conceals is exposed in a long article in the Kyiv newspaper "Radjanska Ucraina" April 9, 1952, which is devoted to the above meeting and emphasizes the "penetration of inimical bourgeois national ideology in literature and art."

lecture, The Church should fight jointly with the People for Peace". The speaker for this lecture has not yet been named.

The appeal issued by the two Soviet bishops, Archbishop Flavian and Bishop Yossif, immediately upon the announcement of the plan, points to the character the conference will have, for they declare in their appeal, "the American monster reviles everything that is sacred in the soul of man. The monster has risen against the whole of mankind, its breath pollutes the air, it threatens the world with bacteria of plague, cholera and typhoid, it arouses justified fury in every true Christian."

These words may be a fair indication of what is to be expected of the Conference of the Soviet "Church representatives". It is an open question whether representatives of Churches abroad will still be willing to take part in it.

Two Aims — Two Ways

For the success of the anti-bolshevist struggle it is necessary to know the goals and aspirations of the people enslaved by bolshevism. Yet some American groups try to achieve the co-operation of the non-Russian peoples with the Russian emigrants. Until now all these experiments were without success. The reason for this are the different conceptions, goals and character of these two groups.

The Russian emigrants stand on the point of view that the U.S.S.R. of to-day is the same Russia of yesterday, but under other rulers, disagreeable for them. Their principal goal is to change the bolshevist government of to-day into a pseudo-democratic government of tomorrow. All other problems they consider only as "international affairs of the Russian people". The solution for all questions is that they postpone them to the time after the collapse of the bolshevist government and the establishment of a new government of a great and powerful Russia. To such internal problems the Russian emigrants count also the question of the self-determination of all the non-Russian nations which already a long time ago expressed their will to have their own states. Many of these peoples proclaimed their independent states after the revolution of February, 1917, which were occupied after a long struggle in the years 1920 to 1921 by bolshevist Russia.

Some of the Russian emigrants accept this wish of some non-Russian peoples, but they have their own, specific Russian interpretation of self-determination, making it dependent on the permission of the new government in Moscow. How this will be, all the non-Russian peoples know well, because there will be no difference between the former tsarist, democratic or bolshevistic practice. All they know is, that the Russian emigrants are just looking for cheap helpers to fight only for the change from the bolshevist government to a new and strong centralistic government. Even the tyranny of Stalin certifies the various nations in the Soviet Union through republics existing only on paper. But this the Russian emigrants cannot understand. →

Turkestan's Accusation**An Appeal by the Whole of Islam**

The President of the National Turkestanian Unit Committee, Veli Kayum Khan, who is also the Vice-President of A.B.N. Council of Nations has sent the memorandum given below, containing an urgent appeal to all religious and political leaders of the Islamic peoples, to achieve an international investigation by the U.N. into the unspeakable terrorism the people of Turkistan are being subjected to, and to give their support to the resistance they are offering against religious oppression, economic exploitation and political thralldom. (Ed.)

1. The 25 million Turkestanian — Islamic people have been oppressed for 34 years by Russian Bolshevik Imperialist terror. Their country has been sealed off from the outside world and the inhabitants deprived of all human rights.
2. In this Islamic country there is no National Government, nor can they freely elect their own representatives. The five "Republics" into which Turkistan has been split up by Soviet Russia are controlled from Moscow and all major posts are held by Russians. Their Governments are not independent but are merely the instruments by which Moscow carries out its decrees.
3. In Turkistan there is no free trade or industry and private ownership of land or property is forbidden. There is no freedom of press or speech and strikes are forbidden as are independent merchants or farmers. The people are enslaved and must work in state factories or on state farms.
4. The most powerful propaganda is directed against the Islamic religion. Mosques are closed or have been destroyed and any form of religious activity is forbidden.
5. For propaganda purposes, a "Red Mufti" has been proclaimed and a limited number of "State Mosques" have been opened in order to give the Islamic world the impression of "religious freedom". Those people, who go to pray are registered by

Contrary to this clear restoration and imperialistic conception, the non-Russian peoples introduce their own platform: Russia has not existed for 35 years. There is only a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics among which Russia is one. Many free democratic republics were included by force in this Union. But the Russians are an instrument of the rulers in the Kremlin as they were an instrument of the tsars of Petersburg. Thus they are partly guilty of all the cruelties to and oppression of the non-Russian peoples.

Nevertheless the non-Russian peoples do not struggle against the Russian people, but against the Soviet regime in the Kremlin. The non-Russian peoples struggle for the destruction of the prison of nations which is the U.S.S.R., for the liberation of the enslaved peoples and for their return to the family of the free peoples of the world. The non-Russian peoples are basing their fight on the right of self-determination proclaimed by the late President of the United States, Mr. W. Wilson, and on the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

agents of the "Organisation of the Godless", which is supported by the Communist Party and the State, and these are sent to punishment camps or deported.

6. In the schools all from of religious instruction is banned. In the same way our Arab script has been forbidden and, in its place, Russian script introduced.
7. The Russian Imperialists have murdered over five million Turkestanians during their rule of terror, amongst them religious leaders, nationalists and all classes of the people, all of whom have been arbitrarily declared "Peoples enemies".
8. Our people replied to these oppressions by rising in arms, but these Nationalist risings were broken by military force with much bloodshed.
9. Our countrymen have neither sufficient clothing nor satisfactory housing. Their food is insufficient.
10. The Russians have not only robbed us of our possessions but also try to destroy our culture, customs and beliefs. Specially trained propagandists make speeches against religion.

*

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee has again been asked, in the name of God and Islamic Brotherhood, to direct the following request to Their Majesties the Kings, Religious Leaders, Politicians and Organisations of the Islamic Lands:

1. That all do their utmost to help the Turkestanian people in order that this Russian Imperialist Terror be stopped and that the Russians leave our country.
2. That the Islamic countries should form a commission for the study of Turkistan which could with its own eyes satisfy itself as to the true conditions prevailing there. This Commission must demand permission from Russia for free circulation in all areas of Turkistan.

Such a Commission should be completely non-political in order to examine the prevailing conditions impartially. It should be supported by U.N. and after its return should publish its report to the world.

*

If in fact the freedom and advanced social conditions proclaimed by the Russians does really exist in Turkistan then they can and must allow such a commission to make an inspection. Should they, however, from the fear that their lying propaganda in the Islamic lands will be seen through,

forbid its entry, then the Commission should take the following steps:

1. It must brand Soviet Russia as a regime of Imperialism and Terror. This should be announced by press and radio and at conferences and meetings.
2. The Commission should press its Governments to break off diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Russia. All goods coming from Soviet Russia should be boycotted as being produced by the hands of slaves.
3. Soviet propagandists coming from all parts of the Russian empire should be forbidden entry into Islamic countries.
4. The Commission should present the tragedy of Turkistan before U.N. and should call for assistance from all the free countries of the world.

*

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee will send its accusation to U.N. and other world organisations and is ready to prove its allegation. The many thousands of Turkestanians who have fled from their homeland and are living in a state of destitution and poverty should be given all possible help from these quarters.

24th March 1952

National Turkestanian Unity Committee

Foster-Brothers of the Bolsheviks

The first thing that strikes one on reading the Soviet Russian and Russian exile papers is the similarity of their themes. One of them never fails to appear in their columns, — the nationalism of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the danger caused thereby of Russia being cut up into sovereign states i. e. its natural divisions.

For the Soviet it is a duty always to attack and revile the "bourgeois nationalists" and their endorsers abroad, the "Anglo-American imperialists". No falsification of history is therefore too absurd, if it conduces to arousing hatred and aversion for such "terrible enemies".

The two page long article in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" (6. 2. 52) was a substantial contribution to the campaign of hate. In it, a number of Soviet historians maintained that the "United States was the organizer and initiator of intervention against Soviet Russia". One learned that the U.S.A., by this means, intended turning the Baltic States, Ukraine, Turkistan, Cossackia, Caucasus, and Siberia into U.S. colonies. They wanted, too, to divide even the ethnic territory of the Russian people into a "number of separate areas, each of which to live from its own economy and none independent enough to create a strong state of its own".

The reason for this systematic agitation on the part of the Soviet press is clear; the non-Russian people's movement for independence is to be discredited and the hopes of these peoples that they may be freed from Russian oppression by the U.S.A. disappointed; what is the good of hoping if one alien domination is to be replaced by another?

The same almost panicky fear of the non-Russian peoples' leaning towards independence is reflected in the press

→

THE VOICE OF

OUR PEOPLES

The Caucasus

In its April Number, The Caucasus, a magazine published in Munich, printed a protest by exile Azerbajians living in Turkey, against the participation of unauthorized delegates at the Wiesbaden conference of Keren-sky's Liberation Council.

"We have learned that Mr. A. Fatalibeyli is still supporting the Wiesbaden treason in spite of the fact that everywhere decided protests have been raised against the participation of some adventurers at the Wiesbaden conference. This fact is confirmed by his work with the magazine "Swobodnyj Kawkas" which is spreading the ideas of the Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia.

It has become known to us that A. Fatalibeyli has been circulating the rumour that he speaks in the name of the "new emigrants".

We, Azerbajian volunteers, who in World War II took part in the struggle for national liberation declare that there is nothing in common between us and Fatalibeyli-Duginskij, as we certify by our signatures. Kindly publish this letter in your magazine.

March 1952.

Turkey.

The protest bears the following signatures: Dr. Salachly; Selim Seldchuk, engineer; A. Risa Turan, student; Latif Elsewer, teacher; Fejsula Klytch Ali, lawyer; M. Chakki Tirkukul, teacher; A. Gajdar Aros, lawyer; Ssuleman Tekiner, teacher; Dr. Memet Kengerli; Chussejn Aksu, lawyer; Nabi Turanli, teacher; Dr. Fejas Kassimoglu; Dr. Sultan Chadschioglu; Dr. Achmet Jashchar; Gajdar Ismajlli, teacher; A. Oset Babaoglu, engineer; Enwer Roman, economist; Dschemil Taker, teacher.

Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart

(Ukraine Past and Present)

The above named magazine (No. 1/52) writing of the attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the National Socialist measures against the Jews in World War II, in an article headed "The Tragedy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church", quotes a letter from a Jewish Rabbi, Dr. Herzog, Palestine.

"When the Germans allowed a pogrom against the Jews to break out in Rohatyn West Ukraine, the Metropolitan Sheptytsky sent a letter to Himmler protesting in no unmeasured terms against the massacre of innocent and helpless people. This act of the Metropolitan aroused great excitement, for it was an act of extreme courage at a time when no one in Europe dared to take the part of the Jews openly against the mad cruelty of the Gestapo. The whole Ukrai-

of the exiles. There, too, is no scruple about falsifying history to suit their purpose, although they do not go as far as the Soviet Russians, still it is the aim of those exiles also, to preserve undiminished the domination once gained by force over alien countries. No thought is given to the fact that they are thus playing into the hands of Soviet policy. It is by this that the chauvinist and imperialist circles of the Russian exiles prove themselves foster-brothers of the Russian bolsheviks.

W. G.

rian population then followed in helping the persecuted Jews in every possible way, often concealing them at the risk of their own lives, for any such thing was forbidden on pain of death. It may be added that the Ukrainians themselves were suffering a good deal from Gestapo terrorization."

Kosachiy Vyestnik

(The Cossack Courier)

The leading article of the chief paper of the Cossack exiles, of April 24, 1952, deals with the ever growing

attacks made by Russian exiles as well as the Soviets against the Cossack liberation movement.

"It must be noticed that the methods employed in this press campaign is as like that of the Soviets as two peas. We know why the Russians are resisting the Cossack liberation so stubbornly. They do not want to give the Cossacks their freedom in a future Russia. Since their subjugation the Cossacks represent an important military factor for Russia and are used, against their will, to expand and hold together the Russian imperium . . . Besides, Cossackia, owing to its geopolitical and military political situation, is of special importance, more especially so since the building of the Volga-Don-Canal."

Vanguard of the West

In the March 29, 1952, number, the "Manchester Guardian Weekly" published an open letter from the well-known Spanish diplomat, scholar and writer, Salvador de Madariaga, to the British Labour member of Parliament, Aneurin Bevan, from which we give an extract concerning the fate of the subjected peoples of the East. This open letter coincides with a discussion being carried on between the British philosopher, Bertrand Russell and the American magazine "The New Leader", on the subject of the problem of western defence and the rôle of U.S.A. in the conflict with the Soviet Union. In his open letter the Spanish publicist, who is at present a visiting professor at Oxford University, writes.

. . . Often your utterances and those of your friends sound as if you were ready to hand over, for good and all, the peoples of half of Europe to Moscow, provided the standard of living of the British working classes remains unimpaired. Is that your principle?

"What", you might argue, "war? Since we can do nothing to save them, let them go." There are a number of answers to that. Life and death issues cannot be left to drift on the easy stream of empiricism. Do you or do you not accept in your spirit that the men of Eastern Europe should remain for ever in slavery and their nations be reduced to colonies of Soviet economic imperialism? God forbid that

struggle should develop into a hot war; but a spiritual war there must be while the Eastern Europeans are oppressed, since we cannot but be with them against their oppressors and not with their oppressors against them. That is if, as you said at Durham, you stand on principles. There is a tremendous power in standing by what is right. There is nothing but corruption in letting go what is right just because it is expedient.

As for war, why it is on. A war is not merely a string of battles. It is a conflict of will. To-day there is war between the communist will and the liberal democratic will. This war is hot in several Asiatic spots, cold in the West, but hot also in the East of Europe. The peoples of half of Europe are carrying on a war, partly active and underground, partly passive and open, imposed on them by Moscow. Every day hundreds, thousands of Eastern Europeans are sent to concentration camps to rot or to the firing squad to die. They are our first line of defence. It is in part because these shock troops of the West are dying for us in the East that the Iron Curtain does not coincide with the French Atlantic coast, and that we are still allowed to live "in this comfortable part of the world," to quote your own words. Is your principle to turn your back on them?

Your principle could then be put thus: "I am going to maintain my standard of living as long as the Eastern Europeans maintain their standard of dying." What would then be the difference between you and the old-fashioned heartless capitalist you so lustily flagellate?

The capitalist waxed fat at the expense of the hungry Asiatic; you wax free and prosperous at the expense of the hungry Eastern European slave."

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Editorial

Quo vadis, America?

(Continued from our last issue)

Profit and Loss

Americans are regarded as the best businessmen in the world. It is not for nothing that they have a great reputation as sober realists and keen accountants. We are struck all the more by the absence of practical considerations, even in the interest of Americans themselves, in American policy towards the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Let it is a very simple calculation: the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union considerably exceed the number of Russians. Whoever, therefore, wishes to make allies in the enemy camp, in the event of war with Moscow, and to form a second front in the rear of the Soviet Russian army, ought, for purely arithmetical reasons, to make efforts to secure the support of the numerically stronger non-Russians within the U.S.S.R. rather than to attempt vainly to win sympathy from the Russians. On the contrary, however, the half-official, and even the official policy of America is always trying to win the support of the Russian people by repeatedly proclaiming the indivisibility of the Russian imperium. This inevitably alienates the 100 odd million non-Russians who have for centuries been trying to get free from the yoke of Muscovite Russia, and simply pushes them back into the hostile camp.

Part from its purely numerical miscalculation, this policy also starts from false premises that can never come true: all who know from history and experience the mentality and the innate belief in their mission of the Russians cannot doubt that the Russian people

in general, in spite of much discontent with the bolshevist regime, is fascinated by Stalin's conception of world conquest and favourably disposed towards the Soviet imperium of today. This is all the more true as Russians feel themselves to be the real master people in this imperium, their chauvinism being strengthened by Moscow's glorification of the Russian character. Stalin has done more for the Russian thirst for power and for

their political ambition by the unparalleled growth of the Soviet imperium than the West could ever promise, far less give them. In the event of a struggle therefore, to overthrow the power of Soviet Russia, the masses of the Russian people would instinctively support Moscow and wage a „patriotic war“ just as fanatically as during the last war. This was and is the reason why it is useless to expect any serious resistance



The Triumphal Advance of our Ideas

President Y. Stetzko's Publicity Campaign

A.B.N. at the Pacific

After the mass demonstration in Toronto, when Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., announced our programme and appealed to the public in Canada to support our aims as the best method of overcoming the present world crisis, he addressed a number of meetings in other Canadian towns where emigrés from behind the Iron Curtain have settled. He spoke in Ottawa, Fort William, Winnipeg, Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver and Saskatoon.

According to the report that has reached us, there was an enthusiastic demonstration in Edmonton on May 25, attended by 1,500 people. President Stetzko received a great ovation and his address was warmly received. The hall was decorated with the national flags of our peoples and the emblems of the A.B.N. and its fighting organizations. The demonstration was filmed and President Stetzko's speech recorded on a sound track.

At Vancouver, President Stetzko spoke before a crowded gathering, in the Hastings Auditorium, June 1, 1952. The meeting at which for the first time the ideas of the A.B.N. were proclaimed on the shores of the Pacific, became an impressive anti-communist demonstration, with our slogans, and has left a lasting impression.

The Slovak, Latvian and Lithuanian emigré groups were represented in large numbers. Each of these groups gave an address of welcome to President Stetzko in the name of its people. The Slovak representative, speaking for the Canadian Slovak League of New Westminster, assured

his hearers of the Slovaks readiness to fight. They had been the first to become companions in arms with the Ukrainians at home, and to-day were standing undaunted, shoulder to shoulder with the A.B.N. in the fight for national freedom and independence. All the Slovak emigrants on the American continent, — a third of the total Slovak population, — agree with the A.B.N. ideas and they are confident that the justified cause of the Slovak people will meet with sympathy in America too, and, with western support, will be realized. The Latvian representative appealed to the Canadian public for sympathy and understanding for the cause of the subjected peoples in the Baltics and elsewhere, who today are the victims of a genocide that is beyond the belief of any one in the West. In the name of the Lithuanians of British Columbia, their representative swore allegiance to the common cause of the A.B.N. and branded brutal bolshevist world aggression. He expressed the warmest thanks to President Stetzko and called his visit an important event which would give the emigrants there a fresh impetus.

After the meeting, a branch organization of the A.B.N. was founded in Vancouver in the committee of which representatives of all the national groups present will take part.

President Stetzko's visit was favourably reported in the press. "The Vancouver Province" of June 2, wrote of him as being a leader of his people in their fight; that he had endured torture under Polish,

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Quo vadis, America?

by Russians to the present bolshevist regime on the territory of the Russian people similar to the struggles and armies of resistance, such as the U.P.A. in Ukraine, the Basmachi in Turkestan the White Partisans in Slovakia and the underground organizations in all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. With the exception, therefore, of a small and insignificant group of Russian imperialists in exile, whose „democratic“ policy and „ideological“ opposition to bolshevism demands the continued existence of the despotic Russian imperium, the West cannot, and never could make the Russian people its ally, no matter what its promises may be. Even the most generous promises would come far short of the power and political ambition Stalin has already procured for Russians. That, then, is the one side of the question.

Let us suppose, now that America as the leading world power should reject the dogma of the infallibility, the indivisibility of the Russian imperium, and proclaim the national sovereignty and independence of all non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., the hostility of the Russians towards any one threatening the power of the present Soviet state would scarcely become greater than it is already. The West would risk practically nothing in taking such measures, but it would secure a great chance of gaining much, if not everything: even now, and far more when war actually breaks out, the West would gain the sympathies of whole nations whose population is more than 100 millions; it would instantly gain masses of supporters, who would become devoted and energetic allies in the struggle against Moscow, which is not only hated by these people as the metropolis of the bolshevist regime, but even more as the symbol of alien Russian tyranny.

This, then, is the choice before the Americans. It is up to them to solve the present world crisis, and at the same time to give proof of their reputation as good businessmen.

Helping Communists into the Saddle

The historian of the future will be puzzled by the fact that, during this critical period when bolshevism is threatening the world, when all the powers of the free world should be concentrated on counteracting Moscow's Fifth Columns in the West, above all in America, supporters and collaborators of commun-

ism in the subjugated countries behind the Iron Curtain, should be held in honour, while the irreconcilable opponents of Russian bolshevist tyranny, the spokesmen of the struggle of liberation today who have always put up a bitter fight against communism, should still be in quarantine.

Kerensky's "historical deed" of 1917 turned out in reality to be preparation for Lenin and his revolution. He played the same role as various left-radical collaborators with Moscow in what are now satellite states, men who collaborated with communists in order to prepare the way for Soviet rule in Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechia, Poland and elsewhere. After serving as a democratic facade till the communists seized power, they were turned out with the usual lack of ceremony once their successors were firmly seated in the saddle, and had to seek refuge abroad. They now try to play the part of anti-communists and democrats and even appear as the legitimate spokesmen of the liberation movement among their peoples, which may be quite comprehensible. But what astonishes us is that they are received in the West, and above all in America, as if they had saved their peoples from bolshevism! Certain American circles seem to ignore the fact that these men have sat side by side with communists on ministerial benches, that they have signed innumerable sentences of death on anti-communist champions of freedom without turning a hair, and have stained their hands with the blood of their people's best sons.

Such exiled politicians are received in the best society in America and draw millions of dollars from various funds, while genuine anti-bolshevist champions of our peoples, who had to spend years in bolshevist and nazi concentration camps in consequence of their stand against both Stalin and Hitler, are calumniated as "fascists", and forbidden to pay even a short visit to the United States. Public opinion in the West seems to have forgotten all the recent mass murders which their present protégés committed in company with bolsheviks in Sofia, Budapest, Prague and Bratislava. Emigrés from our circles who venture to call these to mind are called "totalitarian" and "chauvinist", while accessories to these unheard-of crimes against humanity enjoy the confidence of Western ministers.

Is it not madness to believe that anybody who served Stalin yesterday, help-

ing to hang his fellow-countrymen, should now be able to represent the anti-bolshevist struggle of his country and gather his subjugated people round him? Does anybody seriously believe that our peoples can forgive these "democrats" their crimes of yesterday just because they have now offered their services to the West? Has the West so little confidence in the representatives of genuine liberty and in its own values that it prefers to make use of the flotsam and jetsam of bolshevism? Is the opinion that communism can be successfully combated with the help of communist leftist agrarians and left-radical marxists, but not with the help of men who have been inspired with the love of freedom since their very birth?

Sign of the Times

We are convinced of the contrary. In order to conquer bolshevism, it is not necessary to avail oneself of the services of its counterpart; we must rather muster the full force of our own ideas which are diametrically opposed to it. These ideas are more alive than ever in the Western world today and it is America's task to develop them. They are inexhaustible treasures of Western culture, known as Christianity, respect for the individual and the nation, for freedom and social justice. It is these ideas and America must press into service if she wishes to destroy bolshevism. The decisive weapon in the struggle is the idea of national and religious liberty.

This principle of national and religious liberty is gaining ground in all countries outside of the Soviet sphere of power. Even Moscow, paradoxical though it seems, is attempting to make use of them in order to propagate its tyrannical regime. We are all the more astonished that there should be antiquated politicians in the West who cannot realize the great power and significance of these ideas. India, Pakistan and many countries in the Arab world are granted national independence and religious liberty, while the bolshevist type of socialism that degrades men to become slaves, is repudiated everywhere. All over the world we see the ideas of national liberty, the freedom of religious observance and social justice advancing. The maxim of the A.B.N. "Freedom for



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Bolshevism is only a variation of the Russian's messiahship. Stalin's world hegemony is but an expression of Russian insatiable thirst for power. Bolshevik world aggression cannot therefore be overcome by coming to terms with its Russian creator, but only with the help of their victims.

Triumphal Advance of our Ideas



President Y. Stetzko on the platform at Edmonton

bolshevist and Nazi domination and had finally escaped from N.K.V.D. terrorism, that he had come to the West to give warning of the Russian bolshevist danger, indifference to which would lead to catastrophe. The opportunity to make allies of the subjugated peoples should not be missed, in order to secure a victory over Moscow.

"The Vancouver Sun" on June 3, published an interview with Mr. Stetzko, whose position as the representative of millions of subjugated European peoples in their struggle against oppression, is specially pointed out. The central point of the interview was the statement that the longing of the subjugated peoples for liberation from Russian-bolshevist dominion and their readiness to fight for national independence

was a weapon which was far more effective against Stalin than the atomic bomb.

During his tour, President Stetzko has had an opportunity to meet influential Canadian and British officials and was able to confirm, that interest in the cause of the A.B.N. is growing. Everywhere he was courteously received by Canadian officials and the press published favourable reports of his campaign, thanks to which the Canadian public has been made familiar with our contribution to the solution of the world problem. Emigrés from all the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and many Ukrainian organizations in particular, received fresh impetus from President Stetzko's tour and support the A.B.N. more strongly than ever.

nations, freedom for individuals, has become the slogan of our age.

But the West, strangely enough, has not drawn the necessary conclusions. Attempts are still being made to operate the antiquated constructions of national oppression which lead to the continued existence of dungeons of nations, such as the U.S.S.R., the C.S.R. or Tito's state realm.

Champions of liberty from the ranks of our emigrés who have taken a bold stand against imperialism are blackmailed in the West; co-operation with them is avoided. In their place, men are chosen who allow themselves to be bribed by the West today just as they were willing to sell their services to Moscow yesterday. But no attention is paid to those forces both behind the Iron Curtain and in exile, who continue the struggle under most difficult circumstances, and who have preferred to starve rather than betray their ideas.

The West will never be able to make headway against bolshevism until it returns to its own tested principles, until it ceases to cooperate with agents of bolshevism, until it secures the help of

the genuine champions of our people's liberty. That is why Americans should not seek to work with Kerensky's imperialists or with any other collaborators of communists from the satellite countries, but with the representatives of the ideas of national liberty and social justice. America, with its great traditions, should not let itself be abused, but should be particularly fervent in its denunciation of all dungeons of nations, so that peoples may once more establish their national states on their ethnic territories in freedom and justice. This alone would do justice to America's great sons, Washington and Lincoln, and to historical American traditions of liberty and progress.

We are firmly convinced that the responsible leaders of American policy will yet find the only way that is worthy of the history of the United States. We derive this hope from a number of influential pronouncements in the West which indicate that there is increasing support for a just solution of our problems. They are also the problems of the entire free world and of America's own future.

General Farkas, Spokesman for the A.B.N. in the U.S.A.

After the address he gave to 4000 people at the impressive demonstration organized by "American Friends of A.B.N." in New York on May 4, General Francis Farkas de Kisbarnak, president of the Military Commission of the A.B.N., continued his lecture tour through the States. His programme of meetings organized by the same organization or by local Hungarian groups was:

May 15 in Richmond, May 16 in Pittsburgh, May 18 in Cleveland, May 20 in Buffalo, May 24 in Brunswick, May 27 in New York again. His lectures made a deep impression, not only on emigrés but also on the general American public. They were reported at length by American papers which also published interviews with General Farkas, and photographs.

We mention some of the many cuttings which our office received: The "Richmond News Leader" of May 16 published under the title of "Resistance Movement An Efficient Weapon Against Communism", two columns on the demonstration that had taken place, together with an interview with General Farkas branding bolshevist genocide and emphasizing the potential of the subjugated peoples in the struggle against Moscow. General Farkas stressed that the forces of resistance united in the A.B.N. are now active behind the Iron Curtain where they carry out armed fights and acts of sabotage. The "Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph" of 17. 5. 1952 gave a report of the meeting held there, entitled "The Reds Murdered 30 Millions". In an interview with this paper General Farkas said that the millions oppressed by the Soviet Union are like an atomic bomb waiting for the ignition spark in order to explode. He pleaded for more intense psychological warfare, and the necessity of employing personalities in the war in the ether who enjoy their people's confidence.

During his lecture tour in the U.S.A., much attention was paid to General Farkas as the representative of the A.B.N., and a prominent leader of national Hungary, and a distinguished soldier.

Escaped

The well known Slovak academician and national poet, Prof. Subik M. D. whose pseudonym is Andrei Zarnov, succeeded recently in escaping with his family from Slovakia to the West. During the war Prof. Subik represented the Slovak Republic at the international medical commission which investigated the Katyn case. The commission, even at that time, decided that without doubt the mass murder had been committed by the Bolsheviks. After investigations on the spot, Prof. Subik was convinced as to the authors of the crimes. From then on he was persecuted by the "People's Democratic" regime. The professor, besides being an eminent scientist, is the greatest living Slovak poet.

Side Lights:

Soviet Union a Problem for Journalists

What it means that a third of the world is living almost hermetically sealed off under bolshevism, became clearly evident at the Paris meeting of the "International Press Institute", in May, when reporting on the Soviet Union was discussed, thereby revealing the difficulty in describing life in the Soviet world. It was pointed out, for instance, that the exact figure for the population of the U.S.S.R. has not been made public, that on the other hand, from more or less chance observations, such as Stalin's absence at some public event, too much is made. The decisive question as to how far reporting can be preserved from subjective elements, or in how far responsibility can be taken for it, without arbitrarily distorting the facts, was scarcely touched upon and in consequence not answered.

There were, however, some good, concrete suggestions: the chief editor of the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" recommended sending as many correspondents as possible to the Soviet Union and changing them frequently in order to form a group of experts, capable of working up Soviet material in the office. The chief editor of the Berlin "Tagespiegel" pointed out that Berlin was in a specially favoured position for observation, offering the means of contact with people from the East, as well as an insight into the press of the Satellite States. Another member spoke of the scientific and special publications in the Soviet Union, saying that they are often more revealing than the daily press. By all, the lack of people who really know Russia was stressed.

"Experts on Russia" cannot be turned out like ready-made clothes, nor by a few months' training as a correspondent in Moscow, Warsaw, Sofia or Bucharest. Without wishing to belittle the difficulties facing a correspondent in the free countries when reporting on the Soviet world, it still seems to us that editors have hitherto neglected an important factor which might alleviate their worries: among the millions of refugees who have streamed into the West from the Soviet world, during and after the war, and who are still trickling through, there are hundreds of qualified journalists bringing a knowledge of their home-countries, languages, doctrinaire Marxism and the possibility of realizing it, in a familiar area, all points which cannot be attained in any quick courses. Among these refugees there are thousands of experts in practically every field of economic, political, social and cultural life. A description of the Soviet world from such a source would be the story of those who are now carrying on the work they managed to escape from. It would be wrong to presume without further ado that emigré mentality coloured the outlook of all of these people. The responsible ones among them are conscious of the importance of their interpreter role between their home-land and the free world. Deliberate falsification or spe-

culation would harm their own people first of all.

This potent factor is practically intact. Many of these journalists and experts are doing other jobs, some are struggling to keep their own free press above water; papers that are given much too little attention by the editors in the countries in which they are appearing. Many a report and commentary in these emigré papers contains the evidence of solid and proficient knowledge. (P. S.)

Loan to "Further Peace"

The first half of May this year the Soviet press announced that the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. had resolved to issue a new state loan of 50 milliard roubles, declaring at the same time that this amount would be oversubscribed. No one is likely to doubt that this will be the case. The subtle methods used by the Kremlin to squeeze out and rob the citizens, who are treated worse than slaves, is too well known. To guarantee the loan everyone will have to sacrifice at least one month's wages which the Soviet press has already declared as the minimum.

According to official statements the loan is intended exclusively for peaceful purposes i. e. the construction of a power station in Kuybyshev and Stalingrad, on the Volga, at Kakhovka on the Dniper, further for extending the main canal of Turkistan, the Ukrainian canal and the North Crimean canal. It is not necessary to be an expert to see what peaceful purposes these buildings will be used for, in the end. It is known that the Soviet Union is behind in many important branches of industry, such as steel, coal, oil production, in comparison to the West. It is most backward in the field of electro-energy, without which the atomic bomb cannot be produced, then too electro-energy is needed for the production of some special alloys for aeroplanes and modern weapons, as well as for nitrogen compounds for explosives. The irrigation of South Ukraine and the Crimea can serve for the increase of the cotton crop not, however, for the textile industry, but again for the production of explosives.

The strategic purpose of the constructions proposed is unmistakable. The Don-Volga canal would connect the Black Sea on the land way to the White Sea, the Baltic and others, which will make the construction of submarines in the interior of Russia where the atom and fine mechanics plants are concentrated feasible. In case of war it would be easy to take submarines wherever they are needed along these waterways. (W. A. Z.)

Camouflaged War Budget

In connection with the new State loan in the U.S.S.R. the Soviet press published an article by the Minister of Finance, Zverev, in which it is pointed out that the thirty milliard roubles which the loan is supposed to bring in, are badly needed in addition to the 476.9 milliards of the budget. Zverev then discusses the budget items once more, to convince the naive that it is a "budget for peace and peaceful reconstruction". He describes it in such a way that it seems as if 305.2 milliard roubles, i. e. almost $\frac{2}{3}$ of the expenses of this huge budget, were for peaceful purposes, 180.4 milliards "for developing political economy and 124.8 milliard roubles for social and cultural purposes.

On one hand the finance minister declares that the outlay for which the 305.2 milliards are provided is only for the single so-called Soviet Republics, and for that, education, health service, social insurance, housing and local industry fall to the competence of each Republic. All matters of defence and war industry to be financed from Moscow direct. In the same breath however, it is said in the article, that the local budgets of the single Republics only 98.8 milliards are provided i. e. not $\frac{2}{3}$, but only 20.7 per cent of the whole State budget.

Anyone who has watched Soviet economic and financial life carefully will have noticed that in the last 10 to 15 years the plans for school buildings, hospitals, workmens dwellings etc. have seldom been fulfilled more than 25%, at most 50%. The Soviet press seeks to cover this up by accusing the local authorities of all sorts of shortcomings so that no one might arrive at the conclusion that in reality Moscow has used the funds in question for military purposes.

If this year, the local budgets are said to have reached 50%, the truth will lie somewhere about 10%, no more, of the total budget of the U.S.S.R. that has been used for peaceful purposes.

No subterfuge on the part of Zverev can hide the fact that this year we shall have Stalin's largest war budget, finance a war of aggression. (W. A. Z.)

Plain Speaking is Necessary

That which began as a "police action" in Korea more than year ago, has since become a military front in the cold war, a front which still limits itself to a small part of the world front. In addition, French troops are fighting in Indo-China, British in Burma and Malaya, and National-Chinese in the southern part of Red China, all against opponents who are directed from the same Moscow centre-point. →

Bolshevization and Russification are Siamese twins. If anyone sets out hand in hand with Russians to fight bolshevism, he is sure to lose.

Without prejudice to the mutual exchange of notes and diplomatic discussions with the political delegations of the western world over the possibility of co-existence or compromise, world-bolshevism is unequivocally proving its readiness also to leave the debating rooms and to carry on the debates on the battlefields to which it seems inclined.

Whoever does not realise that we are already at war is either a fool, or pursues an ostrich-like policy, and his attitude can, in proportion to the radius of his sphere of influence, bring a race or even a continent in peril of destruction.

In that huge area east of the line Stettin—Trieste, some hundreds of millions of people are combatting by every means of passive resistance or active opposition which they have at their disposal against their annihilation as human beings, as sociological classes and even as races. On the periphery of the Soviet sphere of influence are arising nuclei of defence, to prevent its spreading further — the decisive settlement with world-bolshevism has begun.

That is not to say anything against treating with the enemy. This has some purpose, if it is carried out with some prospect of success, that in this way the freedom of mankind can be guaranteed. Success is the deciding factor. Discussions as an end in themselves — "so long as negotiations are going on, there'll be no shooting" — are dangerous, if one partner employs the pauses in constructing weapons before the conference building.

The complaisance and appeasement policy of the West have made possible the world-endangering expansion of Bolshevism, not its own strength. Adherence to these principles, therefore, can in the light of the present situation, no longer be vindicated. This was proved, in little, by the new U. N. Commander-in-Chief in Korea, Gen. Clark, when he withdrew the concessions which had been obtained under duress by the agitators in Koje P. O. W. camp, and denoted the American officers responsible. That, generally speaking, was what was meant by the Spanish leader, Franco, when, in his opening speech to the Spanish Parliament, he condemned the policy of concession and appeasement as insufficient: "This policy, in which we will take no part, casts aspersions on the western nations' sense of responsibility."

He considers that the result of this policy is the oppression of the east-European peoples by Bolshevism — with which Spain will never come to terms — and that it is a necessity for the future to give back freedom to these peoples. Its shows the militant anti-communism of the Spanish people, when Franco refers to the necessity of combatting communism with military force. He who has experienced devastating events in his own house knows how little concession and appeasement are able to perform and how necessary is plain speaking. Wherever the latter has been done, Bolshevism has always left the arena.

(P. S.)

European Integration and the Freedom of the Peoples in the East

By Dr. Stefan Panov

It has become an established fact that the Third Reich lost the war mainly because the German Government failed to burst the Soviet dungeon of peoples. Had the Germans, at the very commencement of the war, promised the oppressed nations of the U.S.S.R. their political independence, the German-Soviet war would have become a civil war in the whole territory of the Soviet Union and have swept away the red dictatorship.

In spite of this historical lesson authoritative circles in the West seem inclined to repeat Hitler's fatal mistake. If the West would issue an official declaration that all the peoples subjected by Moscow, including those which came under Russian domination before 1917, should have full national sovereignty, mighty centrifugal powers could be set in motion which would shake the very foundation of the Stalin dictatorship. Strange to say, however, the West refrains from playing the strongest trump card it holds in the cold war.

The Russian emigrants who still adhere to the long outlived Russian Empire, make western statesmen believe that a declaration of that sort — which is actually in harmony with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and with all the ideals for which western democracy is fighting, — would arouse the resistance of the greatest people in the East, and drive them into the arms of Stalin. That the West is dependent on the collaboration of the Russian people, if the Stalin regime is to be overthrown.

Their thesis is biased. It runs contrary to the ideals of the free world and historical development.

Integration and Freedom of the Peoples

The main argument brought forward in the West, by adherents of Russian imperialism, against the liberation of subjected peoples is that the world today is tending towards vast conglomerations of states. For economic and political reasons national frontiers are being done away with and nations collected into federal states. The parole of modern times is United States of Europe. The demand that all the peoples of the Soviet Union should be granted national independence stands in contradiction to that trend.

The A.B.N.'s cry for national freedom and the bursting of the Soviet dungeon of nations is therefore an obsolete and reactionary solution which is not in keeping with the times.

Is this reproach justified? It is right, as far as goes, that about the middle of the 20th century the idea of integration began to gain ground in the whole world. Its climax will be establishment of a world parliament and a world government embracing all peoples. The United States of

Europe will sooner or later be realized and will include Russia as far as the Urals.

The first condition for this integration is however the liberation of all nations beforehand, so that they may become equal members with equal rights of such a federation. In the framework of a supernational formation absolute equality must prevail. It would mean putting the cart before the horse to found the United States of Europe before all the member-nations had gained their full freedom and sovereignty, otherwise the federation would be no advance but a step back; it would not be in accordance with the general trend, but work against it.

Integration and Differentiation

There is another point which may not be forgotten. Simultaneously with the trend towards integration, a process of differentiation may be observed and no power is able to check it. The tendency towards national differentiation is as much a sign of the times as integration and is actually no contradiction.

In opposition to the levelling influences of modern civilisation, the races are recalling more and more their peculiar qualities, their national culture and way of life, — the most precious treasures of a civilized people. A future world of the United States of Europe, Asia and Africa and finally a world government, will aspire to a closer collaboration between nations in the sphere of politics, economics and cultural affairs. But with regard to culture every nation in future will cherish and develop its own. There will be no place in the world of the future for imperialism or chauvinism. On the other hand Utopists who believe that with national egoism, national differences should also disappear, in order to give place to monotonous uniformity disregard the laws of Nature. Levelling in the intellectual sphere is a false development and as such to be combatted, not furthered. The role of national culture will be greater and more important in the future.

According to the Stalin conception, all national culture must disappear and give place to a uniform proletarian "world culture". National languages must be eliminated in favour of a world language, a "progress" which is neither desirable nor possible. The languages of the races are organisms, they are their most valuable possession and the basis for creative development. "Just as every bullet has its centre of gravity, every people has a centre of bliss" (Herder) A people can only be happy when it is able to form its own life in its own way. A national way of life includes the language, the arts etc.

We see how much attention and care the nations whose culture is of a high standard, e. g. the English, Scandinavian etc. have



No Conception

For three days exile journalists from countries behind the Iron Curtain, who belong to the Federation of Free Journalists of Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic and Balkan States, met and debated in Berlin. Although it had been declared at a press conference held before the meeting, that the Federation was a professional association and followed no special political trend, the meeting had not at all the character of a professional gathering. Berlin had not been chosen merely by chance, nor were the journalists who had left their homes for political reasons and who represented the free press of their native countries abroad, able to evade political questions. The guests too, among whom were the president of the National Committee for Free Europe, representatives of the American Federation of Labour and British and American members of parliament, gave the whole affair a political background.

More than all that, however, the messages sent out to the East and West justify the question as to the political views held by these journalists in exile, especially so, since the chairman of the Federation, Mr. Boleslaw Wierzbanski, (Poland) said in his opening speech that they wanted to show the subjected people the "picture of a better future" which is doubtless identical with the "vision of a united Central and Eastern Europe" and which according to the speaker would result from the collaboration of emigrant professional journalists.

Instead of drawing the promised picture, however, they drifted away, time and again, with the assurance that they had no views as to the future of Europe, nor for the methods to be used for its liberation. Among the German publicists this fact was most especially regretted. It seems to have been for-

devoted to their national culture in the last decades in order to preserve it from the modern tendency to level everything. This trend to national differentiation which is by no means against modern integration, but supplements it and makes sense of it, has become very evident of late.

National Independence — the Elementary Right of a Nation

When the negro tribes of Africa, striving for national independence, meet with recognition and approval, can old civilized peoples, such as the Ukrainians, or Georgians be restrained from seeking release from Russian tutelage?

The champions of Russian imperialism point out that countries like Ukraine or Turkistan, from an economic standpoint cannot be separated. An independent Ukraine, an independent Georgia will naturally keep up close economic relations with Russia, but first of all these peoples must be free and build up their economic connections with other countries as equal partners.

gotten that the German public, above all the population of Berlin, who had been specially invited to attend the public discussions, have a lively interest in the closer designation of this "vision".

On the other hand those from eastern Europe who took part at the international meeting of the German Association of Young Journalists which met April 20th to 26th, at Münster, were disappointed to find that their German colleagues possessed but very indifferent ideas about the new Europe.

The latter meeting which was under the efficient direction of Professor Walter Hagemann (Münster) and given added importance by the presence of Prof. Bashnitz (Amsterdam), Prof. Dovifat (Berlin), Dr. Stern-Rubarth (author of "Europe, Great Power or Provincialism") and Dr. Unger of the European Union, had as its theme "The Contribution of Journalism to the Integration of Europe". The questions which most interested visitors from

eastern European countries, i. e. how far East Europe reaches and how the problems of the national States of the peoples subjugated by bolshevism were to be solved, remained unanswered.

It is true, Prof. Dovifat touched the subject of the East European problem in his speech, "The European Question as seen from Berlin and the Soviet Zone of Occupation", but in a most one-sided manner, giving great prominence to the "greatness" of the Russian people and the "value" of its soul, in an unhappy interpretation of Prof. Stepun's idea: by which Prof. Dovifat brought upon himself the rebuff of incompetence and political prejudice.

With the exception of Prof. Bashnitz, all the speakers were convinced that America's East European policy was right, and they laid stress upon America's consciousness of her mission. The fatal confusion of the terms Russia and East Europe, ran like a red thread through the whole conference. For the German participants there was really no excuse for not knowing the real state of things. (P. S.)

The Victory of Communist Propaganda

As we all know, communist seizure of power in each of the Satellite States began in the same way: at first intentions were camouflaged by "democratic" government coalitions. As soon as these were firmly in the saddle, the communist members commenced getting rid of their partners, gaining domination step by step, until finally the countries were turned into Soviet-Russian colonies. In most cases the process met with stubborn resistance, even from the ranks of the communists themselves, as the fate of the great ones, such as Kostoff in Bulgaria, Slansky in Czechia, Gomulka in Poland, Rakosi in Budapest, Peter Croza and Anna Pauker in Bucharest makes evident. Nevertheless the stadholders in those countries seek to give the impression, at least to the outside world, that their governments are still in the hands of some democratic coalition, while in reality that has long since been liquidated.

It is therefore more than strange that on the occasion of the congress of the so-called "Fatherland Front" in Bulgaria when the name of the present government clique was only retained as a bluff for the public at home and abroad, to make people believe that some sort of coalition of democratic, patriotic and political circles, still exist behind the scenes, and that just the Associated Press should become a victim to that bluff. The Agency sent out the following report:

"The 'Fatherland Front' is a coalition of the Communist Party, the Peasant, the Social Democratic and the Zveno parties."

Thus mendacious communist propaganda has every reason to be proud

of its success. After this report, Sofia and Moscow can congratulate each other on a complete victory all along the line. A world-renowned western news agency has served the public with something communists themselves, even average ones, do not even believe.

Anyone at all acquainted with conditions in Bulgaria knows full well that since 1946, when Nikola Petkoff of the Peasants' Party was thrown out of the government and then sent to prison and the gallows; the leader of the Social Democrat Party, Kosta Lulcheff landed in prison and the Zveno leader and war minister, Walcheff was removed from office and banished abroad, the so-called coalition government has ceased to exist, or has become a thin mask for a typically totalitarian communist, one-party system. It is well known too, that following on that fictitious "coalition", only the flotsam and jetsam of the former parties were left as figurines, and they announced the dissolution of their own party organizations in order to enter the homogenous "Fatherland Front" whose fealty was to Moscow.

Finally, every child knows that the real Peasants' Party of the influential leader Getschew never belonged to the Fatherland Front coalition, but merely a left radical group, known as the Plane group, which had for years collaborated with the communists was in it.

And yet western news agencies hand out to the governing Stalin clique in Sofia, — which is not even backed by the Bulgarian communist Party, — the testimony of a democratic coalition on a broad basis. (B.)

"Socialistic Democracy"

In the new constitution which is being drawn up by the Belgrade government, Yugoslavia is to have a new democratic structure: the authority of the government is to be vested in committees made up of members of the national assembly; administration to be in the hands of state secretaries who are in each case experts in their branch, but who are under the supervision of the competent committee; the national assembly is to be divided into two houses; the already existing federal council, and a council of "producers" i. e. representatives of industrial and agricultural collective enterprises, — a strange mixture of Soviet and co-operative elements.

The State is, for the first time, to have a president. The president is to hold the offices of chairman of the presidential body and of parliament, and act as commander-in-chief of the forces. It is to be presumed that Marshal Tito will not give up the command of the army and will therefore become president of the Republic. That means strengthening of his personal position and with it the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Until now parliamentary leadership was in the hands of a third party. At present Dr. Ivan Ribar holds that position.

The psychological-political preparation for the reform followed the Soviet pattern: In answer to a letter in the "Borba", in which a deputy, Davidovic, stated that the system of representative government was obsolete and no longer in accordance with "our socialistic democracy" and therefore should be changed, Moshe Pijade, the theorist of "Titoism", said on March 30, 1952, in the same paper, that parliament, — Yugoslavia has a federal constitution, — had become petrified in the form of 1946 "as if the wave of socialistic democracy had not touched it at all." Pijade laid special emphasis on the qualifications of the deputies, but added "the system of our parliaments make them houses of silence". He then goes on to say. "Why that is so I should defer not to discuss."

This statement is not difficult to understand, it rests on the fact that the Belgrade regime, also in the new "democratic structure", intends to maintain the unlimited monopoly of the communist party, the arbitrary system of the political police, the oppression of civil rights and liberty, including the work of the churches. Having arisen through the terrorization of all other parties by one party, the C.P.Y., the regime cannot exist without its support. It would simply fall to pieces.

The introduction of sham democratic reforms are as little deceptive as the "Law for the Preservation of Civil Rights" which has come into force in the meantime and which is intended to make it possible to appeal against decisions by financial and labour authorities and peasant organizations, in questions of compulsory delivery quotas, for the executive lies exclusively in the hands of approved communist party members.

(P. S.)

A Bulgarian Protest

Referring to an article appearing in the American newspaper in Germany, the "Neue Zeitung", the Presidency of the National Bulgarian Front have placed their protest at our disposal, from which we publish the following:

"In a series of articles entitled "Yugoslavia's Cominform Neighbours" now appearing in the "Neue Zeitung", the issue of May 1st/2nd (No. 103) gave a report on Bulgaria containing misrepresentations which are an injustice to the Bulgarian people and a travesty of their history.

The statement, above all, that the Bulgarians are so conscious of their "Slav adherence" and so russophile that in World War I they had to be incarcerated and shot, literally in thousands" for refusing to fight against the Russians. That this atrocity story is a fabrication is proved by the war records of the time. It is a generally known fact, that the elite of the Russian regiments which forced their way into Dobrudsha in 1917 with the objective of freeing the way into Bulgaria were thrown back, in spite of their superior numbers, and so completely defeated by General Koleff's cavalry that the remainder were hardly able to get across the Danube in their panicky flight. It is just this Bulgarian "blitz" victory over the Russians that is held in military academies as exemplary. Furthermore, the Bulgarian army crossed the Danube itself and harried the Russian and Rumanian troops as far as Bucharest, fighting the decisive battle on the banks of the Seret.

The author's allegation, too, that in the last war, owing to the Bulgarians' pro-Russian sympathies, neither King Boris nor the Prince Regent Cyril dared to send troops to the Soviet front. The real reason why Bulgaria clung so determinedly to its neutrality towards Russia was to avoid giving Russia any casus belli whatever for an advance on the Balkans, a fact which fitted in with the plans of the Western Powers and was, no doubt, agreed upon in unofficial parleys. The Yalta decisions and the early, mysterious death of King Boris put an end to that cautious policy. In any case it was certainly not "love of the Russians" which spoiled the Bulgarians for war, or even that the country, as the weak point in the Balkans, gave way for the Russian invasion as might be concluded from the article.

It cannot be denied that Bulgaria's alleged affection for "mother Russia" is often a priori accepted by many in the West and has again and again been the cause of that unjustifiable suspicion cherished towards Bulgaria, for which the country in its recent history has had, more than once to pay dearly. That it is only an arbitrary prejudice, that to-day borders on malice, may be seen by the following facts.

1) Despite all comprehensible feeling of gratitude towards the Russian "liberators", the Bulgarian people in the eighties and nineties of the last century, when it became evident that Pe-

tersburg was aiming at making Bulgaria a Russian Danubian province (gouvernement), made a decided break with all political sympathy with Russia. This determined attitude was given expression when Russian tutelage and annexationist tendency was shaken off by the great Bulgarian statesman, Stepan Stamboloff, backed by the army and the people. That historical act met with the full approval of the whole western world, and others too.

2) Moscow's powerful advance after the world war, undertaken on the suppression of pro-Russian feeling, and carried out by mass assassinations and civil war, was stopped by the Bulgarians with their own forces, in spite of the radical tendency arising through the war.

3) That the country was conquered in September 1944 by Soviet Russia was due alone to the tragic war and world situation then prevailing, which allowed the Red Army free access into the country through a violent revolutionary regime, in the illusory idea that they could master the fate of Bulgaria with the crumbling axis between Moscow and the western powers.

4) In spite of their Slavic language and Cyrillic alphabet, which are counted as their most precious cultural possessions, there remains deeply rooted in the people an atavistic reminiscence of their Turanian origin.

Aside from all the theories as to genesis and origin of the present Bulgaria, there is that specific element in the blood and consciousness of the people, a peculiarity which separates them from the so-called "Slavic races" and it is just this element that Moscow is trying to eliminate from the history books and literature, from school and from the knowledge of the coming generation, because it is a thorn in the flesh for russification and a bulwark for the national idea.

Under these circumstance it is more than paradoxical to call the Bulgarians consciously Slavic and to endow them with an exaggerated love of Russia, the last sad remnants of which have been wiped out."

Workers Resistance Against Collective Contracts

Resistance is growing in a number of plants in the Chemnitz district (Eastern Germany) against collective contracts for the plant, by which a considerable worsening in working conditions and a new increase in the workers nor at the same wages as before, is envisaged. The draft of a new collective contract for the Elite-Diamant Bicycle Works at Chemnitz has been unanimously rejected by all the sections in the plant. The workers pointed out in the discussion that followed, that the conditions laid down in the draft contract were below the standard of those prevailing at the time when the works were an S.A.G. plant. The Elite-Diamant works was recently given back to the Soviet Zone government.

(I.W.E.)

The Croatians Reply

By Major General Hinko Skaricic-Alabanda

When, after the overthrow of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the end of 1918, the Croatian people, against their will, were forced into the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, — later Yugoslavia — they entered the hardest period of their history.

With that act one of the oldest peoples in Europe, a people which for centuries had bravely defended western civilization and Christianity against Ottoman invasion, was delivered over to a handful of megalomaniacs, seized by Serbian monomania, and with whom the Serbian people had little in common. These fanatics set out to found a greater Serbia in order to realize Peter I's will, i. e. the conquest of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, the domination over the Mediterranean and the sea route Gibraltar—Suez. By prescribing this partial aim to Russian imperialism they hoped to gain power themselves and with Russia's assistance to keep it. The Croats with their natural leaning to the west, stood in the way and had to be got rid of.

From 1918 on, the people were systematically oppressed. The name Croat alone was sufficient. As an "enemy of the people", arrest, torture, death followed. A new craze arose that the Yugoslav nation was to serve as the "fifth column" in the greater Serbian imperialism, just as communism served Russian imperialism as a fifth column.

With Croatia's declaration of independence on April 4, 1941, a period of peaceful inter-state life might have begun. But the Serbian "Charshia" saw their plans thwarted and turned to terrorism. Their Cetniks crossed the Drina and invaded Croatia, committing horrible atrocities on Catholics and Mussulmans, all of which has not come to light yet. It is no exaggeration to say that one million Croatians were literally slaughtered, mutilated, tortured, burnt to death or drowned. The Croatians fought desperately to defend their right to existence. They did not fight against the West, their 20 divisions fought against the Serbian Cetniks and Tito's communist partisans, Stalin's pioneers. They did not capitulate but submitted to the decree by the Western Powers that Tito's communist government was to be recognized as a Western Ally.

Since then Tito has reigned over the Yugoslav fiction, upheld by Serbo-Communism, the new form of Serbian "Charshia".

After 1945 that clique with the old method, tried to bring the Croats into discredit as murderers and plunderers in 1941 and 1945. On one side to wash their hands in innocence, on the other in the hope that their statements would be believed in West and act as an introduction for the seizure of power, should one day the regime in Yugoslavia be liquidated.

That must be known if one is to understand the step the present members of the Serbian "Charshia", Adam Pribicevic, Vladim-

mir Belajcic and Branko Miljus have taken: they submitted a memorandum to the fifth General Meeting of the U.N., accusing the Croatian people of the crimes committed by the Serbs in 1941—1945, and demanding the trial of 192 Croats, whose names are listed, for genocide.

The first chairman of the Croatian National Committee, Dr. Branislav Jelic, whose name is also on the list, although he has lived abroad since 1928, has sent a memorandum to the president of the 6th General Meeting of the U.N. in which he replies exhaustively and matter-of-factly to the accusation raised against the Croat-

ian people and the persons named in the list. In his memorandum he gives a short outline of Croatian history and the Croat-Serbo relations in the periods 1918, 1918—1941, 1941—1945, and after 1945 and invalidates all points of the Serbian allegations. Besides which, he demands an investigation by the U.N. into the events, in order to show the world where the truth is and that the Croatian people need have no fear of it.

The investigations will have a further result: the clear recognition of the mistakes made by Western policy in Yugoslavia since 1918 and still tolerated. Self-determination cannot be suppressed in the long run, either by bolshevists or national-communist government methods. Tito's "democratic" communism is as much a fiction as Serbian Yugoslavism.

How Stalin is Helped to Conquer the World

*Remarks on a Pamphlet:
"How to help Stalin win the World", New York*

The above-named pamphlet issued by Friends of Fighters for Russian Freedom, is an example of amateurish reporting, — its sub-title "Who is the Enemy — 'Russia' or Communism?", — handles the subject of combatting the menace of communism.

In the preface it is said that by supporting "race fanatics", by the cry for a crusade to destroy and Balkanize the country, i. e. by cutting Russia up, the way will be paved for Stalin to conquer the world. All of which only goes to show that the aim and object of the above brochure is to discredit the non-Russian peoples in exile and their fighters at home, in their struggle for freedom and independence, in the eyes of the Americans, whose love of spacious thinking is thus cleverly appealed to.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that the pamphlet attacks the Ukrainian Congress Committee and anti-bolshevik organisations, such as the A.B.N. their magazines "The Ukrainian Quarterly", "Ukrainian Observer", (formerly "Ukrainian Information Service"), and the "A.B.N. Correspondence". Nor does the said pamphlet refrain from clumsy distortions and lies. For instance, Yaraslav Stetsko and Stepan Bandera are described as war criminals and good friends of Hitler. Alfred Berzins, Vasyl (in origin Vladimir?, Ed.) Glaskow and others are said to be Nazi collaborators, while General Vlassov, who set up an army of liberation is represented as a Hitler victim.

The reason for this attack rests without doubt on the author's discovery that the Americans have been much struck by anti-Russian propaganda in the above — named organizations and that they are finding considerable support in Congress, as well as in the American press.

In order to cast aspersions on Ukraine's longing for independence Ukrainian history has to be falsified; Kyiv is represented as the "centre of Russian civilization", the events of Pereyaslav January 8, 1654) are interpreted as the voluntary union with the Russian Empire, and the Ukrainian people's struggle for national freedom and independence is made light of as the "desire for self-administration and cultural autonomy". Thus Russian expansion in Ukraine is turned into justified "pioneer work" and the sanguinary conquest of the Caucasus and Turkistan into a peaceful colonial policy. The parallels with Soviet-Russian historical writings are conspicuous, for in them Soviet attacks against nationalism among the non-Russian peoples are treated as trifles, hardly worth mentioning, and measures against cosmopolitanism are placed on the same footing.

In the face of such misrepresentations by Russia provocateurs and by bolshevist agents, the question may be asked "are political circles in U.S.A. not sufficiently well-informed to realize that it is just travesties of this kind that 'help Stalin to win the world'?"

(Y. Z. P.)

The U.S.S.R. is merely a facade for Russian tyranny over a hundred million enslaved non-Russians. The West's allies against Moscow are not Russian slave-drivers and profiteers, but only the enslaved peoples who wish to break the yoke of tyranny.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ASERBAIJAN

OIL TROUBLES

The "Pravda" of May 15, 1952 gives some space to certain undesirable conditions in Aserbaijan's oil production which have led to a falling off in output, and for which the local party organizations are made responsible.

"The oil production of the "Molotov-neftj" is diminishing. In November it was "suddenly" discovered that there was a check in the preparation of fresh cadres and that the training courses to improve the qualification of master-workers had ceased as long ago as last July; that there was no further technical training for workers and technical personnel. The Bureau of the District Committee of the Communist Party concluded in its resolution that that all come about because the party cells

the oil refineries, the district-committees of the oil workers union and the local trade unions organization displayed no interest in the conditions prevailing in technical training; that they asked nothing from the managers in the economic department to make the fulfilment of the plan to train qualified cadres possible. And what did the District Committee of the Party itself do. Why did they not carry out the instructions given at the district conference of the party, which laid down that the training of cadres must be improved and the quality raised?

The "Molotoneftj" Trust, it is true, exceeded the quota for oil and oil gas, but did not avail itself of all the possibilities for increasing the output. At the end of last year the quality of the oil production began to sink and this year the process has continued. The conference of the active members of the party organizations of the district gave a bolshevist answer, to the effect that of late party organizing and party politics had been neglected by the district committee, its departments and cells, that there was little spontaneity and verve in their work."

The article contains the interesting admission that in "bolshevist eyes" the activists of the party, inspired, we may presume, by activists of the Soviet Russian party, have little influence on the local Aserbaijan party formations.

BULGARIA

"THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S VICTORY"

The "Pravda" published an article under the above headline on May 23, 1952, saying,

"Thanks to what the Bulgarian peasant has learned from the Soviet collectivized peasant there is a bumper harvest this year. Even in 1951, the ever-increasing socialist collective farm delivered 70% of the total harvest."

"Under these circumstances the necessity arose of normalizing the circulation of money, as it no longer kept pace with the upward rush of the country's economics and the success brought about by reconstruction.

"Owing to the recent currency reform there will now be as much money in circulation as is necessary for economy.

"The currency reform was so, that 100 old lew (Bulgarian coin) were exchanged for 1 new lew.

"With the currency reform food rationing ceased in Bulgaria."

The "Pravda" reveals to its readers in the article that in agrarian Bulgaria, working along Soviet methods, rationing still existed in 1952, while the whole world knows that West Germany, for instance, devastated by war and over-populated as it is, gave up rationing food and other things long ago, without any Soviet system.

We learn too, that rationing could only cease after the population had sacrificed 100 old lew for 1 new one, i. e. after the purchase power of the old was exhausted.

Whether that is to be called a victory seems extremely problematical.

EASTERN GERMANY

SOLDIERS SENT BACK TO THE U.S.S.R. AS PRISONERS

28 soldiers and officers of the Soviet army, as we have just learned, were entrained at the goods yards of Schwerin and sent back to the Soviet Union, closely guarded. The soldiers had been arrested in April at their barracks in Schwerin, by the M.V.D. It is alleged that they had anti-Stalin leaflets in their possession from a resistance group in the army. (I.W.E.)

DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL GOODS

The little baroque palace of Reinhardtsgrimme, dating from the 17th century, in the eastern Erzgebirge, now being used as an agricultural school, is to be torn down. The valuable frescos, painted by old Dutch masters, which decorate the halls of the palace have often been objected to owing to their "unsuitableness in this age" and were to be painted over. (I.W.E.)

DILAPIDATED PIONEER PALACES

The committee set up by the town council of Erfurt to inspect the F.D.J. (Freie Deutsche Jugend) halls and pioneer palaces describe nine of the eleven as "perfectly filthy and in a disgraceful condition. The committee reports that the F.D.J. houses must be renovated at once if they are to be used for these young people... The committee found pictures of Stalin, Pieck, Ulbricht and Grotewohl "still packed as they had been delivered last February, lying on the shelves." (I.W.E.)

ARREST OF SOVIET OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS

140 officers and soldiers belonging to the army of occupation in the garrisons at Wünsdorf, Rangsdorf and Zossen were arrested in April by the Security Service, according to evidence given by escaped German employees who worked in those barracks. The prisoners were accused of fraternizing with German civilians and thus making it possible for anti-Soviet leaflets to be brought into their quarters. (I.W.E.)

WORKERS IN THE SOVIET ZONE DEFEND THEMSELVES

The refusal of the Soviet general manager, Filimonov to pay out the premiums due the beginning of this year for the last quarter of 1951, at least in April, was met by a storm of protest. It was only when the workers threatened the German manager with a strike and he, following the parole of the Carbid Works, "Out with the premiums or we out the fires", gave weight to the threat, so that the Soviet and German management were compelled to pay up. (I.W.E.)

GEORGIA

"EXTRAORDINARY SILENCE"

Youth work in the Georgian S.S.R. is causing the communist headquarters in Moscow a good deal of trouble, especially as the party agencies in the Republic pay little attention to Moscow, i. e. Russian, censure, and do not discuss the warnings they receive with any kind of "self-criticism" in public.

In an article "The Extraordinary Silence" which appeared on May 10th, 1952, the Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" complains that the Komsomol (Young Communist League) of Georgia at Tbilisi, the capital, is "directing the cells of the organization badly, and that the educational work is being neglected". The newspaper asserts that that is not confined to the capital, but is the case in all the other towns and districts of the Republic.

"The bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Georgia has not yet freed itself from old errors, nor does it react to the criticisms directed towards it, a conclusion which is confirmed by the following facts: Almost five months ago, on the 15th of December the "Komsomolskaya Pravda", in an article entitled "A Piece of Work that is merely for Show", pointed out and deprecated the failings in the activity of the Palace of the Pioneers at Tbilisi. The bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Georgia made no attempt to discuss the same, and did nothing whatever to redress the shortcomings. This only goes to show that the Central Committee has not taken the criticisms made by the press to heart and has hushed them up."

HUNGARY

ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

The Hungarian government, after long investigations, received a severe reprimand from the Economic Council of the Cominform. It is accused of sabotaging the five year plan set up by the Soviets, and of falsifying economic statistics. The heavy industry is blamed for exceeding the consumption of raw materials prescribed by Soviet experts. At the same time the Hungarian government was ordered to take sharper measures against acts of sabotage committed by the employees and workers in industrial concerns. For agriculture, too, energetic steps are announced as imminent. The whole land population, men and women up to the age of 65, and even children, are to be put to work in agriculture.

PROOF OF A PROPER ATTITUDE

The paper of the Communist Party in Hungary, "Szabad Nép", writes April 25, 1952:

Class consciousness has become more evident among our party members in the course of the last few years. Their sense of duty, too, is more apparent, as may be seen by the regularity and promptness with which they pay their dues. It may be said that the settlement of members, fees as they fall due, is a standard by which the work of the party in question can be measured" ..

In the next sentence, however, the paper explains how this increase in "class-conscious sense of duty" is attained: numerous places in the provinces have set a bad example. In February, for instance, at Ibrány only 28.7% and at Kotáj only 30.1% of the party members paid their contributions. The reason given by the paper is, that in these villages of the Komitats Szabolcs there is no net of "confidential advisers", which merely proves the continuous watch kept over party members in order to secure discipline.

SLOVAKIA

NO ENTHUSIASM

Although communist agitators went from house to house canvassing for the first of May, the demonstrations were but sparsely attended. School children and factory hands who had been ordered to appear, formed the majority of those present. The indifferent applause for the speakers and the lack of enthusiasm was noticed by all.

At Bratislava there was a communist demonstration on April 15, the day of the "liberation" by the Red Army. When the chief speaker, comrade P. David, saw that his words aroused no enthusiasm he asked: "At the time of the Slovak Republic I was witness to much enthusiasm on this square. Were you better off then than you are today? Why this silence?"

ERECTION OF THE H.U.K.O. CONCERN MAKES SLOW PROGRESS

In eastern Slovakia a huge concern, H.U.K.O., is being build up and the work carried out, in the main, by convict labour, as absenteeism has taken on such proportions. The president of the Communist provincial government, Duris, was himself at pains to raise the morale of the workers and endeavoured to convince them that they were working in their own interest and not for the Soviet Union, as enemy propaganda alleged. He failed however to influence them and the government was forced to bring in several thousand Chinese and a hundred Italian communists.

FOOD SHORTAGE

The prevailing food shortage in Slovakia is becoming more than critical. The shops cannot even supply the rations which are short enough as it is. There are not enough potatoes. Proceedings against persons who hoard foodstuffs or purveyors of inferior products, are intended to draw the attention of the population from the real cause of the shortage which is the stringent exports to the Soviet Union. People are thus reminded afresh of the time of plenty when Slovakia was independent.

TURKISTAN

"POLITICALLY BACKWARD"

The "Pravda" of May 4, 1952, reports on the last plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiz S.S.R., one of the five republics into which Turkistan has been divided for political reasons:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghiz S.S.R. has not seized the right methods for making the backward areas politically ripe, nor for strengthening trained workers. It takes too little notice of the political and professional schooling of the workers."

At the plenary meeting, the false methods made use of in educating the young workmen were strongly censured. Some of regional and district committees of the party seemed to be afraid of engaging new men, especially from among the young ones, for the various posts. The shortcomings in the political training of the cadres are also sharply criticized. Many of the leading men neglected to improve the level of their theoretical knowledge. Cadre education was suffering from the ideological errors contained in the text-books and works by native writers, in books on Kirghizstan's history."

From this formal criticism by the "Pravda" correspondent in the Kirghiz capital Frunze, the demand stands out prominently to entrust leading functions to new men, young men. The wish is evident to take young men belonging to the generation brought up in Stalin's ideology for political leadership, those who will therefore be more likely to take a strong stand against "deviationism", above all of a national trend, than their immediate predecessors whose way of thinking is rooted in Turkistan's national past.

UKRAINE

MUSCOVITE REPRISALS

The Kremlin's confidential man in Ukraine, Leonid H. Melnikov, a Russian, now secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (a position never given to a Ukrainian), has penalized many kolkhozes and party heads of late.

The reason, according to Soviet press notices, being the destruction of the sugar beet seed by insects, which the central committee of the communist party Ukraine declares is due to "the carelessness of party and agricultural offices".

The regional and executive committees of the party at Kyiv were blamed for "not inspiring the necessary intensity into the work of the party and agricultural offices". The top level leaders were warned that they would be "called to account if the position were not improved in the shortest time."

The work of the highest party offices in Vynnytsia, Poltava and Kirovograd, were stated to be "entirely unsatisfactory". The representatives of the Ukrainian agricultural ministry and the main administration offices of the sugar factories were reprimanded and their superiors warned.

In a resolution passed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was stressed that all the kolkhoze in the Republic had every possible means at their disposal to attain a good beet crop and the failure of part of that important seed only due to gross negligence.

Rudenko, public prosecutor in Ukraine, was ordered to regard "every instance of destruction in sugar beet as injury to the whole Soviet State, and to discover the guilty ones and punish them accordingly".

After this order was issued there was a meeting at Ismail of all the secretaries of the regional committee and the district leaders of Ukraine, upon which many hundred communists were punished by Melnikov.

"Soviet patriotism" is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism. Assurances that the Russian imperium is indivisible cannot destroy new Soviet patriotism, but it may paralyse the willingness to fight of 100 millions of nationally conscious non-Russians.

THE VOICE OF

OUR PEOPLES

Slovenska Republika

The Slovak Republic Will become a Fact . . .

From an article by Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, in the "Slovenska Republika" No. 2-3, 1952, we have taken the following extract.

"We see that today, too, short-sightedness reigns. We see that everything is being done to repeat the injustice to Slovakia. The group of those seeking to renew Czechoslovakia is strong and financially backed. No consideration is given to the fact that they are not representatives of the Slovak people, but of Czech interests in Slovakia, nor that they are pursuing aims rejected by the Slovak people. No attention at all is paid to the fact that it is a question of former and present Moscow agents who helped to build up the Iron Curtain. Why is that so? Because so many people and responsible politicians in the West are deliberately misled . . . There is no doubt that many Anglo-Americans sincerely desire to realize the principle of democracy and self-determination, but there are others among them who are ready to support the Czech ambitions of domination.

All Slovaks, abroad or at home, most consistently follow the aim they have set themselves — independence . . . Where that is concerned we must be ruthless and allow no compromise. For us it is perfectly clear that no other solution will secure a decent living standard for Slovakia . . .

We must make it clear to everyone that in Slovakia the fight against communism is necessarily combined with the fight against Czech domination. Without Moscow's aid Czechoslovakia could not have come into existence (1945), just as the communist regime in Slovakia cannot be maintained without the help of Prague . . .

If we refuse to compromise in this principle question then, without doubt, we shall achieve our object. The Slovak Republic will be realised . . . Let us act as becomes a self-reliant people. One should not beg but act, not beg but fight."

Daniza

The well-known Croatian publicist, Professor Bonifacije wrote an article for the oldest Croatian newspaper appearing in America, "Daniza" ("Morning Star"), entitled "Croatistic in the World", in which he deals with the all-Slavic ideology and the confusion caused thereby, the victims of which, in the past were the Croatian intellectuals:

"To stress our importance, — according to the well-known saying of the Montenegrins: "With the Russians we are 150 millions", — the founders of our historical science sailed gaily into the Slavic fog. What that meant is only now made clear to the Croats. It will be a long time before the other peoples see with the same clearness, and it is our duty to make known to the world where Croatistics lead to, in order to overcome the chaos which our people helped to produce . . . We

are a people with a lively imagination, so that it is no wonder that those early historians tuned their song to the idea of the all-Slav thesis, which was to be our salvation . . .

The devastating war between Serbs and Croats is, at bottom, only the result of that poetical and propagandist phrase of brotherly love, unity and "the rotten occident" from which only our big brother, resp. mother Russia, would save us. To-day it is Tito and Stalin . . .

Austria threw slavistics as a sop to the Slav professors and the best Slav thinkers for a whole century gave themselves up to philological treatises

and the discovery of all-Slavic fragments . . . At the all-Slavic Congress in Prague everyone spoke German . . . Slavic was carried to Moscow, Petersburg and Belgrade where it soon became the maid of all work for political combinations. Up to the time of Anton Starcevic and Anton Radic, the Croats had no expert on the subject, but only aymen. The Croatian, Jagic, is the last who is proficient in every field of slavistics, but he does not realize that he is merely a Russian and Serbian agent. Dr. Anton Radic was the first to put a stop to that "knightly train", showing with scientific arguments what it was all about . . . From Moscow, Petersburg and Belgrade slavistics wandered to Paris and London and now the first "Yugoslav chair" is being instituted at Columbia University, New York . . ."

Communist Espionage in the West

Editor's Note: The following deposition of an agent of the Tito communist secret police bears the mark of truth. It was made before the Croatian National Committee and thence forwarded to the editorial staff. The name of the witness must remain undisclosed.

At the end of the war I fell into British hands and was later handed over to the Tito partisans at Bleiburg (Slovenia). I was then taken to my native town to face my trial. The charges consisted exclusively of false statements, made with the purpose of compromising me in the eyes of my fellow-townsmen, who knew me as a political opponent, and of passing upon me the severest possible sentence. This sentence was fifteen years imprisonment, which I was to serve at Srem.

One day in 1949, there came to me an acquaintance who was serving as major with the secret police (O.Z.N.A.) and made me the following offer: "I am come to help you to regain your freedom. You know you have no prospect of being released before the expiration of your sentence. If you are wise, therefore, you will not refuse a few conditions. I will give you three days to reflect."

The conditions were: "You will in the interests of socialistic Yugoslavia, go on a mission to Italy. There you are to mingle with the Yugoslav refugees in their camps. You will give out that you were sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment on account of your stupid Croatian patriotism. In the camps you are to ascertain what people are there, why they have fled the country, how and by which paths, alone or by the help of intermediaries, with what people in Yugoslavia they are maintaining contact, from which side they receive financial support, what aims they are pursuing and who are their most active elements. Furthermore, you must disrupt their political work, e. g. undermine their trust in each other and in their leaders. Keep us informed as to all your activities."

Since the conditions of my confinement were indescribably intolerable, and I had no hope of escaping from this hell in any

other way, I decided to accept the offer and in this way to gain my liberty. On my release I was sent to a "Spy School at Novi Sad. The School was in Dunavska Ulica (Dunavska Street) No. 29, and was run by a colonel. Our bedrooms were in the same building, so that we were constantly under surveillance. The names of the O.Z.N.A. members who supervised us were unknown to us. There were 14 of us in a room, in an adjacent room there were three women or girls who were being trained in the same manner. Our treatment was unobjectionable and the food good. The lectures lasted from 8—11.30 a. m. and from 6—9 p. m., the syllabus covering the following fields:

- 1) Instruction in the reporting of the activities of the emigré groups.
- 2) The fomenting of intrigue within the single emigré groups in order to shake the confidence of members in each other.
- 3) Instruction in the tactics of approaching a certain person (here was given the name of a distinguished expatriated Croatian, important for the O.Z.N.A.).
- 4) Guidance in the method of reporting on single individuals, if possible in the form of a biography: under what name they are living, why they fled, accomplices in their flight, place of crossing the frontier, connections with Yugoslavia, activities in exile, connections abroad, origin and form of their instructions, and, if possible, insight into and supervision of their correspondence.

5) Instructions concerning contact with the Yugoslav Embassy in Rome, i. e. the U.D.B.A. chief in Rome, D. Pajevic, from whom, in my case, I was to receive orders.

6) At any given moment I should receive the order to liquidate the Croatian personage in question.

The course lasted from October 15, 1949 to March 13, 1950. I was then taken via Lubljana to a villa near the Italian frontier, where the U.D.B.A. was established. There I was closely kept until March 31, when I was taken by night in a car to the border itself in order that I might submerge myself as a refugee in a camp.

A.B.N. Stamps



Second Edition

issued by the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). A set of 4 values with symbolic designs of struggle and reconstruction. White gummed paper with watermark "honeycomb" letter-press printing, perforated 10.

Drawings for 20 blue, knight with sword
20 red, ditto
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The Russians and Ourselves

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. takes up the Argument

The effect our ideas have had on world opinion has called forth a campaign of misrepresentation and libel concerning our aims, and the more our conception of the dismemberment of the Russian imperium, which is now menacing the world, and the restoration of the national independence of the peoples enslaved within it, is recognized by the West as a decisive factor in solving the present world crisis, the more violently we are attacked by people who have an interest in doing so. The prime movers in this campaign are to be found among influential circles of Russian emigré imperialists whose chief object is no longer the defeat of bolshevism but rather, it seems, the preservation of the great despotic Russian empire, at any price.

The campaign against us is carried on in a flood of pamphlets, newspaper articles, memorandums and secret reports sent to western chancelleries, in all of which the A.B.N. is presented as a party of anti-Russian extremists obsessed by hatred, as chauvinists and separatists. To crown all, it is declared that our fight is likely to crush all resistance offered by the Russian people to Stalin's regime and drive them into his arms, thus jeopardizing any war against bolshevism.

In face of this, the Central Committee of the A.B.N. has no other course than to publish the following statement:

1. There is not a single proof of any aggressive or enimical feeling towards the Russian people as such, either in the historical past or in the ideology and activity of the national liberation movement of the A.B.N. The conflicts in the past and in the present between us and Russia have arisen solely and alone from Russian imperialistic policy and not from any enmity or hate of the Russians themselves. Our attitude and our struggle are not now and never were

led by "anti-Russianism" but only by our inalienable right to national and cultural self-preservation.

It cannot be laid at our door that we ever allowed ourselves to be influenced by hate or malice, on the contrary, it was the Russian thirst for power and alleged Messiahship that more than once

made our peoples the objects of sanguinary wars of conquest and tyrannical genocidal systems of government, just as to-day. That is why we call upon the whole world to go shoulder to shoulder with us, not against the Russian people and its sacred right to existence and free development as a state, but simply against that aggressive Russian imperialism which threatens the world to-day, with loss of freedom, justice and all that is sacred to man.

2. Taught by experience we have recognized bolshevism with its slogan of "proletarian world revolution" as another type of the old messiahship that inspired Russian imperialism. The fight against Stalin cannot therefore be separated from the fight against Russia's policy of conquest and accompanying thirst for power. Bolshevism cannot be combatted while Russian imperialists are pandered to and allowed to have their way. It is a contradiction to wish to do away with the Soviet world menace and at the same time preserve the Russian empire. Whoever seeks to guarantee peace and security to the world must of necessity turn against the former and work for the restoration of the freedom of all peoples, including the Russian people.

The Russian people must inevitably remain on the other side of the barricade

Editorial

Never Again!

An Historical Review

If there is one motto to which all the Slav people behind the Iron Curtain agree, it is this: Never again to listen to naive and irresponsible political quacks who, influenced by the pan-Slavian idea, plead for close relations with the "elder Russian brother" or for confidence in "mother Russia", by which, consciously or unconsciously, they open the door to Russian-bolshevist genocide.

After all the bitter, sanguinary experience with Russian-bolshevist rule, the enslaved peoples — some sooner, some only after the last war, — are done, once and for all, with every kind of ruinous russophile impulse. They hate nothing worse to-day, than the dead myth of all-Slavic solidarity which was so brutally abused by its Russian originators that it was turned into quite the opposite. Just this deeply founded aversion among our peoples to the efforts of Moscow to appeal to all-Slavic sentiments, in order to misuse them further and let them die for its imperialist aims, is an historical factor which may not be overlooked by responsible statesmen in the western world, if the right way is to be found out of this present world crisis.

It is all the more shocking when reputed western politicians make statements on the world's problems that give evidence of an incredibly false conception of the east-west conflict, and when they identify Russian-bolshevist aggression with a presumed expansion of the alleged "all-Slav-Bloc" of nations. The foreign minister of a great western country, for instance, thought it proper to assure his hearers that "no coalition of Slav states would ever be able defeat the free world." Even were that a thoughtless lapse, we cannot let it go unchallenged. On the contrary we feel we must take this opportunity to declare categorically and publicly, that there is no such thing as a bloc of Slavic peoples ready to rally round Russia and threaten the free world. They simply do not exist. There is, however, an eastern bloc of enslaved countries and peoples, held together by

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Never Again!

the fetters of force, and harnessed in the service of Russian imperialism. It is up to the West, and western policy, to see that these fetters are not tightened, but loosened, and at once, so that in case of war they will fall to the ground and our hand-cuffed peoples become reliable allies of the free world against Russia.

Striking Consequences

It should be known by now that pan-Slavism has long ceased to exist as a criterion of realist-political alliances in Europe, and that the all-Slavic idea only limps on the crutches of Russian imperialism and Moscow's policy of russification. Anyone with an idea of conditions behind the Iron Curtain, must realize that it is just the non-Russian Slavic peoples, — Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgarians and Cossacks, — that have not only drawn away from every sort of pan-Slavism but are irreconcilable enemies of Moscow's assimilation policy, camouflaged as all-Slavism. There can therefore be no question whatever of a "coalition of Slavic peoples" willing to take up the fight for Stalin's policy against the free western world, if the fight against world aggression and bolshevism is not started on a wrong track.

The West, however, must not stop there. If the West wishes to gain the friendship of our peoples and win their real co-operation by way of their political emigrants, all practical consequences must be weighed. The West must see the recent political past and present with our eyes, get into our skins, so to speak, in order to know who is the right person to mediate for our people and who not, who is capable and has the vocation to kindle all the mental and physical forces of these peoples against Moscow and the West, and on the other hand to realize who is unfitted and will

therefore crush all confidence and transform it into ill-humour and anger.

Former, dazzled apostles of russophile pan-Slavism, who, not so long ago, sought alliance with Russia and in their pro-Russian period did not shrink from following instructions from the Third International and make common cause with the communists, until they became the grave-diggers of their countries, they are the well-known members of the so-called "Green International" who sought to misguide the peasantry, in the past, with russophile catch-words and when they lost favour with their masters, fled and asked for asylum in the West. They are ex-politicians of the Kerenky type who, having failed, and betrayed the parole of national freedom and democracy, now in exile do their utmost to gain new victims among the emigrants and credit for their bankrupt enterprise from the West. Finally, they are career seekers, who have never been the spokesmen of their peoples and who now disregard their sacred historical bequest in order to become opportunists of exile initiative.

One need to be a psychologist to realize that such bankrupt emigré politicians, though pampered by the West, are hated and defamed by their own people and ours, because they have a part in causing the martyrdom of to-day. Western policy will not find access to the hearts of our peoples as long as it is obscured by that obnoxious veil.

A Unique Chance

No race feelings, no class paroles, and no cosmopolitan phrases can stir the hearts of our martyred peoples to-day. At no other time in history was the revolt against, and disgust with Moscow's brutal russification policy so great as now and hardly ever have civilized nations longed for the return of their liberty and independence as fervently.

In the psychological and political attitude of the "peoples of the East", however, all this is determined by an historical status nascendi, which the West should make use of to cut out Russian imperialism and for the blessing of a lasting, free reorganization of the continent and the world.

But the temptation to order the historical development of the people arbitrarily from outside must be resisted. Nations have a deep-rooted political instinct that is not easy to deceive and beyond that a very lively historical memory. They develop after their own historical experiences and reactions thereto. The West must not make the mistake of trying to swim against the stream of the said historical development, by forcing upon them spokesmen who are at variance with their inmost political will and feeling.

Traitors and bankrupts of the last few years cannot be grafted on our people as their spokesmen. Only proved fighters for national freedom and social justice, true martyrs who gave all for God and country and have always been on the right side of the barricade and have warned our peoples of popular deceivers, only such leaders will be accepted and trusted, and only they are able to kindle their enthusiasm.

With such leaders our people will be able to judge in how far the West is serious about their liberation, for their history and political instinct will not allow them to be deceived. That is why our peoples have rallied round the banner of their longed-for liberation and their true undaunted leaders and will have nothing to do with men who have been companions and blood-brothers of communism and Russian orientation, but are now giving lip-service to "freedom and democracy". Our people have spoken the final word "never again".

Thus we can only repeat that until the West ceases from pushing the proper builders of their future aside, it will never find its way into the hearts of our peoples and will lose the inestimable priority to doubtful political figures.

Appreciation Expressed to "American Friends of A.B.N."

When General Farkas de Kisbarnak, Chairman of the Military Commission of the A.B.N., had reported on his lecture tour in U.S.A. in May 1952, the Central Committee of the A.B.N. at its meeting on June 27, 1952, passed a resolution of thanks and appreciation to the organization of "American Friends of A.B.N." for their excellent organization and preparation of the lectures, press conferences etc. The proposal was received and passed with acclamation.

The American Friends of A.B.N. have already achieved good political connections and done successful work, a fact which was proved by the attendance of many prominent American guests and thousands of members of the national exile groups.

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The Russians and Ourselves

in this struggle, as long as they support the tyranny of bolshevist aggression or allow themselves to be made tools for it — they themselves need liberation, and not alone from rulers like Stalin, but from every kind of imperialist government clique, so that they may never again be led away from all sense of elementary international justice or be tempted into wars of aggression by chauvinist catch-words. The Russians as a people must not be manoeuvred into the rôle of a master-race and burdened with a tyrannical domination over alien nations, but be given, at long last, the possibility of developing its own forces in peaceful reconstruction on its own territory, devoting itself to its own cares and joys.

3. It is a cynical travesty of the facts to call the struggle of the A.B.N. for freedom and independence, anti-Russian chauvinism and separatism. On the contrary it is our nations which are the victims of a chauvinistic Soviet Russian regime, and subjected to systematic russification. Disguised as new "Soviet patriotism" which in fact has no other object but the denationalizing of our peoples and their enslavement, Stalin is carrying on a brutal chauvinistic policy to satisfy the mania for world conquest. By defending ourselves against this "new patriotism" we are struggling against our assimilation and are working in the best sense of the word for the interests of the entire civilized world — a world which is everywhere threatened by Moscow's mighty fifth column and with Soviet patriotism. Those who deny the truth of this and take exception to our national defence measures must be either smitten with blindness or be playing directly and with intent into Moscow's hands.

4. The reproach of separatism brought against us, is just as paradoxical. It can be no secret for any half-way educated person in the West that the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are no more Russian than those of the so-called satellite states which only had the bad luck to fall under Moscow's rule after the last war. There is just as little excuse for the integration or incorporation into the "great Russian empire" of the one as of the other. All our peoples, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Aserbaijans, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, Turkestanians, etc. have more than once in their histories had their own highly developed economic national states and have always possess-

ed a marked, wide-spread culture, which has been preserved in spite of years of alien domination and the most brutal policy of assimilation. Besides, these peoples have retained their individual characteristics and have striven always for freedom from Moscow and for independence. It is a travesty of known facts, now, to suddenly call their claims to their irrefutable rights as nations, separatism, just because the world has suffered and become accustomed their long subjugation under Russia.

There are, it is true, a few elements among our peoples who allow themselves to be bought by Russia's exile imperialists to propagate the preservation of the great Russian despotic empire, just as others, led astray by Stalin's new "Soviet patriotism", now sit at home in high offices, the tools of an alien regime against their own people. Their rôle is no different from that of Maurice Thorez or Palmiro Togliatti who are waiting to receive Stalin's "army of liberation" with open arms. To refuse our peoples and their spokesmen in the A.B.N. the right to combat such elements and to represent our repudiation of the Russians and Moscow as separatism, is as foolish as to call the revolt of the Italian or French people against treason and Moscow's fifth column, separatism.

5. The climax of the whole mendacious propaganda against A.B.N. is the allegation that our demands, directed as they are against the retention of the Russian empire as such, are detrimental to the fight against bolshevism, because they will drive the Russian people over to Stalin's side and, in an armed conflict with Moscow, turn them into enemies of the West. The answer to that allegation is, that the Soviet Russian system is in any case supported by the Russian people. Key positions in the govern-

ments of all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R. are in Russian hands. Moscow's "cultural policy" within the U.S.S.R. itself, as well as in the satellite states behind the Iron Curtain, is dominated by the idea of russification. All that is Russian is glorified by every possible means and Russia's "mission" is impressed upon the minds of the people daily. In short, the Russian people to-day, have been made the bearers of Soviet power and are fired by the worst kind of chauvinism in the form of Soviet patriotism which only proves that, in spite of some discontent with the regime the Russians regard the Soviet Union as their own empire, feel themselves as a master-race within it and are ready to defend it; for, whereas in all the non-Russian peoples strong underground movements and national liberation organizations are at work, there have been none worth mentioning in the whole territory of Russia proper during the Soviet regime.

Even if the West should carry on its psychological strategic warfare against Moscow, according to the Russian exile imperialists' recipe, i. e. preservation of the integration of the Russian empire, the Russians as such, with the exception of those in exile and perhaps a few in the country, could never be made to waver in their "Soviet patriotism" and thus would not be won against Stalin. On the other hand, the West in that case would certainly lose its great chance in a war against Moscow: the sympathy of its natural allies, the 100 million non-Russian people of the U.S.S.R.; their hopes of liberation would be crushed, their national revolutionary incentive paralyzed and they would be forced back into the floods of "Soviet patriotism".

For that reason alone and not from any enmity against the Russian people we demand, with a clear conscience, and also in the interest of the free world itself, an unambiguous avowal that Russian despotism will be abolished and the freedom and independence of our peoples and states restored. The conflict against communism and bolshevism must and can not be fought with the enslavement of our peoples as a pawn.

It is not our conception which is a drawback in the fight against Stalin and the world menace of bolshevism, but vice versa, it is the recognition of the Russian claim to an empire which will destroy this fight, that is the simple sum the A.B.N. sets the world for serious contemplation.

Summarized, our claims are: The A.B.N. fight is not *anti-Russian*, but only directed *against bolshevism* and

"Soviet patriotism"

is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R.. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism. Assurances that the Russian imperium is indivisible cannot destroy new Soviet patriotism, but it may paralyse the willingness to fight of 100 millions of nationally conscious non-Russians.



The Triumphal March of Our Ideas**A.B.N.-President Stetzko Travels Through Canada**

President Yaroslav Stetzko's publicity campaign in Canada, where something like seven thousand Ukrainian emigrants are scattered all over the country, is still going on.

Mass Meeting at Regina

Reports reaching us from Regina, Saskatchewan, tell us of a mass anti-communist meeting at which Mr. Stetzko, as well as a clergyman, Mr. Branch of Moose Jaw, spoke in the City Hall. Mr. Branch is a well known member of the "Canadian Anti-Communist League" and head of the press office. The meeting ended with a resolution in which it was demanded that the Communist Party and its underground organizations in Canada should be declared illegal and dissolved.

After the meeting President Stetzko was asked for an interview, during which he explained the ideas of the A.B.N. and the aims of the nations belonging to it. Later the Moose Jaw radio broadcast a half hour report on the struggle of the A.B.N. and the peoples subjected by Moscow. The meeting itself had been relayed from the City Hall by the local radio station.

Anti-Communist Manifestation in Montreal

There was another anti-communist mass meeting at which President Stetzko was the

therefore against its *proto-type Russian imperialism*. This fight is not chauvinistic but for national freedom. It is not separatist, but for national parity.

Our peoples yearn for the hour when they will be able to live as good neighbours with the Russians, and work for economic, cultural and political well-being with them, as well as among themselves, contributing, as members of a harmonious community of nations, to the general welfare of mankind, on a basis of equal rights. In this sense we accept European integration and every other regulation of great areas that does away with selfish national claims of power and ruinous national rivalries.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. appeals to the responsible statesmen of the West to free themselves from all tendacious propaganda in their attitude towards the A.B.N. and to consider the facts given above without prejudice, in the interest of the whole world.

July, 1952

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

chief speaker, on June 16, 1952, in Montreal. "The Gazette", a Canadian daily, reports on it as follows:

"Mr. Stetzko said that certain political officials are trying to organize some of the immigrants from eastern European countries

"Close to 500 enthusiastic persons made Memorial Hall echo with their applause when he told about the active resistance of freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain to Red totalitarianism ...

His were heartening words in many ways,



*A Temple
of Trust in God and
the Home Country*

*The Ukrainian Church
in Edmonton, Canada*

to incorporate them in a future non-communist federated Russia . . .

Agents of the Russian imperialist N.T.S. attempted in vain to disturb the impressive meeting by heckling. Their provocation disgusted the audience of over 1,500, and the imperialist spies were suppressed and turned out of the hall.

Stetzko vs. Buck

Under the above title the "Sudbury Daily Star" in its June 11 issue, draws a comparison between the visit and meeting of the A.B.N. President and that of the communist leader of Canada, Tim Buck, a short time before. The latter had been badly attended and had made very little stir in the town whereas there were at least 5 times as many at President Stetzko's meeting and his speech was enthusiastically received. The paper writes:

for he said that international resistance to the Red regime which threatens to engulf the world is a strong, organized thing. His was no tarnished tale of a Soviet Eden with sweetness and light, high production figures and happy collective farmers.

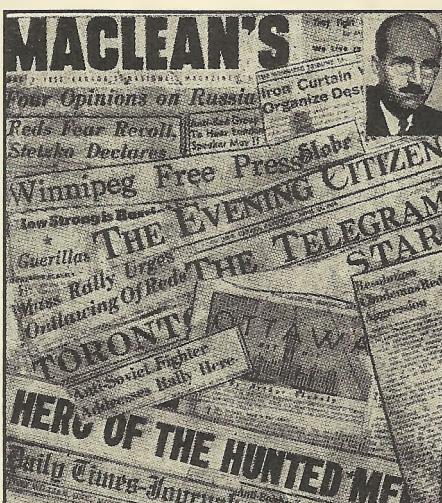
His message was one of tragedy and truth, honesty and hope. His Sudbury reception was a promising one, reflecting the opinion of an aroused Canada, both among its native and foreign-born population."

Canadian Trade Unions on President Stetzko

The official Magazine of the National Council of Canadian Labour, "National Labour Journal", has an article in the June number about President Stetzko's visit to Canada. The paper speaks well of President Stetzko and the just cause for which the A.B.N. is fighting.

* * *

Wherever Mr. Stetzko went in Canada he won the hearts of the numerous emigrants from all the nations represented in the A.B.N. and, needless to say, most especially those of his own compatriots, who, without regard to political views or party, gave evidence of their sympathy and solidarity with him.



Assembled photos from the Canadian press on the occasion of the A.B.N. President's visit to Canada.

Western Broadcasts Feared

According to information received from Lithuania, the Soviets are increasing the power of their own radio stations in an effort to counter transmissions from the West. Near Berlin a new station for the purpose of jamming those transmissions has been set up. In the Lithuanian towns of Vilna, Kaunas, Siauliai and Memel control measures have been tightened to discover who listens to Western broadcasts.

Resolutions

Adopted at the Anti-Bolshevist Manifestation

sponsored by the representatives of fifteen ethnic groups, namely: Azerbaijanians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Chinese (national), Cossacks, Estonians, Georgians, Hungarians, Idel-Uralians, Latvians, Lithuanians, North-Caucasians, Slovaks, Turkistanians, Ukrainians, — all united in the "American Friends of Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations, inc.", attended by representatives of the United States Congress, leading Americans, and by over four thousand people of various ethnic groups, whose kin are suffering under the Russian yoke; held on Sunday, May 4th, 1952, at the Manhattan Center, New York City, in conformity with speakers and statements made at this manifestation:

The world of today is divided in two blocs running against each other to an inevitable and total conflict.

The Bolsheviks rule by Kremlin which according to corrupt traditions of historical Russian imperialism is striving for domination of the globe:

The bloc of Western Democracies under the leadership of the United States is fight-

and establish their free and independent, national and democratic states on their ethnographic territories in the universal spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, and of the Charter of the United Nations and thus the just world peace can be achieved.

We highly recommend to our Government in Washington to instruct our United States Delegates to the United Nations to present a plan for a peaceful solution of today's world crisis by urging Soviet Russia to return freedom to all subjugated nations under the Soviet domination, and to retire all Russian forces from the non-Russian territories, and to give these peoples the opportunity to choose their national and democratic governments on their ethnic soils, under the supervision of the United Nations.

Only thus the threatening war can be avoided.

Should Soviet Russia refuse this plan, we urge all freedom-loving nations in the U.N. to take immediate steps in order to expel the Soviet Union with its satellite delegates from the United Nations Organization and to break all the diplomatic and commercial treaties with the said Soviet Union and its so-called satellite countries.

We further recommend that the true representatives of the oppressed nations be permitted to be seated in the United Nations and given the opportunity to speak for their enslaved nations. The Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) should be consulted by the United Nations as a qualified body in choosing such representatives.

We, the assembled at this anti-Bolshevist Manifestation, guided by the American Friends of A.B.N. Inc. pledge our full support to all noble efforts and determined crusade against the aggressive and imperialistic policy of the so-called Soviet Union.

We also pledge our support to the well planned psychological warfare aimed to encourage and aid all peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle for freedom and independence.

We call the attention of the United States Government and the American people to the fact that Bolshevism is nothing but a combination of two evils, traditional Russian imperialism and international Communism, the aim of both being identical: to dominate the whole globe by the Russian rulers.

We, therefore, fully endorse the veritable statement of the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of June 26th, 1951, concerning the fact that the present Soviet policy is a continuation of a 500-year-old Russian imperialism.

We call attention of our Government and governments and people of the free world to the fact that it is a misstatement to refer to the people of so-called Soviet Union as "peoples of Russia" or "Russian peoples"; such terms are a misnomer since the majority of the population of this Soviet Union are non-Russian people.

We do acknowledge to the Russians the same right for freedom and independence as for any other non-Russian people; but we do urge decidedly that the Russian people renounce their aggrandizing aspirations to dominate any other non-Russian nation.

We Strongly Urge:

that the existing underground movements behind the Iron Curtain be given direct and effective assistance in their unequal life-and-death struggle for freedom and independence of their nations;



Member of Congress, Ralph W. Gwinn, while capturing the gathering by his ardent address in antibolshevist manifestation in New York.

ing for human rights, justice, and world peace;

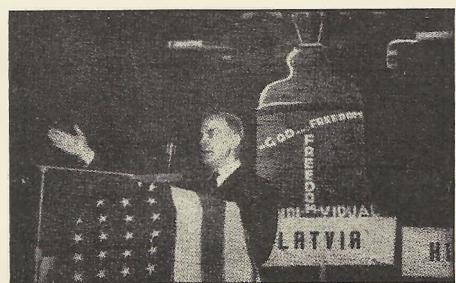
The third bloc — the bloc of nations subjugated by Russia, in spite of the huge potential resources and its psychological solidarity with the Western bloc, meets a dangerous indifference in this country because of lack of understanding and because of subversive action of Russian or pro-Russian elements. This indifference toward the peoples enslaved and tyrannized by Russian Bolshevism is unjust and thus endangering the interests of our country.

There actually exists an immense anti-Bolshevist struggle of all non-Russian peoples behind the Iron Curtain for national freedom and independence. This struggle is led by the underground national liberation movements which are being coordinated by the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). We believe that their struggle must be actively supported by the Western world, governments and people, if the world should achieve the just peace.

Since we consider the Russian imperialism under the Bolshevik rulers today as the only menace to our precious freedom and individual rights in this country and to establishment of just world peace.

We Hereby State

It is our steadfast purpose — as Americans of various ethnic groups to bring an effective aid to all nations subjugated by Russian Bolhevist imperialism, so that they at proper time overthrow the Bolshevik regimes,



Antibolshevist manifestation in New York. Member of Congress, O. K. Armstrong, while declaring his full support to the struggle for freedom and independence of all nations behind the Iron Curtain.

that the Genocide Convention be immediately ratified by the United States Senate;

that the ratification of the Genocide Convention be implemented by all possible efforts of the United States Government within the United Nations in order to show the world the most terrific enslavement of all people under the Soviet regime and to do everything possible that this horrible crime be stopped.

We also urge the adoption by the Congress of the United States of the following measures:

The Kersten Resolution (House concurrent resolution 94) expressing the friendship of the American people for the 110 millions enslaved non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and recognizing the rights of these peoples to freedom and independence.

The Kersten Amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1951 asking assistance for friendly nations from behind the Iron Curtain.

The establishment of an independent Voice of Subjugated Nations in order to make more effective our psychological warfare policy.

Finally, we express our highest admiration to all the United States and United Nations fighters in Korea as well as to all the underground forces, who are fighting for freedom and independence of nations subjugated by the Russian imperialists.

We realize that all the efforts on our side to achieve peace with those hidden behind

Bolshevist Propaganda in Case of War

It is not necessary to prove to the reader that Moscow is preparing the U.S.S.R. peoples psychologically for war. The West is well aware of that fact. What is less well known are the bolshevist methods for making the Soviet citizen they need for their war aims, immune against enemy propaganda. The characteristic feature of that propaganda is the endeavour to call forth a psychological "either—or" spirit i. e a fight to the death against the cruelty and barbarism of those occupying the country, or a more terrible death at their hands. The bolsheviks leave nothing undone to keep this artificially provoked and cleverly arranged dilemma from overstepping its limits. They spare no means of stamping out the very idea in the minds of Soviet citizens that a war against the West might bring some relief from their present miserable situation. To keep the people caught as by a vice in this "either—or" (either death or war against capitalist "robbers", gangsters and political imperialists) is the main object of bolshevist propaganda at present and in a war it would be the same.

Atrocity Propaganda

To achieve their aim the bolsheviks seek to blacken their enemies in the eyes of the population. "Capitalists must be represented as degenerate, an American, Englishman or Frenchman, so far as he is not a communist, is an egoistic gangster who only thinks of himself, his food and the satisfaction of his animal instincts. These people walk over the dead bodies of their fellows to attain their ends, and neither the tears nor the sufferings of their nearest and dearest can turn them aside. They live for themselves, make money and dominate as they like. Capitalist morals have made them beasts of prey, and cruel. Prisoners are tortured and allowed to starve to death, defenseless populations, with women and children, are slaughtered in a sea of blood. They know no mercy and no one is safe from them, only those who take up the fight against them in self-defense can hope to survive.

"So beat them, defend yourselves or

the mask of the Red Chinese government will be exploited by the Russian Bolsheviks to gain strength and make us weaker.

We congratulate whole heartedly all the brave fighters and call upon them and all the freedom loving peoples of the world to unite in the struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism:

FOR GOD AND FREEDOM!
FOR FREEDOM OF ALL NATIONS!
FOR FREEDOM TO INDIVIDUALS!

else they will kill you." To make such propaganda credible, the bolsheviks created a number of "alarming instances" of western barbarism in Korea. They made use of them to the limits of possibility. Whole pages in the newspapers are filled with them. Day for day the propaganda sirens shriek invectives against the criminal character of the capitalist and western imperialist. The consequences of bacteriological warfare are published in masses of descriptions and illustrations. Of late this satanic propaganda against the West has been intensified. A good opportunity for this bolshevist propaganda was given by the Soviet representative in the Security Council, Y. A. Malik, who only brought about the meeting in order to substantiate the case against Americans for bacteriological warfare. For this reason alone the bolshevist leaders were ordered to spread the myth of persecution and extermination on the part of the Americans in the prison camps of South Korea. The aim is directed against a future war. The citizens of the Soviet Union are told what to expect if they do not fight to the last man. What suffering awaits them should they go over to the enemy. "Is it not better to die fighting than to perish in a prison camp?" The fact that prisoners of war were exterminated by Hitler in the last war is cleverly made use of. People are reminded that millions of Soviet people lost their lives then. What guarantee is there that Americans or English are better than Germans? Korea is the best proof thereof.

Suggested Alternatives

Besides compromising the Americans and other western imperialists as men, Moscow tries to do the same with political aims. We have often pointed out that the Kremlin takes up the idea of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union which is allegedly in the programme of western propaganda and turns it to its own advantage. As usual the bolsheviks attempt to prove their thesis by real

historical facts. The revolution years 1917—1920 alleged to serve them with sufficient material. From a psychological standpoint it is important for them to manoeuvre the Soviet people into a hopeless situation and to persuade them that they have only two alternatives, either to go with Moscow and to keep at least the formal rights of independence granted by the Stalin constitution or to be treated as colonies under the domination of western powers.

Apparently there is no third possibility for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. in case of a conflict between West and East, no prospect of liberation from dependence on Moscow that will not lead to slavery under western imperialists.

Our Task

This sort of propaganda should not be underestimated. The bitter experience of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. under Hitler's policy in the years 1941 to 1944 has undermined all faith in western civilization. Building up on that basis bolshevist propaganda against "capitalist gangsters" of the West can count on success, if the opposite side does nothing to refute it. The second thesis of the bolsheviks may call forth some doubt among our peoples, considering their experience with the Germans and the fatal mistakes made by the present governments in the West, especially those of America and Great Britain, with regard to the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R. Many among our peoples having given up hope of help from the West might, under the circumstances, believe that there was no other alternative for them than to protect their rights by turning to Moscow. The only way to meet such propaganda and lack of political insight on the part of the West is for the non-Russian peoples to persevere in their policy of full independence, and only then to commit themselves when the West recognizes their claims to complete liberation from the slavery of Moscow.

I. R.

Prize Competition

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. is offering an award of D. M. 80,— for the best design for an A.B.N. flag, and one of D. M. 100,— for the best text for an A.B.N. anthem.

The text of the anthem is to stress the significance of the co-operation in the fight for liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow. The texts may be written in the mother tongue of any of the A.B.N. peoples, accompanied by a translation, either in English or German, or composed only in English or German.

Texts and designs must be sent in by August 15, 1952, to: "A.B.N. Correspondence", Munich, Dachauerstraße 9/11, and marked "Prize Competition".

Unanimous Voice of Ukraine

For an Independent Ukrainian State

At the conclusion of a discussion which took place in Munich June 25, 1952, on the policy of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", the Ukrainian political parties and centres passed an important resolution.

It becomes evident from the unanimous attitude of the competent political representatives of the Ukrainian organizations what importance is attached to the recent meeting, June 19 — 22, at Starnberg, of the four Russian emigré groups and representatives of so-called national organizations of non-Russian peoples. The position taken by the Ukrainian group is in no way exceptional, it only expresses in the most unambiguous terms the feeling that prevails among the other non-Russian groups in the U.S.S.R. The resolution runs as follows:

1) The conference takes note of the fact that the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" will continue under its new President, Admiral Kirk, to support the Russian emigrants in their efforts to retain a united Russian empire: That the European representatives of the committee are carrying on their work in this direction and that all Russian parties refuse the non-Russian peoples the right to the restoration of state independence and thus practically uphold the imperialist policy of the Kremlin.

The fact alone that the committee has retained its name, — American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, — that efforts are being made to include non-Russian peoples in a common organization with Russians, and the methods which the spokesman of the committee employed, constitute a clear proof in our eyes that the problem of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. is to be degraded to an internal question and that the object in view is the maintenance of the Russian imperium after the defeat of bolshevism.

The political programme of the American Committee does not even regard the concession which the Ukrainian and other non-Russian peoples have wrung from the Russian bolsheviks after long and bitter struggles viz., formal independent Union Republics with the right of secession from the union of the U.S.S.R., representation in the U.N. etc.

2) As the American Committee, under the chairmanship of General Kirk, has placed its policy under the motto: self-determination for the nations, the con-

ference declares that the Ukrainian of the Ukrainian Independent State which was established 35 years ago by liberation struggle aims at the restoration of the will of the whole people, — not, however, under the parôle of the realization of the right of self-determination as such. For the Ukrainian people has already passed that stage and in consequence to repeat the question as to national interests would mean a step backward.

3) The conference also takes note that particularly the plan of creating a special radio station to broadcast in the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. means a propaganda campaign for a united Russian empire. Such broadcasts, made in the name of a Combined Radio

Committee and under its direct control, would give the impression that a united Russian imperium had already been decided upon for the future, and that would have serious consequences in the fight for liberation from bolshevism. For this reason this conference rejects the proposal to erect a radio transmitting station. Lone wolves who desire to destroy the unity of the Ukrainian front will in future be regarded as not belonging to the Ukrainian national group.

4) The conference is of opinion that in future, too, joint discussions and decisions by all Ukrainian parties and political groups with regard to the American Committee and Russian emigrants are desirable and essential".

Representatives of the Ukrainian National Council (U.N.R.);

Representatives Abroad of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Z.P. U.H.V.R.);

Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Z.Ch. O. U. N.);

Union of Ukrainian Monarchists (S.H.D.);

Ukrainian Socialist Party (U.S.P.);

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.);

Association for a Ukrainian National State (U.N.D.S.);

Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (U.R.D.P.), represented by its two wings;

Union of Ukrainian Democrats (U.N.D.O.);

Ukrainian Peasants' Party (U.Z.S.U.);

Association of Ukrainian Creative Forces (S.U.K.T.S.).

Slovakia Rectifies

With few exceptions, the columns of the leading western newspapers are hermetically sealed to representatives of the political exiles from countries behind the Iron Curtain. On the other hand reports by chance contributors and badly informed "special correspondents" which show almost complete ignorance of conditions and call for contradiction, are printed. "Die Neue Zeitung", the American newspaper for Germany, is an example, with its recent article on resistance in Slovakia and its political emigrés. The Slovak Liberation Committee has requested us to publish the following rectification. (Ed.)

In an article in the June 20, number of "Die Neue Zeitung" on resistance in Slovakia, its author, Peter Schütz, besides some interesting information, maintained that resistance and underground organizations in Slovakia were so confused and complex that they could only be "cleared up by the men in the forests of the Slovakian Carpathians themselves". He speaks of a "White Legion", "White Partisans" and finally of "Domovska Armada" (Home Army) and mixes up all these expressions.

To the above it must be said that to-day in Slovakia there is practically speaking only one liberation movement. Its name in the country, as underground organization, is "Slovenska Domáca Armada" (S.D.A.), while the so-called "White Partisans" are not a separate organization but the fighting units of the same home guard, bearing the popular name "White Partisans".

It seems of value to mention that the Slovak Home Army, resp. white partisans, acknowledge the Slovak Liberation Committee with Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky at its head. It is well-known that this Committee, as the supreme representative of Slovak liberation struggle abroad, stands uncompromising-

ly for the restoration of the independent Slovak Republik. The greatest majority of the Slovak emigrants support the Slovak Liberation Committee, while the Slovak National Council abroad, represented by Karl Sidor, who is content with the future autonomy of Slovakia has a comparatively small number of supporters. The contention of the author of the article quoted, that the last named Slovak National Council, enjoys the greater authority, does not represent the facts. It may be said that the diminished influence of the Slovak politician Sidor is due to his expressing himself, as long ago as 1939, at the time of the March revolution, as against the establishment of an independent Slovak republic, which, then and now is an ideal cherished in the hearts of the Slovak people.

We feel obliged too, to take exception to some derogatory remarks in the article in question, against Slovak independence and its initiator, and statesmen. It is incomprehensible why the creation of the Slovak Republic which is mentioned with the name of the martyr and father of Slovak independence, President Tiso, always appears in quotation marks. It is also not to be understood why, in referring to Dr. Durcansky and the liberation movement of

German Women Wailaid

The first consequences of the concentration of Soviet troops in the woods of Wiehe near Querfurt (Germany Soviet Zone) have become apparent in the increased number of cases announced at the People's Police stations of women waylaid men of the Red Army.

Hildegard Troitz (28) was waylaid by three Soviet soldiers and raped after a regular chase. A short time after she was taken to the hospital, she died.

There are similar reports of outrages by Soviet troops from Eberswalde and Prenzlau in Brandenburg. At Eberswalde, among others, a woman of 53, named Anna Leskow, was violated. Two women at Prenzlau who suffered internal injuries after falling into the hands of Soviet soldiers had to be sent to a hospital.

All those who announce such cases are strictly forbidden at the police stations to mention them in public. (I.W.E.)

Side-lights

The Ordeal of the Baltic Peoples

The 14th of June is a day of mourning for the Baltic peoples for the night of June 14, 1941, saw the beginning of the systematic deportation of Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians to the slave camps of the Soviet Union. The order was issued by the N.K.V.D. on October 11, 1939, and the succession in which "anti-Soviet elements" were to be deported was fixed. Sixty thousand Estonians were deported in the first wave, among whom were 9,229 children; in Latvia there were 37,500, and in Lithuania 34,260 deportees. On October 31, 1939, Molotov declared that "the inviolable sovereignty of the Baltic peoples was guaranteed in the Alliance."

The cold-blooded technique of the Soviet Russian policy of expansion and violation is exposed nowhere more blatantly than by the fate of the 'Baltic peoples': between September 28 and October 11, 1939, "alliances" were concluded between the Soviet Union and the 3 Baltic States and, at the same time, military bases were ceded by the three Baltic States. On October 31 the Soviet Union again guaranteed the sovereignty of the three Baltic States. On June 15, 1940, after changes in the three governments, Estonia's sea, and Lithuania's land connections with the West were cut by the Soviets. On June 16, 1940, the TASS agency alleged that a league of the three States against the Soviet Union had been discovered. Thereupon the Red Army marched in on June 17, and on August 6 the supreme Soviet proclaimed the union of the 14th, 15th and 16th Soviet Republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.

In 1944, after an interval of four years, the Soviets took up the threads of their interrupted work. Up to date, the number of deportees from the three Baltic States to convict camps in the Arctic and beyond the Urals has reached one and a

half millions, as far as is known. As the original population was 6 millions, the biological substance of these three peoples is immediately and fatally threatened.

This year, too, Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians all remembered the sufferings of their compatriots. In memory of that tragic 14th of June, President Truman sent a message:

"We shall not forget our Baltic friends. We send them, wherever they may be, our sincere hope that they may have the strength and patience to bear the exasperating tyranny they are subjected to, until one day they are able to enjoy freedom and independence."

The day was commemorated in all where members of the Baltic peoples are living. In Paris, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians assembled on June 18, under the auspices of the French Committee for Free Europe and its president Henri Frenay, a former minister. In addition to the Minister, Roger Kaepelen, formerly special correspondent of the "Temps" in Poland, spoke as a delegate of the Committee, as did also Prof. I. G. H. Hoffman and Prof. G. Matore of the Besancon University. M. O. Grosvald, the Latvian Minister, expressed the thanks of the Baltic peoples.

The bulletin issued at the Paris meeting closes with the words: "Half Europe is subjected, more than 100 million peoples are living in slavery, but the free world is aware that the pressure on the Occident which began in June 1940 when France was defeated, now threatens the security and even the existence of Europe." (P.S.)

The Recalcitrant Ukraine

Two Soviet Russian papers, the Moscow "Pravda", and the "Radyanska Ukraina" which appears in Kyiv in the Ukrainian language, discussed the recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. On the agenda there were two themes: The position of agriculture and the party cadres in Ukraine.

In divided rôles the "Radyanska Ukraina", as local party paper, censured the unsatisfactory conditions in agriculture, for instance the destruction caused by insects in the sugar beet crops, and hauled the leading party functionaries over the coals, while the "Pravda" took over the conditions prevailing among the party cadres and their failings, devoting but little space to the abuses in agriculture and showing a more favourable picture than did the "Radyanska Ukraina". Thus, as the Soviet citizen seldom reads more than one paper, the public gets an idea that things are not really so bad.

The "Pravda" report is of course the

more important, handling as it does a critical problem in the security of the communist system, in a country which has always been "difficult" and because after all it reflects the opinions of Moscow resp. the Russian central party and government offices.

The political conditions in Ukraine, one reads, are by no means what the Moscow Politbureau might expect. In many areas almost a third of the secretaries of the district committees, that is to say the backbone of the party, had to be dismissed last year and new men put in their places. It would thus appear that even these trained functionaries are not so true to the party line and are not so firm as the Politbureau supposed them to be.

The question then arises, what may the attitude of the population be, of whose indifference towards ideological and political training the Moscow press continually complains.

Among the 215 holders of chairs for political science, — the core of communist higher education, — there is only one with the degree of doctor and one professor. Significantly, neither a Ukrainian, but both are Russians. Eight years after the reoccupation of Ukraine none of the many Ukrainian academicians could or would occupy that chair, in spite of the tempting prospects of such a position of authority. On the one hand an official Soviet confession of their defective ideological firmness, on the other either reluctance, considering the odium of this post, or a feeling for national honour. Whatever the reason may be, it gives us a significant insight into the situation in Ukraine.

The "Pravda" blames the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for having selected and distributed the cadres badly: 70% of the deputy heads of scientific research institutes have no expert qualifications, with the result that the work in subjects such as history, languages, ethnography, history of art and philosophy are greatly prejudiced, that is, just those subjects which lend themselves to political ideological abuse by the bolshevist system. In this way "Pravda" heaps criticism upon all those institutions and their heads that are in any way responsible: the management of the department of enlightenment and propaganda of the C.C. of the C.P. of Ukraine, the deans of universities in the cabinet, the department of science for the C.C. of the C.P., the committee for cultural and educational institutions in the cabinet and the minister for general education in Ukraine itself. Many of them must put up with the dangerous reproach of bourgeois nationalist distortions in their work.

In a totalitarian state a passive attitude towards the demands made by the system is a sin, and for persons in public life it is perilous.

This passiveness seems wide-spread among the intellectual upper classes in Ukraine. — Involuntarily one is reminded of the quite considerable number of western professional men whose characters were weak enough for them to place themselves more or less openly at the disposal of the Kremlin against the interests of their own countries.

(W.A.Z.)

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny
Vice-President of the Slovak
Liberation Committee.

"Behind Warsaw..."

it was hell!" a German P.O.W. said when he returned a few days ago from the steppes of Turkistan; Polish partisans had attacked his train. "Bullets from fields and woods showered on our train that the Polish partisans had mistaken for a Soviet troop transport. Throughout the journey we had to lie flat on the floor, the tops of the waggons being riddled. The fire came from machine-guns, rifles and light anti-aircraft. We heard the screams of wounded Soviet soldiers who had taken up positions on the armored car and the roofs of the waggons, and were shooting wildly in all directions. But the fire from the dark woods was far heavier."

When they stopped at Posen, the P.O.W.s found that the armored shields on the train guns had been smashed and there were no gunners left. The commander of the accompanying guards reported to headquarters that 25 men were missing. There were several wounded among the survivors. The prisoners heard a Russian officer say that this was the sixth attack within a short time.

People in the West, although living themselves on the brink of the bolshevist whirlpool, are inclined to make light of reports about resistance to bolshevism in the Soviet Union and the states of the Eastern Bloc, calling them emigré exaggerations. It is a fact that the Western press in their lust for sensation have created their own brand of partisan romanticism and paid for it, to pander to their subscribers, without any regard to facts. In consequence of such sensational reports, the outside world has lost all feeling for the sacrifices and suffering in the countries enslaved by bolshevism, borne by populations who still continue their resistance, well aware of its real significance.

It needs something drastic, as the lightning spread of the P.O.W. report proves, to draw the attention of the public to the hard realities of life in the Soviet area. But the daily resistance put up by countless millions behind the Iron Curtain without a shot being fired should not be forgotten. For this, too, is a link in the broad, active front against bolshevism that helps to protect the free world.

Panyushkin goes to Peking ...

Resolute action has always made the men in the Kremlin ill at ease. The peace treaty with Japan, signed in September 1951, in spite of Moscow's protests, and which means Japan's inclusion in the western defence system, nonplussed the Kremlin. It was 9 months later, in June 1952 only, that Moscow announced its answer — "The Congress of Defenders of Peace in the Countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean", to take place in September 1952 in Peking i. e. just a year after the unwelcome treaty.

In this connection it is important to explain the Russian word "mir" which can mean the world, or peace, according to use. In the struggle to reach this aim "mir", the first phase will have been accomplished when the world is conquered; when the second phase begins, peace, as seen by the bolsheviks, the peace of the graveyard will come.

Thirty-five years of the bolshevist system has proved that whoever gives his services for the first phase will certainly find "peace". And yet people have not learned that lesson.

The "Izvestiya" of June 6 reports that in Peking a grand preparatory conference of delegates from 20 countries has just been concluded, after passing a resolution to convene a "Congress of Defenders of Peace in Asia and the Pacific Ocean", with the purpose of strengthening and expanding the movement to defend "mir" (world or peace?). The leading article accuses the West of allowing Japanese militarism to revive, in order to make use of it later against "the national liberation movements" among the peoples of Asia.

It is the U.S.A. which is building up military positions against the bolshevist expansion of "mir" in eastern Asia, that is causing the Soviets to activate their work there. That this announcement has a very real meaning may be seen from an inconspicuous notice on the last page of the same number of the "Izvestiya" which announces the Asiatic peace conference. "Comrade Panyushkin A. S. has been appointed special envoy of the Soviet Union to the Chinese People's Republic."

This lifts the veil of uncertainty that has lain over recent changes in Soviet diplomatic quarters, at least a little. Panyushkin who has had the opportunity in U.S.A. of studying American policy at first hand, has been chosen to make good the Soviet defeat in east Asia (in the Japanese treaty) and to open new doors for the blocked expansion of Bolshevism.

American policy which has so often been played with an unhappy hand in Asia, and entirely missed its opportunity in China, will be faced with enormous difficulties in this area of such decisive importance. (W.A.Z.)

The Volga-Don-Kanal

Strategic or Economic Importance?

There is no mention in the Soviet press of the previous history of the above waterway. As a matter of fact, the Turkish sultan Soleyman (1520—1566) had the possibility of connecting the Volga with the Don examined during his reign, in order to improve communications between the Turkish Empire and the Turkish population living on the Volga. At that time waterways were the most favourable means of transport both for trade and warfare.

After the destruction of Moscow by the Crimean Khan, Dawlet Girej, Sultan Selim II ordered Dawlet Girej to have the canal constructed by troops. The project was frustrated by the successful military operations of the Cossacks, who took the fortress of Asov from the Turks.

Tzar Peter I was the next to take up the plan. Russian expansion in the Crimea, the Caucasus and to Central Asia, however, made its execution superfluous.

The check to Soviet Russian expansion in the first years after World War II caused the Kremlin to consider its realization necessary. Though the standpoint of economic improvement,

in the area between Rostov and Astrachan, plays a great role in this project, the short term building plan leads to the conclusion that military considerations are a decisive factor too. Submarines and small units of the Soviet navy can be sent from the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov and from the Caspian to the White Sea in this way. The existence of the central part of the waterway which is nearing completion also opens up the possibility of moving the ship-yards, i. e. dispersing them.

Better communications mean that the area can be kept in firmer control politically, a fact that has considerable importance in the military strategy of the West.

It is the usual Soviet hypocrisy when they maintain in their "Peace Campaign" that the canal serves merely economic purposes. (G. W.)

A.B.N.-Conference in London

June 17th and 19th, 1952, a conference, convened by the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain, took place in Caxton Hall, London, the motto of which was "For the Defence of the Faith and the Rights of Man and Nations". The aim of the conference was to consolidate the relations with the British friends of the subjected peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

The following lectures were held at the conference:

1) Prof. Rudolf Wierer (Czechia): "The Belief in God and its Importance in the Creation of a New Order in the Countries Occupied by Bolshevism".

2) Dr. Stjepan Buc (Croatia): "Pan-Slavism, its Origin and Disappearance."

3) General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary): "Psychological and Military Basis for Setting Up an Anti-Bolshevist Front from the Forces in the Underground Movements."

4) Yaroslav Stetzko (Ukraine): "A.B.N. Ideals, their Propagation and Attractive Power. — Co-ordination of the Liberation Movements of the Subjugated Peoples with the West."

5) Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky (Slovakia): "Liberation solely of the so-called Satellite States without the simultaneous Liberation of the Peoples in the Soviet Union would lead to Failure."

6) Zenon Pelensky, Editor (Ukraine): "What is Happening Behind the Iron Curtain?"

7) Vasyl Glaskov, Engineer (Cossackia): "Fight of the Subjugated Peoples for their Rights and State Independence."

Lectures by authors who for various reasons were prevented from attending in person were read in English. Opportunity was given after the lectures for discussing different points which greatly contributed to mutual understanding.

Besides the British guests, representatives of the Czechs, Slovaks, Esthonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Cossacks, Georgians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, took part in the conference. Poles, Austrians and Spaniards were present as guests.

A great number of telegrams and congratulations were received. Among them, a long, warm-hearted letter from

From behind the Iron Curtain

BYELORUSSIA

THIS TIME IT IS AGRICULTURE

Dissatisfaction with the activity of Party organizations is an almost daily theme in the Soviet press. The "Pravda" of June 18, 1952, reporting on a meeting of the Central Committee of Byelorussia says:

"It was pointed out at the plenary meeting that many party and state organizations in the Republic were slack in their handling of agriculture. A number of party organizations lacked the necessary energy and failed to follow party and government directives concerning the agrarian economics as strictly as they should..."

The Byelorussian ministry for agriculture and its minister comrade Kostyuk, were sharply criticized for the inadequate preparation of specialist cadres, neglect of repairs to mowing machines and insufficient cooperation with collective farms, as well as the M.T.S. (Machine Tractor Stations).

Members at the plenary meeting pointed out that there were serious defects in the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia and its agricultural department."

COSSACKIA

AGRICULTURAL CARES

Preparations for the harvest are causing Soviet authorities some concern. It has come to light that the repairs to agricultural machines are not yet finished. In the Rostov area more than 30% of the combiners are in need of repair and at many of the tractor pools there is a lack of specialists.

In a leading article in the "Pravda" of June 13, 1952, the alarm is raised and all party and state organizations, as well as the kolkhoze workers, are urged to amend their ways and do their duty, above all to attend to the sufficient storage of corn and fodder. It is well known that thousands of cattle starved last winter in some districts of the Stavropol area, because the cattle-breeding kolkhozes had made insufficient or no preparations for the winter supplies. That fact, which was not disclosed for so long, is now even admitted by the Soviet press.

The irrigation of the fields is meeting with obstacles. Bombastic reports of the progress being made on the Volga-Don Canal cannot close the eyes of the inhabitants to the fact that water has to be fetched daily from the Don by horse cart and motor lorry.

("Pravda" 18. 6. 1952)

the faithful friend of the A.B.N. and a champion of the rights and liberties of the subjugated peoples, Mr. John Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, made a great impression. The President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Yaroslav Stetzko, sent a telegram of greeting from Canada.

Prince de Tokary, Chairman of the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain, took the chair at the conference.

CZECHIA

FRONTIERS SECURED BY RADAR

Special military units are setting up a chain of radar posts along the Bohemian-Bavarian frontier. One of them is on the top of the municipal waterworks at Eger. It is operated by a squad of twelve soldiers and is connected by telephone with the Eger barracks. Another post has been put up in the open field near the village of Stitary.

Feverish activity is to be seen along the frontier where new observation posts are being built, equipped with machine guns, reflectors and rockets. These observation posts are connected by telephone with strong military units.

A twenty meter high watch-tower has been put up on the Heinberg near Asch, connected by telephone to the frontier guards at Nevesa. South of Asch a great number of underground bunkers have been built.

QUOTA DELIVERIES GRADED ACCORDING TO CLASS

Meetings are being held in all the villages at which the speakers try to convince their hearers that they have only then fulfilled their duties as citizens when they have met their deliveries at 100%.

According to instructions from the Ministry for Agriculture the quotas for this year's harvest are based on the yield taken for granted by the plans. The instructions prescribe that the quotas are then to be distributed "according to class", which means that the big peasants have to deliver more than the small peasants — in some cases even the whole yield of the crops — even if the cultivated land is the same size.

EASTERN GERMANY

SEVERER SENTENCES DEMANDED

"Our peoples' judges must pronounce severer sentences so that enemies of the Republic lose all interest in working against the State", was the demand put forward by Dr. H. Töplitz, state secretary in the Soviet Zone Ministry of Justice, when addressing students of the German Law School. Only thorough training in social science, which, in the words of the speaker, had up to now been inadequate, could enable the "functionaries of justice" to pass proper sentences suitable to our whole political and social development.

RESISTANCE INCREASING AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE

Reports from all the provinces in the Soviet Zone tell of the resistance offered by young people against the terrorism of the Soviet regime. These reports find confirmation in the numerous new arrests made by the State Security Service, especially among youthful persons. In Hardenbeck 6 youths were taken into custody accused of having founded an "Anti-Peoples' Police League"; not far from Wittstock 4 others were arrested for allegedly preparing an "armed up-

rising"; at Grimm several young people were accused of working with "warmongering organizations" in West Berlin; at Boizenburg on the Elbe 12 persons were taken, who were said to have formed a "resistance group"; at Halle 6 of the F.D.J. (Free German Youth), among them a group leader, were arrested for resistance against the defence propaganda in the Soviet Zone, and have never been heard of since.

POLICE RECRUITS FROM PRISONS

Discharged prisoners report that recruiting officers of the Peoples' Police have been visiting various prisons in the Soviet Zone to enroll short-term youthful criminals for the military units of the police force. The prisoners are promised immediate release if they volunteer. Good conduct would ensure the obliteration of their criminal records and promotion would not be prejudiced by the prison sentence. (I.W.E.)

GEORGIA

MINISTERS UNWILING TO LEARN

After having criticized the Communist Party of the Georgian S.S.R. in several articles, the "Pravda" of June 6, 1952, proceeds to attack the Georgian minister himself and accuses him of having lost "the taste for learning".

"The theoretical backwardness of the head of the 'Cekavshiri' (Central Association of Georgia — Ed.) is no exception. We find the same state of things in the sphere of political training among the leading men in the liaison offices of the Soviet Union for the Georgian Republic, and many other organizations and ministries.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and its propaganda department have long tolerated the low standard in the matter of theory and have not noticed that Comrade Ruchadse and some other leading personages have made no advance in ideological affairs...

The department for propaganda and enlightenment has shown no interest in improving the political standard of the ministries which are its representatives, the heads of administration and trusts."

The criticism of the central offices in Moscow does not stop at the unwillingness of the leading men in the Soviet republic of Georgia to learn, but accuses them of having encroached upon the property of the collectives and Moscow, thus defrauding the country of its economic yield. An article published in the "Pravda" of June 14, 1952, reports, among other things, that at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of Georgia, the regional and district committees of the party and the state, and agricultural offices of the Republic had not resolutely carried out directives given them by party and government to safeguard kolkhozes from looting and infringement of the statutes of the kolkhozes...

At present the Central Committee is occupied in discovering transgressions against the statutes of kolkhozes and finding out the culprits. The commissions set up under the direction of the Central Committee have detected many cases where state property has been plundered and also offences against the regulations of the collective farms. Not infrequently the responsible district leader has turned out to be the plunderer."

HUNGARY

SOVIET ARMAMENT ORDERS

The State enterprise "Hardware and Machine Tools Factory No. 158" in Budapest formerly the Frommer Arms and Machine Factory, has been attached to the Ministry for Heavy Industry. The plant, which was almost entirely destroyed in the war, was rebuilt at the urge of the Soviets when they occupied the country, so that production began as early as 1947. In summer 1950 reconstruction was finished.

Raw materials — 50% Russian, 50% Hungarian — are delivered direct to the plant either by lorries or railway. Finished weapons leave the factory daily in lorries. Monthly train loads of machine guns, automatic pistols, revolvers and other weapons, as well as machine tools, roll into the Soviet Union. The cases bear the mark H.O.B.X. in Cyrillic letters.

The workmen employed in Department "H" are isolated from the others. They live in the works, are not allowed to leave the premises and have no contact with the outside world. This department is controlled by the A.V.H. and can only be entered by showing a special permit.

LITHUANIA

CHURCH BELLS BECOME SCRAP

In March this year the collection of different metals and iron for Soviet industry was intensified, Soviet fashion, in Lithuania. Inspectors entrusted with the action were expressly ordered to seize metal objects belonging to churches, such as bells and even liturgical articles.

RELIGION IN THE GRIP OF BOLSHEVISM

The consequences of the "World Peace Conference of Churches and Religious Communities" which was held in the Moscow Priests Academy in May, are beginning to be noticed. The first steps to "found a National Catholic Church independent from the Vatican" have been taken by committees set up for the purpose. From recent news coming from Lithuania, it would appear that Roman Catholics are facing black days. The N.V.D. subtly misused the names of the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in that country to further the aims of the World Church Conference i. e. to glorify the communist system and libel and vilify the Vatican and the West.

On May 3, Bishop Paltarokas was taken by force from Vilna to Moscow to be present at the Conference on May 9. Then on May 12, it was officially announced that "Bishop Paltarokas had signed a declaration of gratitude to Stalin in the name of the Church and the people, a declaration of cooperation with the "World Peace Committee", and an appeal to the churches and religious communities everywhere in the world", in which the Vatican is condemned and the West cursed for carrying on germ warfare in Korea and for inciting a new war etc.

By order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, in all town churches, that are not yet closed, solemn services were to be held on May 14, at which the declaration of gratitude to Stalin; the

declaration concerning co-operation with the "World Church Conference", were to be read. Simultaneously further violent attacks against the Vatican were launched.

(Information Lit.)

TURKISTAN

UNPOPULARITY OF KOMSOMOL

The Moscow "Komsomolskaya Prawda" of June 5, 1952, published a report from a correspondent in the Kasakhian S.S.R. on the situation of Komsomol there.

"As early as February 1949 the bureau of the Komsomol of Kasakhstan, on reviewing the statistics for that organization, discovered the disquieting fact that the number of Komsomol members among the kolkhoze workers had diminished. The Central Committee thereupon required the regional committee to see that more kolkhoze members were enrolled."

A year passed and again the Central Committee was forced to acknowledge that the regional committee had "greatly impaired the enrollment of kolkhoze young people in the Komsomol." Whereupon the regional committee was ordered to improve its supervision and correct matters. Another year passed, then in February 1951 the bureau of the Central Committee suggested that the regional committee should discover "the reasons for the falling off in membership of a number of organizations in collective farms and take steps to check it."

In February 1952 the Central Committee complained once more that "enrollment of kolkhoze members in the Komsomol had slackened." And a month and a half later, when the new statistical report came in, the bureau issued a further statement in which 14 district organizations are listed, that in the second half of the previous year not one new kolkhoze member had enrolled in the Komsomol, and that in the present year there were 23 district organizations in which no new kolkhoze members were registered. The bureau calls upon the 10 district committees "to find out the reason for this unsatisfactory development in the district organizations..."

In April more than 80% of the Republic's kolkhoze organizations failed to report any increase in members. Not in 10 but in all 16 districts, the number of kolkhoze members of the Komsomol had diminished...

We were recently at a Komsomol meeting in the 'Voroschilov' kolkhoze in the Ayagusky district. Of the 51 registered members only 9 took part in the meeting... Not one young kolkhoze worker has been enrolled in the Ayagusky district this year.

No Komsomol meetings have been arranged for months, even years, at many of the kolkhozes in the Republic."

FALSE CONCEPTIONS

The Moscow "Pravda" of June 8, 1952, contains a detailed report by their Frunse correspondent, on a recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Kirghiz S.S.R.. A good deal of space in it is devoted to attacks on the "nationalist conceptions" of the historians and writers and their toleration by party organs.

In the lecture and following debates, the question of the backwardness of historical research and literature was widely discussed. Serious errors have occurred in the inter-

pretation of the history of Kirghizia... For a long time bourgeois nationalists, Samanchin, Bektenov and Beydshiev, worked in the field of history and literature and through them many nationalist conceptions were introduced which greatly impeded the advance of historical research.

Professor Bernstam made errors of an anti-marxist character in his work on Kirghizian history...

The progressive rôle of Kirghizia's union with Russia is not noted in the works of these historians.

Mistakes have been tolerated in the reviews of a number of national movements. All insurgency (insurgency against Russia — Ed.) have been called national liberation uprisings, in contradiction to historical fact. For instance, the Andishansky rebellion 1898, which bore a reactionary character, was quite wrongly represented.

Cosmopolitan tendencies are propagated and Russia's part in the development of Kirghizia's culture is under-estimated. It was a serious mistake to publish "The Great Campaign", a fragment from the "Manas" epic, in which reactionary ideas of pan-Islam and pan-Turkism are propagated.

The bureau of the C.C. of the C.P. of Kirghizia has shown a liberal attitude towards all these errors and distortions...

Too little has been written about the great friendship between the Russian and the Kirghiz peoples...

Comrade Imanaliyev, secretary of the Issyk-Kulsky regional committee of the party pointed out that national tendencies had appeared in the association of writers. The autor Tokombayev spread bourgeois-nationalist ideas in his epic "The Years of Bloodshed", in spite of which a new edition has now come out...

The bureau of the Central Committee had kept secret the resolution concerning the detection of bourgeois nationalists employed in the Kirghizian branch of the Academy of Science of the Soviet Union. In January this year the bureau of the Central Committee had removed comrade Orosaliyev, secretary of the C.C. of the C.P. of Kirghizia from his post."

UKRAINE

MOSCOW DISSATISFIED WITH UKRAINE

The Moscow "Pravda" reports on June 6, 1952, that a meeting of the secretaries of regional and village committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, convened by the Central Committee of that Republic, had taken place at Kyiv. The chief speaker Comrade Melnikov, the Russian secretary of the Central Committee, had to announce the dissatisfaction felt by the Moscow offices at conditions in Ukraine and the low standard of ideological work in the villages."

The effect of what Moscow calls the inadequate grasp of communist ideology in Ukraine's villages are indeed considerable and have an injurious influence on agriculture there. In the previous year alone 27% of the heads of the district departments for agriculture were dismissed their posts and new men put in, who were not selected for expert knowledge but for their political reliability. The consequences of this policy are only mentioned by "Pravda" in one sentence. "There are extraordinarily few agrarian experts among the heads of the kolkhozes."

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Importance of the Insurgent Forces

By General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak

When, in the Spring of the year 1944, the Soviet Armies had broken through the German lines and their spearheads approached the Hungarian borders, I received orders from the Hungarian High Command to march with the already mobilised units of the 6th Hungarian Army Corps into the Carpathian Mountains, and to defend the country against invasion by the Bolshevik forces.

A few days after the receipt of this order, detachments of the 6th Army Corps were already marching up through the dense forests of the wooded Carpathian Mountains, on main and ancillary roads covered in places with snow about two feet deep, the bridges and passes of which were, to a great extent, badly damaged and needing repair.

Besides the difficulties caused by the roughness of the ground and unfavourable weather conditions, the advance of the Hungarian Detachments was hindered by the activities of partisans who kept them under continuous fire from the 6,000—7,000 feet high mountain ranges.

These partisan activities behind the entire front line of the Army Corps did not cease after the advance and after the building of defence positions had been completed.

In May 1944 the partisans carried out thirty-six surprise attacks, some heavy, some light, mostly at night, against supply units, H.Q.s and artillery positions. Important bridges were blown up in some places, the guards disappeared, and the partisans employed not only machine guns, but even

mortars in these skirmishes, in consequence of which life there became a living hell.

Against surprise attacks of this nature not only military institutions behind the front-line, but even reserve units were helpless, as to climb mountain peaks occupied by partisans would have taken 4—5 hours and during that time the partisans would already have moved off elsewhere, only to continue their activities from other peaks. They concealed themselves sometimes with such skill that it was impossible to discover their hide-outs.

To return the partisans fire with artillery or infantry was rarely possible, as one could not definitely ascertain the direction of their surprise attacks which were carried out in a matter of minutes. It was unthinkable to withdraw troops from the rather thinly-occupied first front-line, thus exposing them to the danger of being annihilated in the fight with the partisans, as the guarding and safeguarding of bridges, depots, railway lines and important junctions behind the front lines needed, in any case, considerable forces.

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Moscow's Steam-Roller Turns . . .

Eastern Germany — A New Satellite

On Whitsunday the government of the German Democratic Republic (D.D.R.) introduced measures to isolate the Soviet Zone completely from the Federal Republic of West Germany. The outward and visible sign was the evacuation of the border villages, sharper controls at the borders, and more barbed wire and searchlights, as well as arbitrary interruptions in normal frontier traffic and transport of goods. To cap all, a wide strip of no-man's land was made, in order to separate the two parts of Germany and cut the bolshevist east block from the rest of the world.

The excuse given for the proceedings was, that with the signing the contractual agreement and the agreement on the European army the integration of the Federal Republic with the West had begun and made protective measures necessary for the D.D.R. The population of East Germany even had to request these measures in "voluntary" resolutions etc.

Such proceedings have undoubtedly given some circles in West Germany the appearance at least of being right, when they declared that the negotiations between the German Federal Chancellor and the western powers for the inclusion of the German Federal Republic in the defence system of the free world would lead to counter measures by the Soviets, for it would be regarded by them as putting on pressure. But in this they are taking a tactical, dialectic, short-term manoeuvre as a real change in the attitude of the Soviets towards Germany, and

in their systematic foreign policy. This conception means, too, the complete disregard of developments in Germany since 1945, as reflected in the behaviour of the Soviets towards that country. For the illusionists who believe in the possibility of a united Germany being attained by the Soviets' voluntary renunciation of their east German political, economic and military bases, the contemplation of such facts is unpleasant.

For their better understanding they should study the answer given by a former Soviet colonel, G. A. Tokayev, now lector at the London University, to a question on the subject, that was asked by a paper appearing in Sweden. Tokayev closes his remarks by saying "Let no one cherish the illusion that the U.S.S.R. will ever withdraw voluntarily from Germany. They may acquiesce in many things, but never in an independent German State".

The Soviet government itself has shown in the last few weeks how very little they care for the alleged aim of a reunited Germany, the withdrawal of the occupation troops etc., for, instead of an exchange of notes with the Western Allies concerning concrete negotiations, the II party conference of the S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) decided on July 12, 1952 — two days after the third note by the western powers to Moscow — on the "organization of armed forces" and the "building up of socialism" in the Soviet Zone with the object of its development into a "People's Democracy".

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Turkistan is Not Alone

The Success of an Appeal

The appeal by the National Turkestanian Unity Committee to the Islamic world, on March 24, 1952 ("A.B.N. Correspondence" No. 5 published the appeal in its English and German editions, Ed.), not to forget the Turkestanian people in the Soviet Union and to rally to their help, has found an enthusiastic echo in all Islam. The leading newspapers of Jordania, Saudi-Arabia, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt have taken up the cry and sounded the alarm for all the Islamic peoples outside the Iron Curtain.

The President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Veli Kajum Khan, has had the following statement published in No. 78, B of the N.T.E.K. journal, "Miliy Turkistan" ("National Turkistan"):

The appeal of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.) to the Islamic peoples of the 24th of March, has met with great enthusiasm among the peoples of the world and especially in the Islamic countries. The Islamic peoples have at once made known the appeal in their official newspapers as well as by means of the radio, and in different towns in the Arab world meetings have taken place. The headings in the newspapers were: "Cries for help from 25 million tortured Moslems in Turkistan", "The Turkestanian people asks for the help of the Moslem brethren".

The tragedy of the Turkestanian people, outlined by this appeal and due wholly to Russian imperialism has excited the Islamic world. Our Islamic brethren did not let the matter rest there but went one step further and as we are informed, they will, on account of the proposals, of the N.T.U.C., form a Committee of investigation in Damascus, to investigate the conditions in Turkistan. For this purpose a conference will be convoked by the Islamic governments to discuss how to help the Turkestanians in their fight for liberation from the Russian yoke. They

will also send a note of protest to Russia.

These efforts show most clearly how intimate are the connections between the Islamic peoples. It is also known to the Islamic peoples that the Turkestanian people does not fight only for its own independence, but also for the preservation of Islamic culture and for the defence of our Islamic religion.

1. *The N.T.U.C. asks all Islamic peoples and the free world to support these efforts and to contribute to the realisation of the proposals made in the appeal.*
2. *We ask the Islamic representatives in the U.N. to put forward the tragedy of Turkistan in the meetings of the U.N.*
3. *We ask the Western democratic world to support the steps of the Islamic countries.*
4. *We will thank our Islamic brethren for their understanding and their support of their tortured Islamic brethren in Turkistan.*

V. Kajum-Khan

President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee

Resolutions of the Central Committee of A.B.N.

On August 1, 1952 the Central Committee of the A.B.N. held a meeting at which the questions of building up the A.B.N. in England, Germany and Canada were discussed and resolutions passed.

One important resolution concerned the convening of the General Congress of the A.B.N. this year. It is to be in connection with a congress of free peoples and in collaboration with other well-known anti-bolshevist organizations of the western peoples. At the Congress of the A.B.N., the A.B.N. Freedom Manifesto will be signed.

Representatives, Branches and Local Cells of the A.B.N.

The General Congress of our organization will take this year. Increasing your activities, prepare your reports.

Moscow's Steam Roller Turns...

Continued from Page 1

The transition to "socialism" in the dialectical ideological sense means the realization of the intermediate step to communism, politically, through integration with the East, the inclusion of half Germany with its 18 million in the East bloc system.

Facts followed quickly on the resolution. The pattern is so familiar that the statement of a few measures was sufficient: the five German laender, Brandenburg, Saxon-Anhalt, Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg were rolled out, i. e. they dissolved themselves "voluntarily" into 14 areas and 217 districts, into anonymous planned squares, in which the bolshevist campaign of extermination and destruction now begins viz. the abolition of private property and plants, the bleak collectivization of agriculture, destruction of independent craftsmanship, nationalization of industry with its attendant Stakanov system and political pressure at every level of public and private life. The Catholic and Protestant Churches have already been made to feel the "change of climate".

Anyone who, in the face of these events, still speaks of the duty of "reuniting Germany" has not learned, or not wanted to learn anything from the experiences of 1944 and 1945, even if they have not watched the history of bolshevism, that is to say the current events since 1917, for now a development begins to unfold which has been practised in a number of states in north, north-east, south-east and central Europe, and the task of the future can only be "the liberation of the lost", as a well-known journalist has called it but no talk of "reuniting".

For the chicken-hearted the vague chance remains open that the Kremlin despots are sufficiently disillusioned not to see in their S.E.D. functionaries in East Berlin, representatives of the German people, or in the process now being introduced, a final unmasking of a definite strategy, but a blackmailing manoeuvre against the Federal Republic and the western powers.

These illusions are faced with the bitter knowledge that in east Germany by "peaceful methods", that has been achieved for which men are fighting in Korea, Indo-China, Burmah, Malaya, the steady pushing forward of tributary areas, so that when the decisive conflict with the free world comes, the front line fight can be waged to keep the "inside" line immune from any reaction.

P. S.

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The Liberation is Indivisible

The Liberation of the Soviet Satellites is Impossible Without Simultaneous Freeing of the Peoples of U.S.S.R.

By Professor Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Double-faced World Menace

The extension and intensity of the present political crisis is the result of a symbiosis between Moscow's imperialism on the one hand and the representatives of communist ideology on the other. If, for the representatives of Moscow's imperialism, its advance is the aim, and the spreading of communism the method, the missionaries of communism on the other hand see in the growth of Moscow's potential a suitable precondition for the establishment of communist regimes in the whole world. Therefore the countries serving bolshevist aims are most closely connected with Moscow. The aims of Moscow's imperialism and communism are so closely linked that a differentiation between them does not seem to be justified. As the executors and representatives of these aims are the same persons, having the Kremlin as their headquarters, a split or even contradiction between them is unthinkable.

The world has for years had the opportunity to see that without the help of the communists, Moscow's imperialism could not have reached its present expansion, and communism on the other hand, could not have extended as it has without the absolute support which it has found in Moscow. It is just this inseparable association which has caused the present insecurity.

From the above facts the Liberation Movements draw this lesson: no difference should be made among the nations in respect to the time when Moscow succeeded in subjugating them. From today's point of view this is an unimportant detail. More important is it to realise that the fight against Moscow's imperialism must be linked with the fight against communist ideology and vice versa. Without the defeat of both there can be no lasting peace.

Camouflaged Despotism

Moscow's empire is not a product of our days; we can follow its growth for centuries, from a small Duchy to the subjugation of one quarter of the world's surface and one third of the world's population. Russia is the nucleus, its centre is Moscow. After the revolution the Soviet took over what Russia had succeeded in subjugating up to 1917. The system of satellite countries is just another form of imperialism, fitted to present day conditions. Though the form of incorporation may be different at the moment, there is no difference between the former Russian and the present Soviet aims.

Judging the problem theoretically, there is, no doubt, a difference from the point of view of International Law between the various Soviet republics

forming part of the Soviet Union and the states called Satellites. From this theoretical point of view Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. are theoretically independent, whereas Latvia, Estonia, Armenia, Aserbaijan are within the U.S.S.R.

But in international politics there is no great difference between these two groups of states, except that traditional international views give greater possibilities to the Satellites for pushing the Kremlin's aims than to the member republics of the U.S.S.R. But even this difference disappears, for instance in the case of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics, because they are members of the United Nations. Judging the situation of Moscow's satellites and the soviet republics within the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of political possibilities, it becomes obvious that there is no difference between the position of Prague, Warsaw or Budapest on the one side and Kyiv, Minsk or Riga on the other. They cannot do anything but fulfil Moscow's orders. Of course, having an advantage from it, Moscow is interested in maintaining these theoretical differences.

The Iron Curtain Unjustified

The present border — the Iron Curtain — is without any greater natural justification than was the border between the free world and the U.S.S.R. in 1938, which was only the result of the then prevailing power conditions in East Europe.

By the unlawful and violent change of her borders, incorporating half Europe, Moscow has lost the title to the 1938 borders. To consolidate the political degradation of the nations of Central and South-East Europe and of the Baltic to the status of nations within the U.S.S.R., Moscow created political and moral grounds for taking up and solving the problematical right of existence of the Soviet empire, ruling with Bolshevik despotism a large number of nations.

The present unnatural political situation is not a product of the Russian nation's power, but only a consequence of possibilities with which Moscow disposes, as a result of her rule over a mosaic of nations. Only through the subsequent subjugation of scores of nations did it gain its present possibilities.

World Expansion in Laps

The subjugation of Byelorussia, Poland and the Baltic nations makes Moscow the dominant power on the Baltic Sea. The subjugation of Hungary, Slovakia, Albania and Czechia enables Moscow to exert pressure upon Germany, Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia and Greece. The subjugation of Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria and Caucasus gives

her such a dominant position on the Black Sea that she can start to plan making it a Russian sea. The subjugation of the nations living on both sides of the Caucasus, and Caspian and Aral Seas and up to Lake Baikal, gave Moscow the possibility of exerting pressure upon Turkey, Iran, Iraq, India and China. So the Soviets are able to prepare their expansion to the Mediterranean Sea, North Africa and the Middle East.

This mosaic of nations, subjugated by Moscow and living in an area of over 3 million square miles, constitutes the basis of the political and economic power of the Kremlin. It is known that the most important raw materials and therefore also industrial centres are situated on territories inhabited by these nations. This is why the free world must be interested in the liberation of these nations if it wants to get rid of the threat to world peace.

At the end of World War I, many politicians hoped that Moscow would limit her aims to the territories of former Tsarist Russia. Again, after World War II, they hoped that she would confine herself to the incorporation of Central and South-East Europe. And the free world was even prepared to accept it. But for Moscow it was a welcome opportunity for increasing her potential, in order to prepare further pressure in the service of bolshevist messiahism.

All this contributed to raising the self-importance of the Kremlin men to such an extent that a withdrawal of the Soviets behind the 1938 borders became unimaginable. Moscow's influence would not stop, even if she decided to withdraw formally. Moscow's pressure upon the satellite countries would be brought to an end only if simultaneously the other nations, held with violence under the Soviet yoke, were liberated.

The political system introduced in the countries behind the Iron Curtain is so ruthless and despotic that one cannot expect its breaking down in a normal way. The only way out of the present situation is Moscow's withdrawal, or pushing her back to the Russian ethnic border. Only then can the world attain stability and conditions for a lasting peace. Because it is impossible to maintain peace without the liberation of the scores of nations subjugated by Moscow, the free world has every right to be interested in their fate. There can be no world peace as long as the nations dominated by Moscow are not free.

Conditions for World Peace

These seas have always been the best means of communication. By sea the nations could most easily exchange their products, and also new ideas

Church Against Bolshevism

By Prof. Rudolf Wierer, L.L.D.

Characteristic Soviet Religious Policy

The practical religious policy of the Soviets is characteristic in the various ways in which it tries to annihilate religious feelings and national consciousness.

The Soviets have directed their hatred chiefly against the Eastern Rite of the Catholic Church. The reasons for this satanic persecution are clear. The Ukrainian Catholic Church is the largest and most important body among the Eastern Catholic Churches. It is both the source of inspiration and the focus of independent thought and feeling for Ukrainians. Unfortunately the Bolsheviks with the cunning sophistry of their dialectic have, till now, always found ears ready to listen to their lying propaganda, and it is relatively easy to make members of non-Ukrainian Orthodox Churches mistrust the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Soviets began their persecution of that Church immediately after the second occupation of the Western Ukraine in 1944. 250 Priests fled westwards; the great old man of Western Ukraine, the Metropolitan, Archbishop Count Andreas Sheptytzky died on November 1st, 1944, we must presume a violent death, and the clergy were persecuted.

could most rapidly spread. Therefore the principles of progress and freedom spread first among the maritime nations, and only later did they reach the inland nations. Therefore the liberation of the Central European nations came later than that of the Balkan nations and America, and it has not been possible hitherto to liberate the nations between the Ural and Carpathians, and between the Caspian Sea and Lake Baikal, but it is not uncommon to find in the free world people who even regard the subjugation of the nations as something natural.

It is in the interest of progress, and freedom, and is even a condition for peace, that the ideas which enabled the free world to develop should extend also to those territories which have been artificially kept in isolation from their influence. Because only through their realisation throughout the world, will the free nations be able to enjoy the fruit of progress and freedom without restraint. The liberation of the nations subjugated by Moscow is a condition for maintaining the freedom of the nations which are free today. The liberation of the subjugated nations is necessary for creating conditions under which world peace can be maintained. This is not only a thesis without a practical and realistic goal. The free nations, by becoming unfaithful to the principles to which they owe their own development, and by making a compromise with tyranny, themselves contributed to the creation of the present situation.

To be continued

After some months the Bolsheviks in power imprisoned all the Bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Western and Subcarpathian Ukraine. These revered men, led by the distinguished man and scholar, Metropolitan Josef Slipy, were sentenced in 1946. The Bishops were condemned to imprisonment, but by 1950, five out of eleven had already died or been killed. It is probable that others are suffering martyrdom to this very day. The place of these Bishops was taken by faint-hearted priests who, by March 1947, had completely usurped the position of the sentenced and liquidated men, declaring that the Union with Rome was revoked. This apostacy has not been acknowledged by the clergy and people faithful to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and it was followed by a new wave of persecution. By 1950 there were about eight hundred people who had died for the Christian faith. In the Satellite States the persecution was the same: In Slovakia the entire Diocese of Presov was annihilated: in Tito's Yugoslavia persecution continues despite the facts that the Titoists find it opportune to appear democratic.

Bolshevik policy towards the Latin Rite of the Catholic Church is also characteristic. At the start of Communist rule we see a certain circumspect tendency in their dealing with Satellite States. Their aim is to lull the caution of the Catholic hierarchy, but there have always been certain facts sufficient to give alarm to every Catholic. In Poland, the Bierut puppet regime abolished the valid Concordate between the Holy See and the Polish Government. Nevertheless the Bolsheviks and their fellow-travellers explained away this decisive step as political action against the "reactionary" members of the Polish Clergy. Some months later, a similar subterfuge was used, in spite of Western protests, in the case of the valiant Archbishop of Zagreb Stepinac. He was arrested, tried and imprisoned on a false charge of "collaboration". In this way the Communists tried to absolve themselves and make themselves out to be the liberators of the Church. In Czechoslovakia, under a masked, half-Bolshevik regime, (1945-1948) persecution of Catholics was declared to be a struggle against "Collaborators". Thus they were able to disguise the death sentence on Msgr. Dr. Jozef Tiso, President of the Slovak Republic. After the Coup d'Etat in February 1948, when the Bolshevik regime was unmasked, the Government started with a certain appearance of pretended sympathy towards the Church. The new President, K. Gottwald, attended Divine Service after his election in June, 1948. But the persecution started a little later and several Bishops were victims. Archbishop Beran of Prague, Bishop Hlouch of Budejovice from the Czech side, the Slovak Bishops Vojtassak, Skrabik and

Buzalka, are examples of heroic men who are left to languish in prison. In Szenty was sent to prison. These are only very well-known men who now suffer martyrdom for the Truth, but there are thousands of others, priests and laity, who are persecuted and suffer, unknown to the world. As the education of the clergy is controlled, and as they become more under the influence of the Communist ideology, the persecution becomes more intensive. There is a certain danger in this influence as Communism is often represented not in its brutal materialist and atheistic form which it bears in practice, but in the guise of national and progressive ideas.

Concessions with an Ulterior Aim

The Orthodox Church in Soviet countries has undergone terrible persecution. The brutality of the Soviet religious policy was however softened in the thirties and was moderate during the II World War. During that time political requirements demanded an intensive stir up of nationalism, and made it expedient that there should be a degree of superficial renaissance for religion. To-day the policy of the Bolsheviks is still to strengthen Soviet moral influence by using the Orthodox Church. Therefore certain concessions are still maintained. It has always been a leading principle of the Soviets that Church and State must be completely separated, but the use of Churches in old Soviet Territory is tolerated, and men are free to worship within the walls of their churches. But this purported liberty is no true religious liberty which should consist firstly of liberty of conscience and opinion, secondly of liberty of cult, and thirdly, liberty of religious association. Although the Soviet Union is supposedly tolerant, the first and fundamental religious liberty has been utterly destroyed, for the ordinary citizen is compelled every day to act against the voice and beliefs of his conscience: neither is there any liberty to express an opinion. If the second liberty is very restricted, the third liberty, that of religious association, has been almost completely taken from the Church, which can neither organize charities nor give instruction to young people. In schools, in particular, no religious instruction can be given. For all that the Bolsheviks display a friendly attitude towards the Orthodox Church, the Soviet Government has firmly kept to its decision that religious instruction of the young — except in the family — is barred by an order, which forbids the religious instruction of young people below the age of 18. Moreover the Church cannot organize libraries of religious books or publish a religious press. Thus all concessions made by the government in favour of the Patriarchate of Moscow (for example the licence to publish

Importance of the Insurgent Forces

Continued from Page 1

Partisans a Second Front Line

Thus there came into existence, behind the front line of the 6th Army Corps, a second front line, about 100 kms. in depth and width, which completely transformed the character of the warfare, and caused great anxiety and heavy losses.

Similar activities were experienced in the Korean war, where General Mac Arthur was compelled to use one-third of the U.N. Forces to defeat the Red Partisans. We may assume that the battles of the second front line in the anticipated Third World War will be of great importance.

Hungarian Units and U.P.A.

To return to the fighting of my Army Corps, on two front lines, I have to mention that this ghastly struggle did not last long, as we discovered, fortunately in a fairly short time, that the Partisan groups fighting in the moun-

tains did not recruit Red Partisans or soldiers of the Red Army who managed to infiltrate through our sparsely occupied first line, but recruited mostly members of the Units of the Ukrainian Insurrection Forces (U.P.A.) who fought at the same time against the Soviet, as well as against the German Army, both of whom spelt danger to their country. These Partisans did not realise that the Hungarian Forces were employed on the front in order to defend their country against Bolshevism, without intending to endanger the best possible friendly relations with their Ukrainian neighbours.

These insurrection forces did not know anything of the wish of the Hungarian Army to co-operate closely, in a spirit of complete understanding

and support, with the Ukrainian fighters for freedom, which was to the mutual interest of both parties.

After the Hungarian Command had succeeded in clarifying the situation between the Hungarians and Ukrainians, a meeting was arranged between the two parties.

After this agreement the Hungarian Units had, in fact, only to fight against the Soviet Russian Army, while the task of the U.P.A. groups was to fight the Red Partisans and infiltrating groups, maintain close communications with other U.P.A. groups acting behind the Soviet-Russian lines, notify the Hungarian Army of every movement of the Russians and, if need be, to attack the Russians in conjunction with the Hungarian Units. The provision of arms, ammunition, wireless sets, food and medical treatment was the task of the Hungarian Army. Thus the activities of the Ukrainians and the Hungarians were co-ordinated.

Thus we succeeded in ensuring that peace prevailed in the Western valleys of the Carpathian Mountains and that valuable co-operation was established. When the Hungarian Army was compelled to withdraw, due to the general situation, the U.P.A. undertook to cover this retreat and did it, so efficiently that it was possible to complete it successfully within three days.

Fifth Column is Second Front Line for Russia

My experiences on the battlefield provide a characteristic example of warfare on two fronts. Those experiences of an Army Corps on a front line, on a comparatively small scale, point a moral applicable to the war of the

future, the main characteristics of which will be fighting on two fronts.

This war is already in progress. We learn from the papers daily that behind the present front line — in Korea and Indo-China only, for the time being — there exists and fights a second front line in the form of the Fifth Column, which is expanding throughout the whole world. I need mention here only the struggle for atomic energy supremacy, the spy trials, the underground activities of the Communists, the political murders, etc., which take place, and are directed, beyond a doubt, from a common central organisation.

This means war in truth, but only the Soviet Union exploits the main weapons of this war; she alone endeavours to cause confusion everywhere in order to penetrate to places where she could not yet reach without the Red Army, or where she — for the time being — does not intend to penetrate.

During the past decades the Soviet Union, through her own experiences, has had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the far-reaching significance of internal destructive forces. These forces were the cause of the catastrophic outcome of the Russian-Japanese War, and the collapse and dissolution of the Russian Empire after the First World War, right on the threshold of Russian victory.

In the light of the above-mentioned facts, the Soviet Union deemed it necessary to organize before the Second World War, thousands of Red Partisans in order to use them in the event of a future war, against the people, should it occur to them to demand freedom and independence — as the Russian Colonel Kalinov says in his book entitled "Soviet Marshals".

These desperate millions constitute the second front of the West, a great power in itself, created by the tyranny of the Soviet Union, which tramples on all that is good and beautiful.

Carroll on a Nationalities in Russia

Wallace Carroll, an expert in the psychology of warfare, director of the U.S. F.B.I. in the European Theatre of the Second World War, states in one of his works that there is a hitherto unwritten paragraph of the history of the recent years which must be studied by the Americans without delay, and most profoundly, with the aid of the abundant material provided by the German Military Archives.

It is quite clear to Wallace that the Soviet Union is a country inhabited by many nationalities who, for centuries, have fought for their freedom and independence.

This question has placed all nations at war with Russia in a dilemma, but to-day there is no doubt that the support or neglect of these peoples striving for their freedom may make an ally, or an enemy of a hundred million

a periodical) are suspect. The purpose of this benevolence is only to attract Orthodox believers in non-Soviet countries and even certain Protestants who believe that it would be possible to persuade many Eastern Christians to form a religious Union between the East and the West. The Orthodox Church is also used as a tool for propagating separation from Rome. In Czechoslovakia they introduced the Orthodox Metropolitan Jeleferij. He obtained Czechoslovakian citizenship (for he is Russian, and was a Soviet citizen) so that he might weaken the other Churches in Czechoslovakia, especially the Catholic Church. In those countries, however, where there is no opportunity for misusing Orthodox sympathies in order to break down religious opinion, the Orthodox Church is still persecuted, although not as ostentatiously as it was thirty years ago. This is how the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, that magnificent organization renewed by the great martyr, Vasyl Lypkivsky, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, has been treated.

Terrorisation of all Religious Communities

Bolshevik terror seeks to exterminate every religious community: Christians, Moslems, Jews and others, all know of the barbarous destruction of the brave Caucasian Moslems, the suppression of the Turkestan Moslems, and last but not least, the campaign against the Jews, disguised to-day under insinuations against Trotskyism and Zionism. These phrases may be heard equally in the U.S.S.R. or Czechoslovakia.

It is clear then that every religious man must struggle against Bolshevik atheism, that he must warn others of his creed of its dangers, and tell them of the guile with which the Bolsheviks approach religious questions.

We must make it impossible in the future for men such as Hewlett Johnson to be led astray by Communism, or Moslems to be the dupes of Soviet agitators. We must stand together in the defence of our ideals and faith.

people. Faults and mistakes committed in this respect in the course of the last war led to fatal consequences.

The German assault against the East proved that although millions of people were ready to fight on the German side, when they discovered that they had been disappointed in their hopes, they turned against the Germans. In case of War — says Wallace — we have to do all that lies in our power to use these peoples in a struggle against their oppressor. In the East, one has to operate with ideals of freedom instead of atomic bombs; one has to set free the energy of peoples demanding independence, so as to enable them to crush tyranny and to organise their own way of life in accordance with their needs.

Finally Wallace says that the ways and means of the use of the Air Force will decide whether the millions of peoples oppressed by the Soviet Union become our friends — or the defenders of Moscow.

Wallace fully realised the strength and significance of the second, internal front.

Major General J. F. C. Fuller's opinion of this question is rather similar. In his book "How to Defeat Russia" he states that the Third World War is already in progress. He demands the support by every means of the Resistance Movements and that of the Partisan Forces beyond the Iron Curtain, and the opening of a "Moral Offensive".

Major General Fuller refers to the importance of the insurgents of the Second World War and points out that those anti-bolshevik forces were able to harass permanently the Russian supplies and lines of communication, which may be a fact of far-reaching significance in a future war. The mightier these revolutionary forces are, the weaker will be the will to fight, and the slower the advance of the Soviet Union.

These are the weaknesses of the Soviet Union, in spite of the fact that its arms are powerful and the country itself is pretty invulnerable.

To attain liberation, it is not sufficient to carry on with anti-bolshevik propaganda. It is essential, on the eve of the great day of reckoning, to set against the devilish Bolshevik ideology a positive strategic object and a so-called "Western Ideology" which — in my opinion — could only be the ideals of the "Cross of Freedom".

The Bolshevik danger to the world must be tackled from every possible angle. In this respect, the most substantial factor for ensuring victory can be expected from the subjugated peoples. It is of great importance to win over the soldiers serving under pressure in the Soviet Army, and the co-operation of the above-mentioned revolutionary forces. The number of these can be expected to be a million, and, if need be, an Army of one million behind the

Resolutions

We, present at the A.B.N. Conference in London on 17th and 19th June, 1952, have resolved that:

1) The Kremlin clique achieved their power by murder, cruelty, persecution of the churches, mass massacres and by enslaving the free nations.

2) The same clique, building their fifth column to infiltrate their propaganda, — based on materialism and absence of any faith in God, — among the nations of the Free World is determined to extend their imperialism all over the world by cold or hot war.

3) Russian communism is dangerous through its destructive doctrines and its imperialism, to all the freedom loving peoples.

Our object is: —

1) To reveal the true aim of Russian communist autocracy and to organize forces and support anti-communist movements.

2) To counter communist propaganda in the Free World countries and behind the Iron Curtain, by a rebirth of religious life, national ideas and tradition contrary to communist godless doctrines dominated by Russian chauvinistic imperialism.

3) To recognize the right of freedom and independence for all nations within the U.S.S.R., based on A.B.N. principles and for other countries suppressed by communist autocracy.

We, aware that there is no prospect for lasting peace unless the freedom for all nations and individuals is trampled down, are prepared to counteract Bolshevism, now, together with all nations, whether in captivity under Communist tyranny or in the Free World.

First Soviet front line could decisively influence the outcome of a war. But we must not forget that these could also hinder operations should they not be provided with adequate instructions — and these forces deserve the greatest possible support by the West, as they could, if need be, save the lives of thousands of Western soldiers.

The Key to Victory

It is a well-known fact nowadays that the Soviet Union, with the aid of the Fifth Column of the Communist Parties functioning without hindrance in every country, is able to cause civil wars, chaos and restlessness. Its goal is obvious: *the Soviet Union endeavours to engage the attention of the West on the outlying fronts in time of war and to cause the greatest possible confusion in Korea, China and in the territories of the Western Countries.* By means of the Iron Curtain, the Soviet Union shuts itself away from the West in order to prevent the East becoming acquainted with the West, and to stop the West obtaining any knowledge of the horrible regime of the Soviet. Thus it becomes possible for Soviet propaganda freely to agitate and lie and to inform the world according to its own needs and to make even the West believe that its assertions are indeed true.

Against this, the West will only be able to conclude its war victoriously if it does not delay in establishing a powerful Western second front, to co-ordinate with the oppressed peoples for the achievement of political and strategic ends, to proclaim the ideal of freedom and to attack the foundations of the Bolshevik world danger of Moscow.

In all parts of the Soviet Union great masses of the opponents of the hated regime — many in the Red Army and even in the terror-organisations — await the great moment when they can take up arms against tyranny. The future will show how significant this internal resistance — the second front of the West — will be.

The key to victory is still in the hands of the West to-day.

Bolshevism works hard with the most cruel weapons and strictly to timetable. It uproots its real and imaginary enemies according to plan.

There IS resistance to-day: It is possible to win souls to-day! Therefore now is the time to make the necessary arrangements, because further delay may lead to the ruin of the entire world.

The Day will Dawn

We, Representatives of the Peoples subjugated in their home countries; We, who have joined forces under the slogan "Viribus Unitis" prepare in spirit for the great day when the sun of liberty will rise again. This day has to come at last, and it will come the more surely for the darkness and hopelessness of our present night.

The memories of our glorious past haunt the burnt-out ruins of our homes, memories which live in our hearts, as well as in the mountains and woods of our countries.

The Justice of history is more powerful than the strength of the Devil's disciples on earth. We may rest assured that the day of the triumph of Justice will dawn.

In this firm belief, we pray to the Almighty for His Blessing on our work — our countries, and our swords.

Profanation of Our Subjugated Peoples

Falsehood and Slander in the Service of Russian Imperialists

"Calomniez, calomniez, on y restera toujours quelque chose" (Don Basilio).

"Slander and again slander till in the end something clings", this classical saying of Don Basilio's seems to form the basis of the latest weapon employed by our enemies, used the oftener against the A.B.N. and our peoples' fight for liberty, the more our more convincing our ideas become in the eyes of western opinion. For this oft tried weapon the Russian imperialists seek out tools worthy of it.

The information service of the emigrant organization N.T.S., "R.I.A. Correspondence", in its last numbers serves its readers with a series of special supplements which outdo one another in lies, travesties and libels against our peoples' struggle and their representatives in the A.B.N. In the introduction to one of these supplements No. 20/52 of June 9, 1952, the editor of "R.I.A. Correspondence" says he is "particularly pleased" at being able to publish another article in the series which has been specially written by the former Czech diplomat, Mr. Jacques O. Grezer, who is now a well-known publicist."

All the same, it looks as if the shoes of these imperialists of N.T.S. were beginning to pinch, for in the aforesaid introduction to the article it says: "The political situation is so today that the question of the so-called anti-bolshevist tactics of the A.B.N. appears more than ever before on the agenda."

The question of this prominent Czech "diplomat" and "publicist" will be discussed below. Although his personal and publicist ethics are such that they do not deserve serious consideration, we feel it necessary to give a few examples of what his "publicist" work is like, in order to show the public what means the Russian imperialists stoop to, in their propaganda against us, and from what muddy waters the "arguments" of the Russian imperialists are fished.

First, the great joke: the articles by this extraordinary writer have headings like "Alfred Rosenberg's Pupils", "Policy of Madness", "The A.B.N. — the Trojan horse of Bolshevism". All this noise is directed, of course, against the liberation movements of our peoples, whose claim for release from the bolshevist yoke is labelled madness. Doubtful American sources are quoted, representing us as disgruntled savages, impelled by racial hatred only against Russians; we are not antibolshevist, but rather anti-semitic, anti-democratic, anti-federalist. "Deception and Lies" are alleged to be the weapons of the A.B.N., which, moreover, is infiltrated by communist agents, working for Stalin. The author of this undignified article quoted by the "R.I.A. Correspondence" even presumes to speak in name of America, flatly declaring with regard to our liberation movement, "Allies that we do not want". We have only one answer to this: the A.B.N. and its members wish still less to have the support of such obscure elements who can sink so low as to play the part of desecrators of our peoples.

But the "well-known Czech diplomat and publicist" has more magic weapons in store for us. He quotes the notorious Hermann Rauschnik and makes long excursions into

Hitler's and Rosenberg's eastern policy to prove that our ideals were hatched out in the nazi Ministry for the East and for that reason alone to be repudiated. He says that the realization of the principle of national freedom for our peoples would work out as a "Morgenthau Plan" for Russia, and it would be just as paradoxical and inadmissible to restore their freedom to the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. as, for instance, to break the German Federal Republic up into 16 separate and independent states. But the "great diplomat" seems to have overlooked the fact that Germany is a united and coherent nation, desiring to live in one and the same State, while the U.S.S.R. is a dungeon of nations, in which bolshevism, hand in hand with a policy of russification, has been pursuing genocide for years. Is it really faulty knowledge or does he take his readers for so idiotically naive that he can foist such quackery on them?

As for the "nazi origin" of our ideals, it is of little consequence today what Hitler or Rosenberg planned or did not plan yesterday. The only important thing is the historically proved fact that Hitler failed in the East, not because he realized our ideals, but on the contrary because he trampled them under foot and ignored our peoples' right to recovering their national freedom and independence. His occupation of Ukraine was so brutal that he brought the enmity of our peoples upon himself and ruined his campaign in the East. The author gives himself a fine testimonial when he attempts to maintain that our nations as such were artificially created and never existed as independent states. Our only answer to this is: If anyone dares thus to drag the sacred ideals of whole nations in the mire and defame them it is not surprising if spontaneous reactions appear which are then exploited to accuse us of terrorism.

That Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., and Stephan Bandera, leader of the

Ukrainian Liberation Movement, were not acting under Hitler's orders when they proclaimed the free Ukrainian state in 1941, but on the contrary, as leaders of the national revolution that they dared to proclaim it against his will and to oppose his policy of oppression in Ukraine and were therefore arrested and spent 4 years in a concentration camp, are historical facts which no journalist's lies can shake, however unscrupulous they may be. The mass demonstrations which have taken place in Canada in recent weeks in the honour of President Stetzko, show clearly enough what the Ukrainian people and its millions of emigres think of the sincere and uncompromising attitude of the Ukrainian liberation movement and are certainly a better criterion than the paid publications of the N.T.S.

To lend his pamphlets a shimmer of truth, the author refers to quotations from the "A.B.N. Correspondence" which he deliberately falsifies or distorts in every case, for instance, when quoting from No. 6/7, 1951 of "A.B.N. Correspondence", we are supposed to have said that "every Russian, even if he is an emigré and calls himself a democrat is a supporter of bolshevism". In reality the passage runs "Every Russian imperialist, even if he calls himself a democrat" etc. His other quotations which are meant to prove that we regard the Russians as Asiatic hordes which should be expelled from the European community and slaughtered for "collective guilt" etc. etc. are equally absurd and not worth while replying to.

It has been said more than once in our publications what our opinion of the Russian people as such is, and the attitude expressed by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. on the main page of this number makes any further discussion of the matter superfluous.

Quotations which try to stamp us as "enemies on principle of any kind of inter-state union, federation etc. are just as slanderous. The truth in those passages quoted from the "A.B.N. Correspondence", lies just in the sentences which have been so shamefully and with intention left out, viz. that we only then reject inter-state unions if they are brought about against the will of the people in question, or serve to cloak and make eternal the claims to be a "master race", proclaimed by certain artificially constructed states such as the U.S.S.R. dungeon of nations, the Czech state structure and Tito's realm.

So much for that. But we will not refrain from introducing to our readers the man who has lent his pen to such tirades against the A.B.N. or the portrait drawn of him by the well-known Czech emigrant paper, "Bohemia".

"Who is this J. C. Grezer", the "Bohemia" asks, "who gives himself out as a Czech patriot, diplomat and federalist? Who is the Grezer who calls himself a doctor and count and alleges that he is an officer in the Czechoslovakian legion abroad? He is a Sudeten German, named Jakob Ortulf Grezer, of Moravia, who served in the German army during the first world war and whose father was a member of the N.S.D.A.P.. Grezer graduated with some difficulty from the German secondary school of Mährisch-Ostrau.

Importance Notice

The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is doing publicity work in the free world on behalf of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

A central office is being opened where material will be collected and circulated. Books, pamphlets, leaflets in foreign languages bearing upon our peoples and their problems will form the material.

Members of the A.B.N.! see that all the publications in foreign languages about your folk group in exile are sent to our central office in several copies. You will be doing your national cause a good service!

Secretariat General of the A.B.N.

Side-Lights

Pope Pius XII. "To the Peoples of Russia"

The Failure of a Message

The Holy See recently addressed an apostolic message "to the Peoples of Russia", which message seems, on account of this turn of phrase, to have failed in its well-meant purpose, and to be calculated to alienate the oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union.

The message begins with the statement that the believers of the Catholic Church in all parts of the world had laid it upon the Holy Father to "place the whole Russian people, in their present oppressed state under the protection of the Blessed Virgin". Even at this introduction, many people in the U.S.S.R., and especially the Catholic believers, such as Ukrainians and Byelorussians, will ask why only the Russian nation is to partake of this grace, while their nations are not once mentioned by name. This all the more when all the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., do not even feel themselves in any way addressed by such terms as "Peoples of Russia" or "Russian Peoples", and fight against it tooth and nail, all the more today, when they are addressed by the name of their oppressors.

Further on in the message, the term "Russian peoples" is employed several times, and now indeed, not only in the sense of state, but even in the sense of national-political and racial unity! Thus the Ukrainian Prince, Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, as well as Yaropolk (9th, 10th, and 11th centuries) are spoken of as Russian rulers. The great cultural reform of Vladimir which he performed by means of the introduction of Christianity

He is just as little a doctor as he is a count, or officer in the Czech army abroad. It is obvious that with these assertions he has deceived official bodies as well as the public.

About a year and a half ago, Grezer called on leading personages in the Czech national group in Munich and offered them large sums of money and jewels if they would work for the Czech ministry of the interior, declaring that he was making the offer after a verbal agreement with the Czechoslovak Consul-General, Dr. Dvorak. We informed the competent official places at the time of this affair. Since then Grezer has several times attempted to obtain information from us . . . to bribe members of our staff . . . and to win people over to work for communist red Prague ("Bohemia" No. 4/5, and 9/11, 1951).

The author thus exposed has neither contradicted the statement in the "Bohemia" of January last year, nor has he dared to bring an action against the paper.

That is the man who pretends that the A.B.N. is playing into Stalin's hands! It must be admitted that this "diplomat" is consistent. That is the "publicist" used by the Russian imperialists of the N.T.S. in their campaign, led by blind hatred, against us. One is inclined to ponder on that wise French proverb which runs: *Qui se semble, se ressemble*.

into Ukraine in 980, is simply ascribed to the Russians. The whole of Ukrainian history in general, the Ukrainian ecclesiastical life, and all the Ukrainian cultural reforms of centuries are ascribed, without further ado, to the Russians.

Finally this Papal message addresses itself in particular to the "Catholics among the Russian peoples", although, as is generally known, the Russians acknowledge the Orthodox Church, while, in the territories of the U.S.S.R., only Ukrainians and Byelorussians belong to the Catholic faith and stand under the spiritual protection of the Holy See in Rome.

All these blunders in the quoted Vatican message are all the more regrettable, when our peoples and their resistance movements, independent of differences of belief, have always had a supporter in the Catholic church, and, in the form of the Holy See in Rome, wish to see a powerful ally in the fight against the despotism of Moscow and the godless communists.

A.B.N. and the Red Cross

On the occasion of the 18th Congress of the International Red Cross at Toronto (July 23, to August 8), the A.B.N. arranged a manifestation on July 27, in the same town, which was attended by 5,000 persons, members of the different peoples of the U.S.S.R. After a Church Service they marched through the town and assembled before the Town Hall where Dr. J. Kaskelis (Lithuania) opened the rally and explained its meaning. The chief speech by Y. Stetzko, President of the A.B.N., was read in English. It depicted the situation of the countries and people behind the Iron Curtain and Moscow's crimes against human rights. In reference to the place and occasion of the meeting, Mr. Stetzko said:

"We protest against the presence of a State in the International Red Cross that committed massacres not only in war, but also in peace. We demand that all diplomatic and trade connections be broken off with the Soviet Union and the Satellite States. We demand that representatives of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow be admitted to the International Red Cross, the recognition of the U.P.A. and resistance organizations of other peoples, as armies in a state of war on the principles of the Hague Convention, with all the consequences of that recognition."

He warned the Red Cross against making any compacts with the U.S.S.R. which was preparing a surprise attack on the whole world and had never kept any agreement made.

Speeches by representatives of the Croats, Slovaks, Rumanians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Cossacks, Bulgarians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians followed, all demanding the exclusion of the U.S.S.R. from the International Red Cross.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N., the A.B.N. representatives in Canada and representatives of other nations in the A.B.N. sent memorandums to the same effect to the 18th Congress of the International Red Cross.

Olympic Dialectics

The Olympic Games in Helsinki are over. The success of the Soviet sportsmen and those of its satellites, has received the unlimited attention due to it in the press of the world. After an absence of 40 years from the Games the presence of Soviet participants naturally aroused great interest.

The western press, besides the reports on the Games events, stressed the friendship between the two world spheres; that there was no Iron Curtain in the Olympia village and that everyone was welcome to come and go among the Soviet sportsmen. A fact which induced many newspapers to make spiteful comparisons with the politicians.

And then, as soon as the Olympic Games were finished, the Czech winner of three gold medals, Zatopek, at a "peace meeting" in the same Helsinki, attacked the "American imperialists" as responsible for the Korean war, in order to fulfil his duty and norm in that field too. Thus before spectators and athletes had scattered the Soviet government attempted to make use of the Olympic Games for its political purposes.

People for whom the infringement of the Olympic spirit seems tactless and unexpected, know little of the dialectic compulsion in communist thought. In the leading article by which the *Izvestija* announced the fact that Soviet athletes were attending the Olympic Games, it says: "This international event will favour friendly relations between the democratic youth of the states participating and further friendship among the nations." That was the day after the XV. Olympic Games.

When reading the above quotation one must bear in mind what sport means in the Soviet world and how far government help is concerned. The award for sport, the winning of which is almost obligatory, bears the motto "Ready for work and defence".

That is the dialectic perversion of the Olympic ideal. P. S.

Soviet-Russian Tactics of Conference

Accounts as to the beginning, course and number of discussions at the truce negotiations in Panmunjon, fall rather to the historian than to the journalist. The latter must, however, draw the conclusion that the discussions have led to no positive result because the communist negotiators systematically avoid any discussions that might bear fruit.

Their behaviour is an incentive to the study of the tactics of delegates of communist states at other occasions, where the object seems worth their sitting down to a round table talk.

The peace treaty for Austria could not be concluded with the victor states because the Soviet Union always obstructed negotiations, although the Soviet Union itself demanded its early signature, seven years ago.

The Congress of the International Red Cross at Toronto is not yet over, but the very first day it became evident that the participation of the communist delegates was dependent on their being able to use the Congress as a rostrum for communist propaganda against the western powers, and thus

A.B.N. Memorandum

to the Conference of the International Red Cross in Toronto

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and its representation in Canada beg to draw the attention of the estimable delegates to certain matters of supreme importance which should be placed on the agenda of the Conference.

The price paid for the survival of the communist system of government, which is contrary to the very nature of man, has been extremely high. It called for a complete repudiation of all human rights and for an utter disregard of human dignity and of man himself as a free-thinking and free-willed being. That is why the U.S.S.R. and its satellites continue to combat in such an obstinate way all attempts directed to protect fundamental human rights as well as all humanitarian institutions working for this objective. From among those, the U.S.S.R. treats with special hatred the International Red Cross as an organization which protects the code of humanity.

The U.S.S.R. ignores this institution and thus not only prevents it from giving help and protection to the people behind the Iron Curtain but also violates the elementary principles of truth, by accusing it of being partial and of willingly serving the interests of the powers hostile to the U.S.S.R. During the Second World War, the U.S.S.R. prevented the Red Cross from helping the Soviet prisoners of war, thus wilfully help-

frustrate the successful discussion of the agenda.

The rigidity of communist tactics at conferences plainly shows what delegates have been ordered to achieve. At every international conference the prestige question comes first, for the Soviet Union. If they do not succeed in making the negotiations a tribune for their propaganda thesis and influencing them entirely in their sense, the delegates have the order to prevent the working out of any practical result whatever, as no result is always better than a doubtful one. The tactics applied are aimed at smothering the real object in view by endless, wearisome debates on agenda and formal legal questions of procedure.

The truce in Korea, the peace treaty with Austria and the problem of investigation committees formed by the International Red Cross in warlike conflicts are, after all, "hot" political problems and their final regulation might place undesirable, binding obligations on the Soviet Union. But the Soviet-Russians extend their obstructive tactics to politically "cold" objects too.

An international meteorological congress took place at Zurich this year, at which, beside the two Soviet-Russians, a Ukrainian and a Byelorussian delegate took part. The two Soviet-Russians, supported by their two missions, delayed proceedings with questions of etiquette, — according to the alphabetical arrangement of delegates the U.S.S.R. delegates were placed next the Americans, — and thus upset the order of procedure.

ing Nazi Germany in a mass extermination of these prisoners.

This attitude of the communist government towards the I.R.C. and its humanitarian activity does not in the least reflect the actual attitude towards this organization on the part of all the peoples enslaved by Moscow. At the very beginning of their national independence in 1917-20, these peoples, acting through their national governments joined this estimable organization. After an obstinate and bloody struggle, these now national states had been conquered and reoccupied by Russia. Having lost their sovereignty, these peoples were unable to take an active part in the work of the I.R.C. However, their true attitude toward the I.R.C. and the moral right of persons authorized to represent these peoples in that organization remained unchanged. It is only through these representatives and not through the antinational government of oppressors and hangmen that the true desires and feelings of those peoples can be ascertained.

Likewise the peoples who once established their national states, later occupied by communist Russia, cannot be treated as integral components of the Soviet State, because their struggle for national and social liberation has never ceased. Since the Second World War, this struggle reassumed the form of an armed resistance which has continued for the last ten years. It is not the struggle of a separate political group, nor is it merely a resistance of the unsatisfied — it is the struggle of the whole people for its national freedom. The irregular character of this guerrilla warfare, based on the principle of voluntariness rather than on coercion, the limited number and particular character of the military contingents — all this is dictated by the circumstances and does not alter the true nature of this struggle. All these insurgent armies are the armed forces of the respective peoples and are fighters for the interests of their nations as a whole.

In their structure, subordination, outward appearance (uniform, equipment, etc.) as well as in their adherence to military laws, these insurgent armies do not in any way differ from the regular armies, since they are the armies of their nations in their struggle against the occupants for the restoration of their lost national sovereignty.

The limited range of the activity of these armies as well as the limited number of their soldiers are conditioned by the present situation. There is no doubt that, in the event of a clash with the communist world, these insurgent armies will become the centre

of gravity for all internal forces of resistance including the national contingents of the bolshevist armies themselves. They will be transformed into a mighty armed force, into regular national armies, who will create an internal anti-communist front. Even now the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is operating under the political direction of the underground revolutionary government — the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.).

The whole world is now aware that communist Moscow not only suppresses the armed resistance of the national liberation movements, but also conducts a policy of mass devaluation. Organized famines (of 1932—33), mass deportations to Siberia, Kazakhstan, etc., imprisonment of hundreds of thousands in forced labour camps, mass murders in jails and concentration camps — all this must be regarded as planned genocide.

Prompted by the above facts, we feel it our duty to submit to the Conference of the International Red Cross the following requests:

1) That the representatives of the peoples who, during their independence, were members of the International Red Cross, but subsequently were deprived by communist Russia, of all rights and possibilities to protect the interests of their peoples, be allowed to take part in this Conference.

2) That the insurgent armies of the peoples enslaved by communist Russia, and particularly the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), be recognized as warring armies with all consequences of such recognition implied by the Hague Convention, Articles 1 and 2 — 1899 (1907 edition).

3) That an investigation of the plight of the prisoners in the concentration camps of the deportees, of those forcibly repatriated in 1945—48, and of the soldiers of the insurgent armies taken prisoner, be launched by the I.R.C.; that the criminal methods of germ and chemical warfare used against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in Western Ukraine — and behind the Curzon line — as well as the spreading of epidemics among the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) be investigated; that massacres of prisoners before and during the Second World War, the slave labour camps and the mass extermination of peoples by famine be openly verified and confirmed before the forum of the whole world.

Hundreds of millions of people groan under the communist tyranny and the voices of these millions cannot be ignored by the International Red Cross, the organization which stands on guard of the principles of humanity and of human rights.

Toronto, July 29th, 1952.

(signed) Yaroslav Stetsko,
President of the Central Committee of
the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Resolutions

The mass rally as a part of the A.B.N. manifestation on July 27, 1952, in Toronto, states:

1) The antihuman Soviet regime is a combination of old Russian imperialism and communism and institutes a form of totalitarianism that is based on terror, genocide and the enslavement of free nations.

2) The Russian bolsheviks continue to commit the crimes they began on the

nations they enslaved thirty years ago. Since World War II they have done their utmost to spread their system of cruelty and hatred throughout the world.

3) In the same degree as they suppress with satanic determination all the liberation movements of the subjugated nations within their own borders, they are striking out with their fifth columns into all the free countries of the world, fomenting civil wars



Mrs. Edith Hyder

A Woman Works of on behalf of our Peoples

Our subjugated peoples have every right to complain of the "conspiracy of silence" in the West, regarding the political problems of their nations and their fight for freedom. Especially in the Anglo-Saxon lands it is necessary to overcome this idle and sometimes even unfriendly attitude of the publicists. It is therefore all the more pleasant a duty to bring to our friends' notice, those who are sincerely and selflessly exercising themselves about the fate of our peoples.

In Canada, we number among these Mrs. Edith Hyder, radio scripturier and commentator, who works for the association, C.H.M.L. In the popular series, "Humanity Unlimited", she speaks regularly on the concrete political, social and cultural problems of the post-war era. Recently, in a long radio talk from Hamilton, Ont., Canada, she spoke on the position, performances and the loyalty of the 500,000 Ukrainians who have settled in Canada. Proceeding from this Ukrainian emigration she went on to give her hearers a picture of the land of origin, of the history, culture, speech and fight for freedom of the subjugated Ukrainians. Shortly after this, she gave an exposition of the work of the A.B.N. of the aims of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states who are represented in it. On the occasion of the second national convention of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Canada, she referred, on June 26th, to the work and form of this association, which, in four continents and more than 19 countries, binds the Ukrainian youth together in loyalty to the fatherland.

Anti-bolshevist Manifestation in Chicago

On July 6, 1952 about 1000 persons, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Estonians, Latvians, Croats, Slovenes and other nations met to demonstrate under the auspices of different national organisations, as for instance, "American Friends of the A.B.N.", "United Croatian League of America", "Slovenian National Union of America" etc.

The participants passed a resolution in which they declared they would stand by their peoples at home in their struggle

and weakening them as a part of their plan for eventual world domination.

4) Since such Soviet activity is based on immorality and negation of all the humanitarian principles, the fight for freedom is at the same time the fight for the highest principles of humanity.

We appeal therefore to all those to whom these principles are dear and especially to the Toronto Conference of the International Red Cross:

1) The representatives of the Soviet Union at the International Red Cross Conference are the representatives of a state that is known as an organizer of mass genocide in a time of peace, an oppressor of non-Russian nations, a totalitarian police state; these representatives should be expelled



Mrs. Edith Hyder

Examples like that of Mrs. Edith Hyder give our peoples and the emigration, the hope that understanding of their situation and problems will finally come about. Among the Ukrainians in exile, the name of this Canadian commentator has with time become a symbol, and will be mentioned again and again with warm fellow-feeling and gratitude.

against bolshevism and for national independence. In the resolution they undertook to support this struggle without reservation and declared their willingness to defend the country whose guests they are, against any communist aggression and were it with their lives. Furthermore, they demanded a plan for psychological warfare which gives due consideration to the political aims of the subjugated peoples. The meeting declared its solidarity with the so-called Kersten Resolution and Kersten's proposal to support the liberation struggle morally and financially.

from the membership and the convention and the true representatives of the Moscow-subjugated nations should be admitted in their place.

2) The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and other Liberation Armies should be recognized as fighting combat units in accordance with the Hague Convention, Articles 1 and 2 of 1899 (edition of 1907) with the full rights implied by such recognition.

3) A judicial inquiry should be instituted to investigate mass genocide, deportations and similar crimes against humanity committed by Moscow in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states.

There will be no hope for peace and freedom while crimes are tolerated and criminals are admitted as partners of honest men.

Democracy Without Religions Freedom

In Tito's Yugoslav democracy all the schools are under government control. Neither private nor Church schools are permitted. Religion as an educational subject has long since been forbidden, yet the Communist dictators seem to think that is not enough. At an annual meeting of the Teachers Association at Belgrade, a resolution was passed demanding that the influence of religion and the Church on pupils should be energetically combatted in the schools, as "behind it hide the reactionaries with their political aims".

At the annual meeting of university teachers which took place at the same time, it was pointed out that recently — i. e. while Tito was begging for economic support from the West, — some ideologies emerged again which had been hidden until then. "It was also stressed that certain deans of universities and schoolmasters, on account of their reactionary religious conceptions, do not possess the moral qualifications to run an educational institution according to the socialist program.

Many a professor was discharged by the congresses because he still practiced religion "hereby giving a bad example to the pupils."

The representatives of the teachers 'and professors' congresses were received by Tito in Belgrade, who declared, "I know that the world throw stones at us for alienating children from God and the Church, but we cannot permit our people to cling to superstition... we do not persecute religion. Religion is the affair of the individual. But we will not allow children to be influenced by people whose opinion differs completely from ours. The state has the right to educate the children and must do so. We shall not give way to any pressure from outside in this matter."

Croatia Demands her Rights

In an open letter addressed to the President of the National Committee for a "Free Europe", Admiral Harold B. Miller, the chief editor of the Croatian newspaper, "Danica", published in Chicago, Dr. C. Majic, demands the full recognition of the right to self-determination of every people, by the National Committee. He draws attention to the fact that a similar motion had already been brought in in 1951 addressed to the former president of the National Committee, Ch. D. Jackson, without success or result, and that the expression "Yugoslavs" still haunts the committee. He therefore asked the president to give his Committee's official point of view on the national question.

On this occasion Dr. Majic draws attention to the so-called Williamsburger Declaration of 1952, which was signed by Dr. Miha Krek for "Yugoslavia" and he refers to the political past of that "Yugoslavian" representative. Dr. Majic expresses his opinion that a positive attitude towards the national question within the National Committee for a "Free Europe", would prevent men like Dr. Krek from speaking in the future, as the representative of peoples or states which have never issued them any kind of legitimization.

From behind the Iron Curtain

HUNGARY

ACTS AGAINST THE REGIME

The pitiless methods by which the farmers are forced to fulfil their delivery quotas must have deepened the discontent among them. Acts of sabotage increase, the peasants and their labourers use every possible means to escape the strict orders and regulations.

The State has the grain taken over and transported from the threshing machines by its own executives. The quotas are so high that the farmers are not even able to enjoy their legitimate rations. Deliveries are calculated on the area under cultivation, and outside influences, such as frost and inclement weather are not considered.

Since the beginning of the harvest, fires have increased in the country. The fire brigades having proved inadequate, the C. P. Councils officials have instituted special fire-fighting services in their areas. The organization "D.I.S.Z." has been called up for "voluntary" service with the fire-brigades. During harvest time, uniformed patrols and secret police keep a sharp look out for cases of sabotage among the peasants. But even they do not succeed in proving sabotage as reason for the numerous fires.

At a conference held behind closed doors by envoys from the Ministries of Justice and the Interior, the introduction of special courts for incendiarism was discussed. With regard, however, to the expected unfavourable political reaction at home and abroad, such stringent measures were refrained from.

LITHUANIA

CRISIS IN ECONOMY

The Moscow "Pravda" of July 13, 1952, announces that "The promotion of the national cadres to leading positions, in connection with the new administrative division of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic into areas and districts, has been considerable of late. The regional and district committees of the party have had to be partic-

ularly careful in their work of choosing able and politically mature persons for the work in their organizations." Then in another place we read "owing to negligence in the cadre work serious failings in the direction of economy have occurred."

This only proves that administration in the Lithuanian Soviet Republic has until quite recently been in the hands of Russians. Their contact with the Lithuanian population, among whom they are regarded as alien occupation, has called forth a crisis in the economy of the country. The Soviet government has been obliged to replace the Russian corps of functionaries by "national cadres". In spite of political schooling, they obviously lack "politically mature" officials, reshuffling being the order of the day, as the "Pravda" confirms.

POLAND

EARLY COMMUNISTS IN PURGATORY

In all secrecy a great purge in the Communist Party of Poland is going on which

is chiefly directed against people who joined the party before and during the war. The new members who were inscribed as party members between 1947—1948, are younger, uncritical and reliable. The older members still remember the pre-war line and do not easily succumb to the Russians. For that reason especially many young people were given high and important positions, quite frequently with the aid of Russian technical and economic instructors. This development is especially noticeable since 1951.

The reason for dissatisfaction with the older members of the Communist Party lies chiefly in a purely social question: The old communists cling to the equality motto, whereas the Russian tendency is directed towards a society of castes. For instance the old communists demanded a one month holiday for everybody. The Russians, however, made the holiday dependent on the production or transport of goods for Russia. The old communists opposed the favours granted to the technicians and managers, which give them all economic privileges, as, for the Russians, these people have an important influence on the increase or decrease of production. The old communists were enemies of the Russian exploitation of the land and fought it wherever they were able. This caused the Russians to send Russian economic instructors, who have the task of securing the requirements of the U.S.S.R. and seeing that the Poles do not sabotage them.

RUMANIA

SABOTAGE ON THE DANUBE-BLACK SEA CANAL

According to reports in the Rumanian communist press, the Rumanian Security Police have discovered a deviation-Black Sea Canal project. This group has made it their object to delay the building of the canal. Among those arrested are the heads of the planning department and machinery department. Their professional and political past alone would make them suspect in the eyes of the political police. Former independent contractors — therefore "capitalists" and men who belonged during Antonescu's regime to political parties — therefore "fascists".

In the bolshevist-system it is the custom to make sabotage responsible for the non-fulfilment of the too high demands on labour, and by intimidation to force greater achievement. When action becomes necessary the past decides who is to suffer for the sabotage and then former "capitalist" and "reactionary" elements are chosen. This procedure has existed in the Soviet Union since 1917.

SLOVAKIA

POPULATION PROTECTS RESISTANCE-FIGHTERS

A patrol of the "National Security" (Communist C.I.D.) of Dolny Kubin arrested a, — for them suspicious, — Slovak in the neighbouring woods and imprisoned him. At

night friends helped him to escape and in the morning the guard found an empty cell and a piece of paper, on which was written: "Good-bye! Thanks for your hospitality! Away with Gottwald and Czechoslovakia! Cheers for Dr. Durcansky and the Slovak Republic!"

The cases of Slovak resistance fighters escaping from prison are not so rare, and that proves that Slovak resistance possesses the support of the population.

SLOVAKIA BECOMES A SOVIET AIR-BASE

By Soviet command, new military air-fields are being established and the already existing civilian air-ports are being reconstructed for military purposes. At present there are air-fields near the following towns or villages: Bratislava, Holic, Malacky, Trnava, Komrno, Lucence, Trenčin, Partizanske (formerly Batovany), Nitra, Zilina, Krizna, B. Bystrica, P. Bystrica, Kosice, Bardejov, Sp. N. Ves, Poprad, Presov, Cierna n. Trisou, Humenne, Ruzomberok, Martin-Vrutky, in all 27.

The haste with which the plants are built lead one to the conclusion that the Soviets intend to turn Slovakia into an air-base.

C. P. SECRETARY-GENERAL ARRESTED

Since the end of February of this year the fate of the secretary-general of the Communist Party of Slovakia, Bastovansky, has been unknown. Now we learn that he is among the victims of the purge of the Communist Party in Slovakia and was arrested like Clementis, Husak and Novomesky.

TURKISTAN

UNSATISFACTORY CONDITIONS

The Soviet government now finds it necessary to take energetic measures against lack of discipline among the State and Party functionaries in Turkistan, just as in Georgia. Kolkhozes are being exploited for private purposes, "borrowed foodstuffs" etc. not returned and the resulting gaps hushed up. Hand in hand with all that, an apparently undesired isolation of the official bodies on the part of the population is being practised.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kasakhstan, which took place the beginning of July 1952, these failings were revealed and forced the secretaries of the regional and district committees to a "self-critical" report on the situations. The Communist Party papers, "Kasakhstanskaya Pravda" and "Sozialistik Kasakhstan", as well as the radio news staff came in for a sharp reprimand.

UKRAINE

SINS OF OMISSION

A new scapegoat has been found in the Institute for Ukrainian Literature, a department of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The "Radyanska Ukraina" takes the occasion of the publication of the collected works of I. Kotlarevsky, not only to criticize the Institute, but also to make it clear to the Ukrainian intellectuals, what is expected of them.

Objection is taken to the introduction to the first volume of Kotlarevsky's work which was written by a member of the Institute.

What is openly complained of is, that "the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, have tried to conceal the inseparable bonds between the culture of the two peoples.

By keeping from the working classes the influence of the great liberation ideal which came from revolutionary Russia, by intending to destroy the revolutionary bond between the Russian and Ukrainian workers and subjecting them to the influence of the great landowners and capitalists, the bourgeois nationalist have ignored in the history of the Ukrainian people, and in their cultural history, all that binds the two brother nations, and not only that, they have even stooped to falsifications. Soviet history of literature must show the old relationships between the two peoples and their leading, progressive men with all their importance".

"Instead of that the author of the preface has given an account of the development of Ukrainian literature that have been written by any bourgeois nationalist".

Thus the author's sins are sins of omission. And further, "The characterization of Shevchenko's works in this article are equally unsatisfactory, it is contained in the statement that Shevchenko in his books depicts the struggle of the Ukrainian people as a constructive historical factor". There is no word as to what the Ukrainian struggle was about, nor against whom. Nor is it mentioned that Shevchenko was a democratic revolutionary and collaborated with the great Russian revolutionaries Chernyshevsky and Dobrolubov". Or: "It must be said that the author never refers to the works of Lenin and Stalin, nor does he follow the Lenin-Stalin principles when he writes of the problems of history, culture and national relationship between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples".

"RECOMMENDATION" TO UKRAINIAN ACADEMICIANS

"Inadequate organization and discussion" is the reproach thrown at the Ukrainian historians, by the "Radyanska Ukraina" of July 4, 1952, for the work still to be done" and for those "who do not esteem self-criticism". What that means may be gathered from the following recommendation. "It is time books were published on Stalin's linguistic theory, and new works should appear that are concerned with the important tricentenary of Ukraine's union with Russia".

Cossack Conference in Munich

On August 3rd ended the session of the plenary meeting of the Executive Council, which was convened by the Supreme Ataman-President, *General Makeeff*, in Munich.

The President of the Supreme Kosack Representation in exile who is a Civ. Eng. *Glaskov*, gave a detailed report on the present position of the Soviet-occupied Kosack country, on the condition of the organizations of the Kosack emigration, which is to be found in all countries of the free world, and on the progress of the fight for liberty of the Kosack people.

The plenary meeting of the Kosack Executive Council busied itself with all questions of the Kosack liberation policy and with the settlement of the basis on which the future struggle of the Kosack people is to be carried on, and with the co-ordination of this struggle with that of the other peoples subjugated by bolshevism.

View of part
of the platform during
the rally of the
Ukrainian Youth
Association (S.U.M)
at Toronto, (Canada),
on the occasion
of President of A.B.N.
Stetzko's Visit.
Among those on the
platform is the
Mrs. Mukha-Stetzko



The Kosacks are continuing the fight for the re-establishment of the national independence of their homeland—Kosackia.

In United Front

Between the B.D.J. (German Youth League) which is developing more and more into an effective anti-bolshevist power in Germany and which has set itself the task of rousing the German people to shake off Stalin's fifth column, and the A.B.N., there has been, of late, much mutual work, work that found expression in public meetings.

At the Whitsuntide meeting of the B.D.J. at Frankfurt on Main, at which 6,000 members took part, some A.B.N. representatives were present too, and also at the big demonstration on 27, July, 1952 at Essen. At both meetings Prince Niko Nakashidze (Georgia) was the chief A.B.N. speaker. His statement that "German youth has the honourable task of being the defence of the occident against the onslaught of Russian bolshevism" was met with hearty applause. "We, the representatives of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the so-called Satellite States, are proud" he continued, "to be able to tell you that the fighting spirit in our peoples has not been quenched and they are ready to sacrifice all to achieve the aim we strive for. That aim is the liberation of our peoples from bolshevist terrorism and Russian despotism and the setting up of free states independent from Russia, with democratic governments."

The second speaker at the Whitsuntide meeting, R. Ilnitsky (Ukraine) said: "We, here in the West, are often asked how we manage, in spite of the most dreadful terrorism the world has ever known, to keep up a successful underground struggle. Our answer is simple. It is only because we have set against the enemy's fanaticism for the bad, our fanaticism for the good, and because we have been able to inspire in the masses a high state of idealism and self-sacrifice... If the youth of Germany will save their people from immanent peril, they, too, must be filled with an idealistic fighting spirit."

At the Essen rally both Mykola Fil, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the representative of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) Yaroslav Pelensky, were received with applause.

Calendar of National Memorial Days of Our Peoples

August

August 15

Georgia: Day of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Georgian people. The Georgian Church is the only Orthodox Church that worships the Madonna. In Georgia the month of August is called Mary's Month.

August 20

Hungary: National holiday of the Hungarians in memory of St. Stephen, first King of Hungary (997—1038) who was the founder of the Hungarian State and furthered the conversion of his people to Christianity. The procession of St. Stephen in Budapest is the principal event in the celebrations. It was forbidden in 1948 and in its place a "people's democratic festival" was introduced.

August 29

Georgia: Georgian day of mourning in memory of the great uprising against the Soviet-Russian occupation, during which thousands of Georgian patriots were shot.

September

September 8

Lithuania: National holiday of the Lithuanians in memory of Vytautes the Great, and the Lithuanian State of the past.

September 9

Bulgaria: Black day of the new Bulgarian history: the forced breakdown in 1944 of the constitutional Bulgarian Kingdom engineered with the aid of the Red Army; the establishment of the Soviet Russian domination in Bulgaria; the beginning of the systematical genocide of the Bulgarian people.

September 12

Georgia: Day of mourning in memory of Georgia's annexation by Russia (1801).

September 15

Azerbaijan: On this day in 1918 the insurgents of Azerbaijan freed their capital Baku from the Bolsheviks who had occupied it.

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“Balkanization” or Stabilization?

Prejudices and Intrigues against the Liberation of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.

When talking with western politicians one often hears the objection that the realization of the A.B.N. ideas, i. e. the restoration of the independent national states of the oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union, based on ethnographic principles, would lead to chaotic conditions in eastern Europe and parts of Asia, because it would mean that more than thirty different states would arise which would be unfit to hold their own. These numerous states, it is argued, would have endless squabbles over frontiers, there would be continuous friction, disturbances, even belligerent conflicts. In the West, a muddled inter-state condition of that kind would be called “balkanization”.

Who “Balkanized” the Balkans?

What does the expression “balkanization” mean and how far is it fair to lay this discriminating qualification at the door of the Balkan peoples who are struggling for national union? To make it clear at once, let it be said that the unpleasant and confused conditions in the Balkans which the West dubs “balkanization” is neither a consequence of “small states policy”, nor a result of any organic quarrelsomeness or rivalry among the Balkan peoples themselves. All the conflicts and wars in that area have been, for the most part, nothing but effects of the imperialist aspirations of the Great Powers who have used the Balkan peoples as pawns, playing them one against the other as served their purpose.

To put it precisely. Russia’s never-ending desire for the Straits and the Great Powers’ efforts to thwart it was the reason why, in modern times, the Balkan peoples could never settle down and live in peace with one another.

A glance at the historical development of that south-east corner is sufficient to confirm the above statement. For centuries Russia has tried to realize Peter I’s will and lay hands on the Balkan peninsula, by exploiting pan-Slavic and Christian catchwords. A typical instance was the so-called Turk-Russian war of “liberation” 1877/78

when the Russian Tsar, in the harmless role of protector and liberator of the Christian and Slav Bulgarians, reached the Dardanelles and was able to dictate the armistice of St. Stefano. The reaction of the interested western powers was not long in coming. At the Berlin Congress the suspicion arose as to Russia’s intentions in the newly created Bulgaria. It was feared that the liberated Bulgarians from a sense of gratitude and loyalty to their Russian benefactor might become a spring-board to the straits. Bulgaria therefore was cut into

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Eisenhower Reveals the Wound

Portentous Controversies in the American Presidential Election

In the campaign for the presidential election, as was to be expected, a diversity of opinion has come to the fore between the conception of the Republican opposition party and American foreign policy as hitherto followed, which penetrates in medias res present world problems and is portentous for the future of all the peoples on our planet.

The Republicans at the Chicago Convention, as we know, declared for a strong hand towards the Soviet Union. In their platform they demanded that all secret agreements with the Soviet Union, such as that of Yalta etc. be cancelled in the future. The Republican candidate, General Dwight Eisenhower, crystallized that foreign policy before the Amerian Legion in New York, with soldierly lucidity. He said that armament production and the armed forces of the U.S.A. should be made so strong that they would act as a serious warning to the Soviets and fill Moscow with the fear of possible reprisals. The American government must calmly but forcibly make it clear to the Kremlin that it would never recognize the permanent domination of eastern Europe and Asia by the Soviets. “The day must come”, Eisenhower said, “when the enslaved peoples of those countries will have the freedom, in the full light of international publicity, to choose their own way into

the future”. Eisenhower put that as a categorical imperative to which the USA. must in the spirit of their great traditions, be loyal. He called every attempt to come to an understanding with Moscow at the expense of the subjugated peoples or remaining content with merely checking Soviet-Russian aggression, immoral.

Mr. John Foster Dulles the Republican expert on foreign politics, in a great election speech at Buffalo discussed the same critical problems, the gist of which was: there were only two possibilities of coping with Moscow, either to hollow out the communist world from inside, or to head for an inevitable and terrible collision. It would not be impossible to burst the bolshevist world from within, as even now it had become too large and cumbersome to hold together the 800 million people of 19 different nations for ever. Passive resistance was one means for the purpose and its support another. Mr. Dulles pointed out that the programme followed up to now, of merely halting communism had proved a failure and that America’s present foreign policy was simply suicide.

However the presidential election may turn out and whatever course future American policy may follow those words spoken by the two leading Republicans in America and the position thereby taken in the planetary conflict

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Eisenhower Reveals the Wound

with the bolshevist menace to the world will retain their historical importance; in particular for our subjugated peoples, who for years have lived and endured in blood and tears and who require almost superhuman strength not to despair of a world conscience and justice on earth. For them, utterances by Eisenhower and Dulles are sparks of hope and confidence, in the darkness of their misery. At last these peoples have heard from the lips of men of authority in America a declaration that gives them courage to live on and take up the unequal fight against the murderous Soviet-Russian regime.

All the greater was the indignation at the incomprehensible reaction called forth by these memorable speeches in some European countries and among some narrow-minded persons. Hardly were those words spoken, which must have made some impression on Moscow too, when the worldly wise lifted up their voices in warning and hastily watered everything down and protested that the Soviet Union must not be treated like that.

Although Eisenhower admitted only a fraction of what the free world owes our people to-day, and although Dulles only showed the alternatives which would just allow a world war to be avoided, a whole chorus of reproaches and protests was raised, sounding like a conspiracy of the faint-hearted for concessions to Moscow. Even important European papers such as "Le Monde" and "The Times" raised a storm and accused Eisenhower of a policy of sabre-rattling and of exposing America's European allies to intolerable risks. It went so far, that the leading article in "The New York Times" pointed out the shameful fact that "the General's statement concerning the liberation of the peoples enslaved by communism brought forth certain fears . . . among the nervous Europeans" . . . ! In the Kremlin, of course, there was much gleeful rubbing of hands and Radio Moscow seized the welcome opportunity to brand Eisenhower's war-mongering against the "peace-loving" Soviet Union and moreover to confirm how sensitive the gentlemen in the Kremlin are to such tones, and how "dangerous" it is to irritate the Soviets by such an attitude. Thus Eisenhower's western critics suddenly found themselves in idyllic harmony with the fair "Bratshki" of Moscow.

It would, however, not do to make light of this episode and the echo in the world of the policy announced by Eisenhower, as merely an election manœuvre, or a journalist stunt. It is much more an unpleasant interlude with far-reaching significance and it shows up the world in all its tragedy. This interlude has revealed so much pusillanimity, indecision, naive national egoism and

willingness to concede to and make compromises with Moscow that one is forced to ask oneself what the use of all the fuss about a "European Defence Community", "Campaign for Truth and Freedom" and the like is, in view of such short-sighted behaviour, if it is not to be made clear to Moscow that it is

Announcement

The secretary of the head organization of the Units Abroad of Ukrainian Nationalists (A.U.O.U.N.), is authorized to announce the following.

On August 22, 1952 Stepan Bandera resigned his post as Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and handed his authority over to the committee of the O.U.N. at home until a new election shall take place for a new leader.

After the resignation of Stepan Bandera, the head of the O.U.N. Units Abroad, Yaroslav Stetzko, who was elected to the office at the last conference of the O.U.N., resigned too and proposed that his post should be offered to Stepan Bandera.

Stepan Bandera declined, but accepted a position on the committee of O.U.N. Units Abroad under the previous chairman.

Headquarters, Sept. 12, 1952

Secretary of the O.U.N.
Units Abroad

seriously intended. Now, at any rate, "good old Uncle Joe" can sleep peacefully once more in the Kremlin and continue his mass murders of our peoples undisturbed. His main object, to gain time until the last round is due, seems assured. But when that time comes, as it will one day, his considerate partners in the West will stand before an accomplished fact with their fingers in their mouths as they did in the case of Korea.

We do agree with President in his anxiety not to throw our people uselessly into the adventure and make them victims of atom warfare, and we fully understand Stevenson's caution in not slamming the door on negotiations with Moscow. But why should they think that imposing military strength in the western world would bang the door to any pact with Moscow and not be the other way round? Why are people afraid, at least in their hearts, to win their way to that position which on the scales of realistic politics alone has weight?

Or, are our peoples pawns in the game by which understanding with Moscow may be bought? Is reserve towards Stalin maintained so that the western hemisphere may live in freedom and peace? If that is not the case, what is the meaning of the bitter criticism of

Eisenhower, who spoke from the heart of every right-minded and sober-thinking man. Even suppose the West should contemplate any such shady transaction with the fate of our peoples, the hoped for proceeds therefrom will never be realized. If the blood-stained flow of Russian domination in our lands is not checked and dammed back into its Russian source in time, it will be the turn of the whole free world to be inundated. Then the prophetic words of Dulles of "suicidal policy" will find their tragic fulfilment. Are there really so many Wallaces in America who, to-morrow, when it is too late, will confess, like him, that they have "misunderstood" the Soviet Union and above all Russian communism".

No, the free world has no choice, and not too much time left for further experiments. Those who have not the courage to face facts and, like Eisenhower, avow their principles on the question of liberating the peoples oppressed by Russia, will discover themselves on a track that leads to the slough of despond. Not only that, they are playing directly into the hands of the Soviets and fixing their own ropes to hang themselves with.

★

The statements made by Eisenhower and Dulles, whatever else they may have done, have exposed the kernel of the present world crisis. Their support of a policy of the strong hand towards Moscow, it is true, has brought down upon them, strange as it may seem, an outburst of disapproval that is a disgrace for the free western world and before which they have, to a certain extent, had to retreat. Nevertheless, with their statements they have laid bare the a deep wound in the body of the world that will not cease bleeding and admonishing America and the whole world till one day they descend to make common cause with our peoples, if only to avoid bleeding to death themselves.

Once the decisive step is taken there will be regret that so much valuable time was lost and people will find it hard to understand how a controversy such as the above mentioned could have possibly occurred. We only hope the world will come to its senses before it is too late.

Dr. D. B.

6 Dead, 32 Wounded, 1000 Arrests

Within the commandants'hip of Kumran, Province Saxon-Anhalt, between June 1, and August 15, six persons were shot by the frontier police when attempting to cross the zone demarcation illegally. The bodies were taken by the Peoples' Police. Thirty-two persons were shot at and some severely wounded when escaping across the border. Altogether in this district 1,021 persons who attempted to cross the demarcation line have been caught and imprisoned.

(I.W.E.)

Why Stepan Bandera Resigned?

In order to understand Bandera's action, which came as a surprise even to his fellow-workers, it is necessary to throw a glance at the present structure of the O.U.N. and Stepan Bandera's position in it.

After the war the O.U.N. was divided into two groups. The bigger group lives and fights in the home country, while the second was formed among the refugees abroad with sub-groups in different countries.

The organization is thus as follows:

1) **The O.U.N. at home.** Circumstances make it essential for this strongest and most important group to have its own legislative and executive body. Its leader, until his death, was General Taras Chuprynska who was also the political head of the U.P.A., after that another sprang into his place at home whose name cannot be disclosed.

Another feature of the National Ukrainian Liberation at home must be pointed out here. Political developments in recent years made it necessary to raise the level of the movement, i. e. to give it a state footing and so the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) was called into being to bear the political and military responsibility for the continuation of the resistance.

2) The territorial separation of the O.U.N. groups abroad, again made a legislative and executive of their own essential. Yaroslav Stetsko former prime minister of the government of 1941 was therefore elected as head of the foreign groups.

3) **Stepan Bandera's position.** Both the O.U.N. groups are, or rather were until August 22, 1952, united under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. During the post-war years Bandera has lived in forced concealment in different western countries. The heads of each O.U.N. group enjoyed the greatest possible independence, for Stepan Bandera regarded his position as that of an inspirer, i. e. one from whom inspiration must come. His tasks were to follow the general trend of world politics, to watch developments in the U.S.S.R. with especial attention to their importance for Ukraine, and the conclusions to be drawn from both, the setting of the general directive and planning the tactics for the Ukrainian liberation movement.

His resignation must therefore be regarded from the following points of view. The letter, which we publish in this number, from the O.U.N. leaders at home, shows that it was not their suggestion which inspired this step. It was, however, clear to all his fellow-workers that he regarded the present international situation as critical, that of the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine especially so, and that things were becoming more perilous from year to year. He expects no alleviation for the home country from the international efforts in the cold war but believes as he always has, that the centre of gravity of resistance against bolshevism and



The picture above we have taken from a pamphlet given out by the Underground Movement at home in Ukraine. It is entitled, "Who are the Banderivtsi and for what are they fighting",

Russian imperialism is Ukraine. From that standpoint he took his resolution to retire, in order to, give the O.U.N. at home, perfect freedom in its decisions in future eventualities. That means, of course, that decisions concerning western policy in the future must also be made by the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Ukraine, that is, behind the Iron Curtain.

With this step Stepan Bandera has shown that he places the interest of his Ukrainian home and its liberation before all else. At the same time he gives those Ukrainian "politicians" abroad who believe they can "co-ordinate" Ukrainian freedom with the plans of certain western agents, a lesson. His action disavows all those circles who think they must talk of a "leader's principle" in the O.U.N. In placing himself under the chairman of the executive of the O.U.N. abroad, Yaroslav Stetsko, Bandera has proved that the real requirements of the liberation struggle come first and foremost for him.

By his resignation, Bandera makes it clear that an O.U.N. congress must be convened to elect a new head, that he thinks it necessary and expects it. It will be the IV O.U.N. Congress. Should the congress elect him to take over direction of the O.U.N. he would not refuse.

Z. P.

There are no Russian Peoples!

Letter from the Scottish League to Pope Pius XII.

Editorial Note: The pastoral letter directed by Pope Pius XII "To the Peoples of Russia" has not only caused a wave of criticism and objections among the Ukrainian Catholics, but far beyond, many persons and circles interested in eastern problems have been concerned by the Pope's pronouncement which they regard as a misapprehension of the national problems in the U.S.S.R.

On August 27, 1952 the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, John F. Stewart, sent a long letter to the Pope, from which we give an extract below, as it contains some fundamental remarks.

Your Holiness,

We beg to refer to the Pronouncement of Your Holiness of 7th ultimo to the Russian Peoples. There are no Russian Peoples; in the Prison of Nations which is now the U.S.S.R., but was formerly entitled Russian Empire there are and were Russians and other peoples who are and were no more Russians than Your Holiness.

Your reference to the Russian Peoples and the "southern province of Russia, by which latter you obviously mean Ukraine, will, we are assured, cause much grief and sorrow as well as alarm among the Ukrainians, who, as Your Holiness apparently does not know, are a distinct nation of 45 million people, of whom a large proportion are Catholics, the remainder belonging to the Orthodox Church. But the one aim of all is sovereign and complete independence of their country, and the repudiation of any kind of subordination to Russia, whether Tsarist, Socialist, Bolshevik, Communist or Atheist. It is not a religious but a political and patriotic question.

As to Ukrainians being a distinct nation, centuries ahead of the Russians in civilisation and culture, a study of Russian history from the 12-th century, and of that of the Ukrainians much earlier, would convince you.

Sovereign Independent States in 1917

Coming to recent times, we would wish to point out that in 1917, when the Russian Empire disintegrated, and the various nationalities established their own sovereign independent Governments, that of Ukraine was recognised by Great Britain, France, Poland, Argentina, Germany and others, although, for reasons of French aggrandisement, they were not supported, and again fell to the Russian tyrant, this time Bolshevik.

But again, even United Nations recognises Ukraine as a separate and distinctive nation, and it has a seat as a Member Nation.

Exactly the same can be said of Byelorussia, which has been recognised as a distinct nation and has a seat in United

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"Panslavism in Bolshevik Attire"

By DDr. T. Baron de Collas

The expression panslavism frequently appears nowadays on the political scene as well as in the press. What is really the meaning of this half Greek half Slav word?

Panslavism means the union of all Slavs. This is not purely a slogan. Panslavism means a political trend of all Slav people, the transplantation of the racial and language problem to a political basis.

It is strange that Slav literature does not possess any book about panslavism and its history. German literature produced only one volume of a few hundred pages on this subject, written by Fischel and printed in Stuttgart in 1919, but this handles the subject only till World War I and is more of a historical survey. Besides that there are numerous small Russian, Serbian, Czech and French brochures, which deal also only with the history of panslavism. Slav philologists and jurists indicate all the different dates which in their opinion mark the beginning of panslavism. One of them found it the most practicable to trace the beginning of panslavism back to the two holy brothers Cyril and Method in the ninth century, who, by inventing the Cyrillic script, founded the unity of the Slavs. Another one stated, that the Tsar of the Russians established his legal claim to Byzantium and to the Balkan Slavs by the marriage of the Byzantine princess Zoe with the Grand-Duke of Moscow. Several consider Peter I. as the first panslav, others name John Kollar, whose wish it was that all Slav rivers should flow into the Russian sea.

Bulgaria and Serbia have always been the pillars of panslavism, here kinship with the panslav ideal and the Russian soul and ideology was most prominent. Both nationalities follow the Orthodox faith and use the same Cyrillic script as the Russians. Bulgaria even owes its liberation after the Turkish-Russian war, to Tsar Alexander II., whose statue as Bulgaria's liberator stands till to day in Sofia. (Compare with "The Bulgarians and their 'Liberator'" on Page 8 this issue A.B.N.-Corr., Ed.)

Among the Czechs there always existed russophile trends and growing sympathies within the Czech society. The Czechs constantly opposed the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy's foreign policy. The two greatest fighters for panslav ideology were undoubtedly Massaryk and Benes. With the help of America and France and the British publicist "Scotus Viator", alias Watson, those two succeeded in demolishing entirely the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in creating the hapless "Small Entente" headed by Prague, at the expense of Hungary, which as non-slav, after losing World War I, had to yield half of its thousand year-old territory.

In the north-east, Poland opposed the Russian-panslav endeavours. The reason: its immediate neighbourhood with Russia and the long experience

with the imperialistic plans of Russia, which tried steadily to subjugate Poland. The growing controversies between Poles and Ukrainians and later the quarrel with the Czechs for the coal territories of Karvin-Teschen in Silesia added to the animosities.

It is of special importance today, in this period of the battle of ideologies, to pay more attention to panslavism, which deeply affects the people of Europe, for it is not impossible that panslavism as an accessory, will be used as a tool and means for its purpose by Moscow with Slav people, serving its plans toward world imperialism.

Panslavism was frequently believed to be the cause of historical events. A widely maintained opinion was that the outbreak of World War I. was brought about by the Russian panslav movement: the murder of the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince Franz-Ferdinand, i. e. the motives of this murder, sprang undoubtedly from the panslav ideology.

Stalin and his bolshevist clique are the direct heirs of the Russian tsarist-panslav idea. Stalin's Soviet ideology has considerably deviated lately from the Marxist-Soviet pattern, to follow an imperialistic panslav trend. The rulers of Moscow keep two irons in the fire at the same time. One is the weapon of world communism, the other under the pirate banner of panslavism, their imperialism being hidden behind these ideals, they use this disguise among the Slavs in the opponents' camps.

In 1945 Benes came from Moscow to Prague and not from Paris as in 1918. In the Slav countries, where the Russians were received first with great enthusiasm, the disappointment was great. The representatives of the panslav ideal of each Slav group soon found out to their own cost, that they had been only the tools of Moscow.

In Yalta and Potsdam the conquerors went even further, by giving free hand to the Russians, who as a result are now in Budapest and Vienna and do not show the slightest intention of giving up the spheres of interest thus gained.

Quo usque tandem Europa!

Who is Served, and by Whom?

Peculiar Radio Stations in West Germany

The American broadcasts set up in the German Federal Republic, allegedly with the task of serving the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain and to counter bolshevist tyrannizing of the ideal of freedom, are arranged and operated by a staff recruited from among the exiles from the countries in question. There are many such exiles in West Germany and more continue to trickle in.

But the way this important matter is treated and with how little insight in the choice of the staff, a few examples will show.

Emigrés from countries behind the Iron Curtain may, on the whole, be divided into two groups, those who have always been uncompromising opponents of communism and bolshevism and have always stood against Soviet-Russian despotism, and those who were at first friendly towards Moscow, marched in the "Fifth Column" in their countries and actively supported the communist regime till the ground at home got too hot for them and the communist despots kicked them out, as their work was done. Strange to say it is just persons of the second group who enjoy preference in the West, while the real political emigrés, proved fighters against Moscow, and often with a communist sentence of death in their pockets, are consistently overlooked, or even slandered.

The case of members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is a telling example for this discrimination. After a grueling fight against the Soviets in Ukraine, lasting till 1948, these men fought their way through Czechoslovakia to German territory. At that time the Czech regime was dominated by men like Ripka, Zenkl and other bolshevist favourites, who were later forced to seek asylum themselves in

Germany. At the height of their power these men ordered the Ukrainian fighters for freedom to be shot without mercy, to prevent them breaking through to Germany. Many of these U.P.A. soldiers found an early grave in the Bohemian forest, cut down by Czech minions. Then men of both fronts, — the former tools of Moscow, Ripka, Zenkl and their followers, and the U.P.A. soldiers they had fired on, met as guests, so to speak, of the American occupation forces, on German ground. And what was their reception?

Although the armed U.P.A. detachments had received orders to fight their way through to Germany in order to tell the world what was happening and to shake the west out of its apathy towards the cruel bolshevist tyranny, no opportunity was offered these brave men to fulfil their task by appearing before the public. Hardly any American office showed the interest due these men or gave them support. How different was the fate of the former collaborateurs of the communist Czech regime. Most of them sit firmly in various American agencies, receive salaries of over 300 dollars a month and are presented to the world as orthodox democrats and good anti-bolsheviks.

The American broadcasting station in Munich, Free Europe, which is intended as the bastion for a campaign for truth and freedom, has not been erected for the Slovak, Ukrainian or other fighters for freedom, but especially for those who fought against them. Their transmissions stamp them as tools of Benes imperialists.

A second radio station is to be erected in Munich with the special purpose of appealing to the peoples of the U.S.S.R. To that the men of the real liberation movements and organizations have no

Turkistan and Russia

By Dr. M. H. Ertürk

The Historical Facts

Tsar Peter I said, "Russia's dominion in Asia must be extended. Turkistan is the gate to the whole continent of Asia and consequently to India too." That utterance shows the aim and object of the century long endeavours made by Russia to conquer Turkistan at all cost, in order to secure Russia's position in Asia. Starting from Astrakhan, across the Caspian Sea, Peter I tried as early as 1717 to land at Chiva, to conquer the Turkistan coasts of the Caspian. Though that military attempt with its 5,000 men ended in defeat, Russia did not give up. The conquest of Turkistan remained one of the most important projects. It was 1884, however, before Turkistan came under Russian rule. The khanates Bukhara and Khiva retained their independence in internal matters until 1920. Since then Turkistan has been under the Russian yoke.

For 169 years the Turkestanians had sought to defend themselves against Russian conquest, but they were not able to protect their country when faced with modern weapons. Even after their subjection there were rebellions and uprisings aimed at driving the Russians out of Turkistan. The bolshevik historian, Galuzo, says in his book, "The Turkistan Colony", Omsk, 1934, page 155, that the Turkestanians rose 4,922 times against the Russians between 1899 and 1916. Besides which, between 1830 up to the end of 1916 there were twelve wide-spread revolts

access either, only persons belonging to Kerensky's clique, that is, to be exact, only Russian foster-brothers of the Benes imperialists. It is not difficult to realize that the second station will run in the wake of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia on whose initiative it is erected.

Taken as a whole, what does the work hitherto of that committee come to? Propagation of the ideology of Russian imperialism. A split in the anti-bolshevist camp of the non-Russian peoples. Financial support of lying propaganda by the Kerensky group against the non-Russian people's fight for freedom, dollar enticement for weak characters among the émigrés, those have been the methods up to now.

A typical example was the sudden and arbitrary appointment of the Ukrainian renegade, "General" Gulai to the "supreme command" of the Ukrainian movement for freedom, by which the approval of the Ukrainian people for this imperialist Russian manoeuvre was to be feigned. The Ukrainian exiles as a body rose against such provocation which could only have been launched with American approval, and protested in their press and by demonstrations. In contrast to that there is the case of three Ukrainians, one of whom, a member of the U.P.A., had just arrived from his home country, who could not constrain themselves from attacking the traitors and were condemned to seven years hard labour by an American court. An occurrence

which even Russian sources do not hush up.

As for Turkistan's resistance during the bolshevik era, it will be enough to point out the widely known struggles between 1918 and 1935 which history calls the fight for national liberation (*milli mujadila*) whereas the bolsheviks describe them as bandit movements. The Turkestanians did not succeed, however, in becoming masters in their own country. As the President of the Council of People's Commissioners of the Soviet Republic Tadzhikistan, Rahimbay, (shot in 1937 by the Russians) says in his book "Tadzhikistan", Moscow 1935, p. 13, the so-called "Basmachi Movement" in Turkistan ended in 1934. After that there were no more open revolts but acts of resistance as the occasion arose. The extent of that resistance is reported on in the journal of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, "Milli Turkistan", (National Turkistan) No. 68, pp. 20-23 (Ertürk, "The Political Basmachi Movement and its Present Position") and the American magazine "Ost-Probleme" (Eastern Problems) No. 32, 1950 (M. H. Ertürk, "What is Happening in Turkistan"). The struggle for national existence, for national independence, is still going on and it will not end until Turkistan has gained its freedom.

Against whom and for what are the Turkestanians fighting?

For Turkestanians Russia is external enemy No. 1 while bolshevism is inter-

which should give the whole world something to think over.

The impression gained by the present course of America's liberation policy, as far as it is reflected by personnel and general trend of the Munich broadcasting station is actually to maintain, the dungeon of nations as represented by the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, also in the future. Emigrants from the nations behind the Iron Curtain cannot understand how it is possible to propagate such out and out imperialist conceptions at the expense of other peoples, and merely combat imperialism when it is directed against the immediate interest of the United States resp. the western powers.

It is not to be wondered at that our peoples ask "What kind of free Europe is that" when men are to govern whose hands are stained with the blood of hundreds of thousands of Slovakian and Sudeten German men and women, and of thousands of Ukrainian anti-bolshevist fighters for freedom? (See the Sudeten German "White Book", and the Slovak Liberation Committee's brochure "Masks Off".)

"What kind of a free Europe is that in which the Ukrainian people, the Slovak people and a number of others are to be silenced?"

At any rate it cannot go on in that way, that American radio stations only send out the opinions of their chosen favourites who make the world believe they speak for a free Europe.

J. Zh.

nal enemy No. 1. It must not be forgotten that during the time of the tsars, as well as the Kerensky period, when they were fighting for liberty the Turkestans never dreamt of liberation just from the present regime, but above all to be free Russia's alien rule. In the same way, they are fighting against Moscow's dominion, not with the idea of ridding themselves of the bolshevik yoke in exchange for a "humanitarian" or "democratic" regime, but to be free from Russia for ever. It, therefore cannot be said that bolshevism is the first enemy and Russian domination the second. Turkistan wants to throw over both at once.

It is astonishing to observe that Russian emigrants whether they are followers of the tsarists or Kerensky, are bolshevists or anti-bolshevists, are never willing to renounce their imperialistic ideals. They are one and all determined to uphold their Russian empire. It makes no difference to them that the non-Russian peoples are being exterminated. Both the Russian democrats and Russian socialists are well — schooled imperialists.

What right has Russia to rule for ever over a country like Turkistan which was brought under Russian domination by force? Is it to be Turkistan's fate to bow to the power of Russia for all time because it once lost its national freedom? Is that justice? Has not God bestowed equal rights on all men? Those who know their history will regard it as mockery to expect the Turkestanians to fight side by side with Russians against bolshevism and then negotiate with their arch-enemy about their national destiny. In our era which is said to be the age of freedom, the national problems of the peoples subjugated by Russia cannot be solved on that basis.

Russia has no right to be the eternal ruler of other nations. Turkistan too, has the right to free itself for ever from Russia and to gain its independence. If it is intended to keep Turkistan chained to Russia, it is nonsense to talk about the natural rights of peoples and individuals. As long as a natural right for individuals is recognized by the civilized world, the right of peoples to form their way of life as they will must hold good.

Outdated Russian Terms

When we Turkestanians speak of secession from Russia, the Russians call us "separatists". When we stand up for our national rights we are "chauvinists". When we refuse to enter Russian traps we are decried as "radicals" and when we speak of our national unity, they alarm us by calling us pan-Turkists.

We are no "separatists". Our country's name is Turkistan and it is not Russian, nor does it wish to be a Russian province, therefore there is no question of separatism. We are not chauvinists either. We merely demand our basic rights back. We might be called radicals, but only in the sense that after all our bitter experiences we are convinced that we can only attain our end if we refuse all compromise with our Russian arch-enemies. The Russians themselves have brought us to that conclusion.

At the same time we cherish no hatred against the Russians. Our customs and ethics do not admit that. Neither have we anything against the Russian people as such, and we thoroughly respect its right to a free and independent life within the boundaries of its own territory.

But we do not admit that Russia has the right to retain its present territorial dominion at the expense of alien peoples. What we do hate, is Russia's alien domination and our bitterest antagonism is directed against its imperialism which has cost the lives of millions of Turkestanians. Whether committed by tsarists, revolutionaries, democrats or bolsheviks, such acts are not easily forgotten by the sufferers. That is why, for us, there is no difference in the aims of the bolsheviks and those of the Russian emigrants, when they are directed at an "indivisible great Russian imperium". Both are imbued with the same imperialistic principle. The only difference is the colour, one clothed in red, the other in white.

Russian emigrants work very systematically in this respect. They take up the solution of the national problem in the same spirit by luring the subjugated peoples with "cultural autonomy" or even "territorial autonomy" and just in that lies the snag. Turkistan has no desire to be an autonomous country of Russia's, but demands unqualified and full independence. Promises of that sort have been dangled before Turkistan before and the subsequent deception has not been forgotten by our people. Russian emigrants magnanimously talk of "self-determination" forgetting that the phrase is discredited in Turkistan after the experience with Kerensky's and bolshevik promises.

Treacherous Plans and Worn Out Manoeuvres

In spite of the fact that Russians are regarded as oppressors in Turkistan and the people are undergoing unspeakable suffering under the Russian-bolshevik rule there, emigrés abroad are planning to handcuff Turkistan to Russia in the future too. During the last war General Vlassov with Himmler's help, tried to realize that dream. But neither Vlassov's endeavours nor Himmler's might, was able to get us Turkestanians into a common front under Russian leadership (see documents of Nürnberg Trials). Though there is no Vlassov to-day, still there is a Kerensky, a Melgunov and a number of others who are doing their utmost to promote the dream of a union of all non-Russian nations with the Russian in a "united front against bolshevism".

To-day too, the Russians have found outside support for that hopeless plan. The "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" has even been founded by a group of Americans. The refrain of that initiative is the same we have heard so long from the Russians, "First beat bolshevism, afterwards we shall discuss the national problems." Besides this leading motif, the Russian-American group make use of the usual catchwords. "Liberation of the peoples of Russia",

"United Front against Bolshevism", "Equal Rights with Russians", "Self-determination of the Nations", none of which are listened to by our much-tried people. The above mentioned Committee has become, consciously or unconsciously, a tool for the Russians. The latter gained with all their blandishments just seven Turkestanians for their plan, the same persons who collaborated during the war with Vlassov. The publicity campaign was no more successful among the other non-Russian peoples. These events will go down in history as tragic episodes, as witness

Field-Marshall Lord Ironside President of the Scottish League

Field-Marshal Lord Ironside, chief of the British General Staff in World War II, has been elected President of the Scottish League for European Freedom. His predecessor, the Earl of Mansfield, who gave his support to the cause of our peoples' liberation has taken the position of first vice-president. The good friend of the subjugated peoples, Mr. John F. Stewart, who has devoted himself, heart and soul to our cause, remains as before chairman of the Executive Committee of the League.

We are convinced that in the Scottish League for European Freedom, under the leadership of its new President, Lord Ironside, one of the best British strategists and military experts on eastern problems, and directed by Mr. John Stewart, the affairs of our nations will continue to receive the active support enjoyed hitherto.

We therefore wish the Scottish League for European Freedom the greatest possible success and the blessings of the whole world in their responsible and honourable task.

to the errors made by the West and a disastrous experiment to split up the unity of our national liberation movements in a critical hour.

All Russian efforts to force us Turkestanians into their "united front", whether by threats such as "Russia is great, what can you do against that power?", whether by money, oratory, promises or by winning a few renegades, or even libelling our national forces as fascists, have been fruitless. Not only that, these attempts have called forth an impressive reaction among our people. Thousands of Turkestanians have signed a protest against the Russian plan of amalgamating our national movement with the anti-bolshevik proposition under Russian leadership. (The National Turkestanian Unity Committee dispose of documentary material for everyone to see.) That unanimous counter-action is a convincing proof that for our people today the parole, and the only one is: liberation from Russian domination of every and an sort. As long as the Russians fail to understand that the time was passed when one could live at the

expense of another, it will be impossible to sit down with them at one table, or to negotiate with them.

Illusion and Reality

It is much to be regretted that the Americans allow themselves to be misled, and get their information on the psychology, way of life and political will of the Turkestanians from the Russians. If it is supposed that bolshevism can be opposed by the creation of a "Union of Russian peoples" it is a great mistake. Bolshevism cannot be crushed by such illusions, but alone by the support of the national freedom movements of the different subjected peoples striving for independence.

As already stated, we Turkestanians are not haters of the Russians, but long experience has given us a proverb, "If you have a Russian as a friend, always carry an axe around with you." That is just what it is, we do not trust any promises of friendship from that quarter any more. Any organizations or persons in the West who believe it is an easy solution of the matter simply not to hear the voice of the subjugated peoples and go on propagating an indivisible Russian imperium, it is nothing short of the strangulation of the freedom of the oppressed peoples, and will never be forgotten by history.

Turkistan needs its national independence from Russia and to achieve this end appeals to-day for the help of all freedom-loving people in the world.

Meeting of the Croatian National Committee

There was a meeting of the Croatian National Committee on August 23 and 24, in Munich. Members were representatives sent by Croatian exiles from all the western countries. Several resolutions were passed.

The praesidium of the Croatian National Committee is constituted as follows: President — Ivan Brozovic, former commander of an army corps; Vice-President — Prof. Hadzic; Secretary-General — Dr. Stepan Buc; Committee men — Dr. Omercan and Dr. Jelic.

Communiqué

The Croatian National Committee at the Meeting of August 23 and 24, 1952, in Munich resolved that:

1) The intense activity now being carried on to liberate Croatia from the present communist dictatorship is to continue undaunted.

The fact that this regime, to-day under the mask of socialism, is appealing to the Western Powers for material help and offering its army, — whose fighting morale, owing to the insuperable differences among the peoples arbitrarily thrown into it, is questionable, — for the struggle against the communist states of the East Bloc, should not mislead the west into basing their political decisions on such vague suppositions, especially as the regime clings firmly to its communist principles.

2) All the strength of the Croatian People is to be put to the service of its liberation within its ethnic-historical borders and the setting up of an independent Croatian state in common with the other sovereign states of a united Europe.

Soviet Language Policy

By Professor V. Derzhavyn

Dialectic Zig-Zag Course

The fluctuations and changes in Soviet language policy correspond, on the whole, to the dialectic zig-zag lines of the Soviet national and cultural policy, and may without much trouble be fitted into the historical course of the whole internal, and in part the foreign policy, of the U.S.S.R. There are, however a number of false conceptions in circulation to-day, based on out-dated reports, or such as have arisen from ascribing to the Soviet language policy motives and intentions which have full value in the West but which, at best are merely meant as propaganda forms or have no significance for Soviet-Russian class views.

A meritorious book by Heinz Kloss „Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950“ (Pohl & Co., Munich) which has recently appeared is a striking example in this respect. Kloss maintains not only that “the land that seeks more than any other to subordinate irrational forces and impulses to the rational, — the Soviet Union, — has gone far in its consideration of the languages of the minor nations“ (p. 11), but he ascribes this supposed attitude of the Soviet government towards the languages of the “minor peoples“ to its regard for “social justice“. The author does feel obliged to admit that with Yiddish at least the Soviet Union has apparently gone over to “compulsory assimilation“ (p. 47). But the author does not say that Yiddish is not the only exception.

Particularism through Languages of Minor Nations

Actually, however, the *languages of the minor nations* are only treated with “consideration“ in so far as their particularism stands in the way of the formation of “major language groups“ i. e. fits in with Moscow’s centralist russification policy. Thus the promising beginnings of a common north-west Turkish language were nipped in the bud when the Soviets raised several north-west Turkish varieties to the rank of recognized languages, although the divergencies between Kazan, Tartar, Bashkir, Khakan, Shor, etc. almost entirely have

3) The Croatian National Committee rejects any political solution whatever that includes Croatia in Yugoslavia, no matter in what form. Events of the last decade have sufficiently proved the impossibility of any such combination and the danger it is for the peace of Europe.

4) The Croatian National Committee accepts the demand made by the German minority in Croatia that the people may return to their homes when Croatia is free and that their property be restored to them and that equal rights with the other citizens of the future democratic Croatian State be accorded them, as justified.

the character of dialects and in no way go beyond the standard of linguistic peculiarities of any Great Russian, Polish or High German dialects. But it is a question of preventing the growth of a vital national language and breaking up the bonds of a common language by supporting the dialectal disintegration by every means at the disposal of a totalitarian state. At bottom, it is the same policy followed by the Polish State of 1918—1938 towards West Ukraine by lending support and sub-

off against the common national Turkestanian language. In North Caucasia where small communities, ten or twenty thousand strong, are “blessed“ with an independent language of their own with the exclusive right, — alongside the official Russian, of course, — of a public, written and cultural existence. That means that the least linguistic deviation in favour of a natural inclination towards union can be interpreted by government and party as “bourgeois nationalism“, pan-Turkism, reactionary trend or treason, and punished accordingly.

Russian alone Gains

Great care is taken that the unquenchable desire for language association which, owing to intense industrialization, has increased considerably, is turned to the advantage of the official Russian language while, on the other hand, the native languages of North Caucasia are subjected to more splitting than in the last century when in the first half the Avaric and in the second half the Georgian served as a practical means of communication between mountain races having different languages. Now, however, Russian seeks the upper hand and will get it too. The greater the language isolation becomes, the easier the russification of the individual dialects will be.

A specially glaring example of the divide et impera policy in the sphere of language is the treatment of the Finno-Ugrian of the upper Volga where three closely related remnants of what a thousand years ago was a compact Finno-Ugrian population, — the Mariyans or Chermisse, north of the Volga (somewhere between Gorkiy and Kazan) and the Mordvins, south of the Volga, separated from the Mariyans by the Chuvash, who speak Turkish, although they too are of Finno-Ugrian descent. It is a matter of course for the Soviet policy to make the differences there permanent, even to increase them, and all is done for that purpose.

Each of the three peoples received its autonomous puppet state and a corresponding language, officially equal to the Russian state language. The joke of it is, that the half million Mariyans have to be content with one “national language“ while the million and a half Mordvins have been burdened with two; the Soviet government having taken advantage of the existence of two slightly divergent dialects to divide them into Erzya-Mordvin and Moksha-Mordvin and thus to make any cultural development based on the native Mordvin language impossible. Where the Mordvin cannot make himself understood with his peasant dialect he is expected to resort to Russian and, of course he does so.

Thus the maintenance of an artificially divided dialect becomes a drastic factor in the permanent denationalization and rus-

The O.U.N. Leaders to Stepan Bandera

“To the Leader of the entire O.U.N.—Stepan Bandera“

“We send to the leaders of the O.U.N. Units Abroad, to all friends and Ukrainians in foreign countries our revolutionary greetings.

“We, decimated by the rabid enemy of all humanity, Rusian bolshevism, still proudly uphold the banner of the Ukrainian Liberation Revolution. We are glad to know that our friends are with us.

We firmly believe that the banner handed us by the greatest of our heroes, General Taras Chuprynya, will soon float over the golden spires of Kyiv.

Friend, Leader! we firmly believe that at the decisive moment and under your guidance we will lead the Ukrainian people to final victory.

Ukraine, Spring 1952

For our leaders:
(Signature)

siderizing the spoken and written use of little known Ukrainian dialects (e. g. Lemkian, of Western Galicia as well as the almost antique sounding language affected especially by the Russian-friendly fragment of the West Ukrainian intellectual classes, the so-called “Yazychiye“, a strange mixture of Church-Slavic, Russian and local dialects) as a means of checking the all-Ukrainian national and cultural language. The Czech government of 1918 to 1935 took a similar attitude towards the Ukrainian Carpathian population. The means at the disposal of these two officially “parliamentary democratic“ states were slight and their zeal in respect of language policy was but lukewarm, so that their anti-Ukrainian language policy had no great effect. The Soviet government, on the other hand, disposes of immeasurable cultural and police methods of coercion and applied them ruthlessly in the above mentioned north-west Turkish area, as well as in Turkistan where the closely related dialects of Kasakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kirghizia, etc. are consistently played

sification. Chuvash which is also spoken by one million and a half persons would probably have been treated in the same way, but it is a Turkish language and therefore has little tendency to split into dialects. For its very uniformity it had necessarily to be recognized.

Regional Variations

That brings us to the second main feature of the Soviet language policy, a feature that very much complicates matters i. e. its diversity within its boundaries, and regional variations. A Turkish language cannot be handled, or mishandled, in the same way as a Finno-Ugrian, still less can a non-Slavic language, for instance the Moldavian dialect of Rumania in Bessarabia be transformed like Ukrainian or Byelorussian, to say nothing of the enormous structural differences between Arian and the viraous languages that are not Arian.

The Slavic languages of the Soviet Union are being step by step reduced in grammar, lexicology and phraseology to the level of a poor phonetic imitation of the official Russian language. On the other hand the non-related languages are being submitted to a flood of words and expressions borrowed from Russian because any serious encroachment on the morphology and syntax would make the language in question simply incomprehensible. The present position of Kasan-Tartar is described as follows by one whose mother-tongue it is:

"In the Tartar and Bashkir press, various Russian and other words are constantly cropping up, words like "predsedatel'" (chairman), "vlastj" (authority), "verchovny" (supreme), "disciplina" (discipline), etc. Such words are used not because there are no equivalents in Tartar, but because the press which is absolutely under the control of Soviet government and party is really not able to prevent their infiltration. In that way the party seeks to achieve its russification policy. These words are, however, not taking root among the people ("Asat Vatan", Munich 1952, No. 3 p. 15).

The Russian alphabet which was made obligatory the end of the thirties is most unsuitable, even in its changed form for non-Slavic speech, for instance for Turkish, Mongolian, Finno-Ugrian, Caucasian, Rumanian, and is not much better than the Arabic alphabet which originally had no vowels. On the other hand it promotes the russification of the aforesaid peoples most definitely and isolates them from the Osman-Turks of Asia Minor who have gone over to Latin letters, as well as from the other Islam peoples who cling to the Arabic alphabet: quod erat demonstrandum.

Georgians and Armenians, and the Jews who for political reasons are less disturbed, are the only non-Slavic peoples in the Soviet Union who have been able still to retain the alphabet of their forefathers against Moscow's russification policy. The Armenians, it is true, at the heavy cost of the apparent simplification of their system of writing, the object of which is to make it much harder for them to understand their national literature of by-gone centuries.

The Bulgarians and their "Liberators"

A Myth that has Vanished

A noteworthy lecture was held under the above title by Mr. Michail Balsamoff, Vice-President of the Bulgarian Society for a United Europe, in Munich on August 7, this year, before the Stuttgart Society for the Study of East European Questions, under whose auspices the monthly periodical "Ost Europa" is published. Below we give some extracts from the lecture which are of special significance with regard to the ideas of the A.B.N. and its aims.

"... When at last through the Russian-Turko war of 1877/78 Bulgaria gained its freedom it soon became evident that the "liberators" and also the West, had a false conception of the Bulgarian people and their determination to be free and independent. Subsequent developments proved that the optimism of Petersburg in the matter of Bulgaria's annexation in order to reach the Straits, as well as the pessimism of the western diplomats who suspected, unjustly, that Bulgaria would willingly serve Russia's expansion, were equally wrong...

Russia's thirst for conquest with a view to gain the Straits, was disguised as championship of the all-Slav idea, as protection of Christianity, or a liberation to dupe both the West and the Balkan people concerned...

The Berlin Treaty mutilated the newly created Bulgaria, not because the frontiers after the preliminary peace of San Stephano did not correspond with the ethnographic extension of the Bulgarian people, but because western diplomacy refused to believe that the Bulgarian principality would be able to maintain its independence in the face of Rusia. It was regarded from the beginning as a future Russian province and care was taken to keep it as small as possible. By its attitude, however, the Bulgar-

ian people surprised both its "liberators" and the whole of Europe by setting resolutely to work to create a constitution to guarantee the State its independence.

After the constitution had been suspended, under pressure from Russia and a Bureaucracy had been set up with the Russian General Ehrenroth as president, the country was flooded with pan-slavic tracts and pamphlets written by satellites of pan-slavic ideas as propagated by Russia, Aksakoff, Katkoff and others. These pamphlets said, for instance,

"Bulgarian nationality does not mean separation from us. Bulgaria can only have a future as part of the great Slavic whole, only as a member of the planetary system whose centre is Russia, that source of light and warmth. We must take an active part in the inner life of Bulgaria", or

"The Bulgarian State has been resuscitated and baptized with Russian blood. Thus we can never give it up. The elder brother has the duty to lead the younger. The Bulgarian prince is the symbol of the Russian victory over 500 hundred years of slavery. The simple people understand that very well, but the intelligentsia, ruined by the West, are renegades from Slavism, traitors to the same fatherland. Russia is chosen to be the natural, legal centre of the whole Slavic world" (Aksakoff).

These quotations give some example of Russian imperialism camouflaged as pan-slavism, and reveal better than anything the situation at that time in Bulgaria.

The effect of that "enlightenment" undertaken on such a grand scale was exactly the opposite from what Moscow expected. The people were really enlightened and saw through Russia's real intentions. The result was that conservatives and liberals made friends and party differences dis-

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Bound to Russian

There remains the third main feature of Soviet language policy, its variation according to its function. By that we mean the functional subjection of all non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union to the official Russian language, — a matter which has been overlooked, not only by the western world but also by the anti-Soviet emigré press, — and consequently their treatment at the hands of the Soviet government and all-powerful party. The political role of the Russian language as the only generally understood means of intercourse within a consistently totalitarian state is so tremendous that it is hardly possible to grasp the ever-changing attitude of Soviet policy towards the non-Russian language groups, without taking into consideration what one might call the internal language policy of the Soviets, towards their own official state language.

The chaos of the first years of the revolution (1917—1920) when on the one hand the equality of all languages of the world was proclaimed, while on the other, even high functionaries in the communist party were in danger of being shot in the streets by soldiers of the Red Army,

because they had carried on a conversation that was not in Russian, may be explained by the uncertain attitude of the Soviets towards the Russian literary language itself, which was regarded on one side as a tool of capitalist exploitation, while at the same time it seemed indispensable. The following period, embracing the years 1921—1928, may be said to be a time of experiment in linguistics directed at "proletarianizing" the Russian state language and ridding it of its "bourgeois" flavour, that is depriving it of its European values in order to turn it into an unimpeachable tool for communist class warfare propaganda; simultaneously the non-Russian national languages were experimented with and a certain freedom to develop was granted them. As soon as the Russian language was "Sovietized", however, in one way or another, the so-called external language policy was changed and in 1929 the gradual russification of the non-Russian peoples and races began to be tightened up and that went hand in hand with a ruthless mutilation of their languages. The process has lasted with few interruptions until to-day. We hope to review its detailed and chronological characteristics in the near future in another connection.

The Liberation is Indivisible

The Liberation of the Soviet Satellites is Impossible Without Simultaneous Freeing of the Peoples of U.S.S.R.

By Professor Ferdinand Durcansky, President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Concluded from No. 8 of "A.B.N.-Correspondence"

Offensive in the Cold War

In the course of the cold war, when the free world decided to defend the positions of freedom against the expansion of Moscow's imperialism and communist tyranny, the necessity became obvious to have the help of the subjugated nations and to make a common effort. The cold war in its present form brings all the advantages to Moscow without corresponding risks. In fact it means a further communist effort to subjugate more nations. As long as Moscow is on the offensive, the free world remains on the defensive. The only risk Moscow has is that she may achieve her aim. But the sacrifices which the free nations must bring are so great that their material basis, i. e. financial balance and healthy economic development, is threatened. All this only creates conditions for a further spreading of communism.

To speak of a cold war in connection with Moscow's pressure and the free world's position, would require an equal mutual attitude. If the free world does not want to have only risks but also to have the possibility of winning the cold war, it must exchange the defensive for an offensive, as Moscow endeavours to extend tyranny to the West, so should the free world — making use of all its resources — carry freedom to the nations behind the Iron Curtain and in the U.S.S.R. Only in this way can the West secure for itself favourable conditions for ending the cold war victoriously.

In its own interest, the free world should stop compromising with Moscow, and take a consistant attitude in favour of securing freedom for those nations which long for it. Only in this way can the confidence of the subjugated nations towards the honest aims of the free nations be renewed. The free world should decide for an integral and general application of the principles of freedom. It should stop using the tactics of acknowledging the right of some nations to freedom and denying it to others. It should stop classifying the nations into privileged nations and second class nations. One cannot ask sacrifices and the utmost exertion of power from the nations in the fight for ideals, the fruit of which it is intended to deny them. Humanity must draw the conclusions from the fact that freedom is one and indivisible. Otherwise there will remain the threat that tyranny will rule over some nations and will be strong enough to create uncertainty and endanger world peace.

From Moscow's aims and methods it would follow logically that the subjugated nations should find such universal support for their liberation

efforts, as those find in the Kremlin who strive to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world. It is not then a question of forcing freedom upon the subjugated nations, or of the free world fighting for freedom for them, but merely for the free nations in their own interest and in that of a just world order, to support the efforts of the subjugated nations which really want to be free. That means that the free nations should, in the spirit of the centuries-long striving of humanity after freedom, support the struggle of the subjugated nations against the Kremlin's bolshevik despotism.

Only by a united front of the free nations and the restoration of freedom to the subjugated can Moscow's despotism be brought to a fall.

The Nation as Foundation

One of the building stones of the present social order is the nation. On them rests international order. Moscow's imperialism, helped by Communist ideology strives in every possible way to destroy this building stone — the nation. In every patriot it sees its enemy, and in the fulfilment of the nation's right to self-determination it feels its death. Therefore it is in the interest of the free world to demand the fulfilment of these principles in the territories ruled over by bolshevik despotism. It is indeed difficult to understand the lack of interest or the even negative attitude of the free nations towards the national idea and its application. As Moscow sees in the disintegration and destruction of the nations a condition for maintaining her despotism, in the same manner the preservation and development of the nations should be a primary aim of the free world.

If it is still possible to avoid the war which is hanging over us like Damocles' sword, undoubtedly this possibility lies in supporting the Liberation Movements of the subjugated nations. Only in this way can the conglomerate of the U.S.S.R. be disintegrated, or at least its aggressiveness weakened, and its expansionist aims frustrated to such an extent that it could not plan war.

The liquidation of bolshevik despotism represented by Moscow, is a condition for maintaining world peace. This condition can be fulfilled only if the subjugated nations cease to be objects about which Moscow decides, and become subjects deciding their own fate for themselves.

Guarantee for Victory and Peace

In the case of war, it will be the vital interest of the free nations fighting for freedom and progress, to include in these efforts all the nations having the

same ideals. The nations behind the Iron Curtain and within the U.S.S.R. after their experiences of the past and present, await this moment as their only means of rescue. It is for the free nations to understand the mission which will have to be fulfilled. The sacrifices of a war catastrophe will have to be made good at least partly, and this can be done only when the principles which enabled the development of the free world are brought to fulfilment in the territories ruled today by Moscow.

Having this aim the free world will be able to change the destructive effort to an effort to disintegrate the slaveholders' domain. Applied properly, the national ideas will perform the function of a certain kind of atom bomb. This will save the nations from great suffering and will also help to establish a just order which is a condition for lasting peace.

The present crisis is growing because numerous European nations have been deprived of freedom, and Europe, as a whole, cannot fulfil its historic mission. The European forces which were the bearers of progress for many centuries, have been put into the service of tyranny to a large extent. It is thus in the general interest of humanity that Europe should, as soon as possible, start to fulfil its function and the existing vacuum be removed.

Europe must Rise Again...

Though geographically, Europe extends to the Ural, the despots in Moscow succeeded after World War I in weakening it by 50 per cent of its area and 25 per cent of its population. After Wordl War II, the free part of Europe became limited to one third of its area and one half of its population. The results of this are the more catastrophic in that what can be regarded as inland Europe is ruled by Moscow, and only those territories remained free which geographically can be regarded as marginal territories.

Without removing bolshevik despotism with its centre in Moscow, Europe will not be able to take that place in the world which it is called to fill in the interest of humanity. Only if this is done will new economic possibilities and new political horizons be opened to Europe.

Freedom is Indivisible

The efforts of the Anti-Bolshevist-Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) are concentrated not only on removing the evil which threatens to overflow the whole world. It fights, not only against Muscovite tyranny, but it fights for the ideas which secured the rise of humanity, for their fulfilment in the territory of that huge prison called the Soviet Union. The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of

"Balkanization" or Stabilization

Continued from Page 1

half, — a sovereign north Bulgarian principality and a south Bulgarian land under the Sublime Porte, with the name East Rumelia, while Thrace and Macedonia were left under Turkish rule. Dobruja was joined to Rumania as compensation for Bessarabia, which fell a victim to Russian imperialism, and finally, the west Bulgarian areas of Pirot and Nisch were incorporated in Serbia. Thus the foundations stone for the subsequent disorders was laid, later known as "balkanization" and distained by the very West that had been its founders.

The Serbo-Bulgarian war of 1885 instigated by Russia against the union of north Bulgaria and east Rumelia, the inter-allied Balkan war of 1913 over Thrace and Macedonia, again sponsored by St. Petersburg the various uprisings in Macedonia against alien domination and all the antagonisms and conflicts on the Balkans were only the consequences of that same "balkanization" in which many a European great power and above St. Petersburg, — replaced in our times by Moscow, — were not exactly what one might call disinterested.

Had all those interventions in Balkan matters not been, and had unbridled Russian imperialism not attempted again and again to break through the Balkans, calling forth reaction on the part of Great Britain and the Danube monarchy etc., the small Balkan peoples would certainly long since have found a normal, peaceful life together. Instead of that, nationalist tendencies were incited, neighbour enmities were inflamed or arbitrary state structures like Yugoslavia were called into being, all of which tended only to increase the tension in the Balkans.

The moral of the story is, that it was not the number of peoples and small states in the Balkans that were to blame for the "balkanization", but the interference of foreign powers, first and

Nations (A.B.N.) has in mind the ideals of progress, it strives to bring mankind to understand that not partial solutions, but an integral solution is necessary when confronted with the Bolshevik danger, a solution which both corresponds with the interests of mankind and the longings of the subjugated nations. We endeavour to persuade sincere people that no nation can feel secure and live in peace, when hundreds of millions of human beings live in slavery.

For this noble endeavour which answers the interests of all mankind and is based on the ideals of progress and general welfare we want to win the understanding of freedom-loving nations and individuals.

foremost being Russia, with its ruthless imperialism, which caused the chaos and gave rise to disorders.

National States or Imperium in the East?

Now to come to our actual subject. The bolsheviks spread the legend with intention, and are supported in the theory by Russian emigrants, that if the principle of national states within the Soviet Union were applied, at least one hundred peoples claiming no less than one hundred sovereign states would arise. In that way, the solution of the most important problem of our time, the problem of the restoration of the national independent states of the peoples in the east is thrashed out ad absurdum and brought into discredit.

Others take the fact that A.B.N. comprises the representatives of 20 peoples, so that if our demands were fulfilled, there would be 20 new independent states which would mean a ruinous splitting up. One might suppose from such talk that the peoples in question had never had states of their own before, and as if they would be cultivated like mushrooms after bolshevism was crushed, only to please an exaggerated conception cherished by the A.B.N.

The answer to that is, that among the peoples represented in the A.B.N. there is not one that has not already had its own state at some time or other, and that cannot look back on a tradition of centuries.

It is apparently forgotten that among the 20 nations belonging to the A.B.N. who joined it from a sense of a common fate, not only for the present but also for the future, there are countries whose right to a sovereign state is beyond discussion. They are Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Albania, Czechia, Slovakia, Serbia and Croatia. In the West, probably through the influence of Russian imperialists, the future of those peoples who were already behind the first Iron Curtain is said to be problematical. They are the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, the Caucasian peoples, the Cossacks, the Siberians and the Idel-Uranians. What right has anyone to say that these last named peoples, who had the misfortune to be overwhelmed by Russian imperialism at an earlier time, must remain dependent and be slaves for ever. What right has anyone to propose giving back the satellite states their independence, yet deprive the others within the U.S.S.R., who have just as good a right to sovereignty and can claim a culture that is just as high, of their basic right to freedom and independence.

Does anyone seriously suggest degrading these peoples to second rank? In our century which claims to be the age of humanity,

and in view of the crusade for truth and freedom to which the leading World Powers with America at the head have ascribed, such a wicked idea should have no place.

Another question: why was the existence of the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and now the Benelux States no "balkanization", yet the restoration of Ukraine with its 45 millions, Turkistan with its 20 millions etc. is termed "balkanization"? How is it that no one dreams of raising objections against the restoration of the sovereignty of the satellite states, but rejects the independence of the non-Russian in the U.S.S.R. with the hypocritical complaint of "balkanization"?

Worse than Stalin?

After the subjection of our peoples even the bolsheviks were obliged to recognize their claim to their own states and national independence, even though only on paper, it was at least officially recognized. Stalin himself, who in reality manages the genocide in the Soviet sphere, consents to the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republic taking part in the U.N. as fully qualified members, and acknowledged by the West just for their state independence. Another thing, according to the Stalin Constitution the right has been formally conceded to Ukraine and Byelorussia to secede from the Soviet Union.

That being so, we may be allowed to ask how it is possible that there are people in the West who doubt that right and wish to put an end to it, when the principle of independence for Ukraine and Byelorussia is not only acknowledged by the U.N. but even by Stalin himself. Do the "democratic" Russian emigrants want to be more inflexible than Stalin?

It is clear that no one and no power in the free world, if they have any respect for that term, can take a retrograde step in this. There is only one solution and that is, what has been conceded Ukraine and Byelorussia, though only theoretically, but still officially and publicly, this right to their own state must be conceded to them and all the other oppressed peoples in the U.S.S.R. in future and in practice. Otherwise, after a victory of the West over Moscow's tyranny, Ukraine and Byelorussia, which in the Stalin era were members of the U.N. would have to be thrown out of that world aro-pagus. That would indeed be a strange beginning to a new era of freedom and justice . . .

How the "Balkanization" would really be

How many states would arise on the ground of the present Soviet-Russia when one day the Russian imperium ceases to be.

Besides the Baltic states whose annexation is not recognized at all by the West, besides the satellite states whose liberation counts as a matter of course,

and besides Ukraine and Byelorussia whose independence is internally and legally assured, there are in all only five or eight states whose peoples cannot be deprived of their rights by any divine, historical or human law.

Turkistan, the Caucasian peoples (North Caucasia, Georgia, Armenia, Aserbaijan who have already united in a common state complex), the Siberian state, Cossackia and Idel-Ural. That is all. The Karelian-Finnish question will be automatically solved by the inclusion of these people in Finland which the West surely recognizes.

That being so, where is the "frightful mutilation" and that chaotic "condition of small states" that the champions of the Russian imperium make such a noise about and set up as a bogey-man against us.

Our opponents maintain further that such a number of states without any guardianship will never be able to exist. Anyone, however, who knows the history of these peoples and their blessed state life in the past will easily understand that those who maintain any such argument if they really believe it themselves should be put under restraint as weakminded.

To Brush-Up History

As in the discussion on the above problems, especially those concerning the claims of North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Cossackia and Siberia to state independence, a faulty knowledge of history is frequently met with, so some dates and facts of the later history of these people may be useful to leave no doubt as to the legitimacy of those claims.

North Caucasus: December 21, 1917 the National Committee of the Peoples of North Caucasus broke off all relations with Petersburg. May 11, 1918 the National Assembly of the Peoples of North Caucasus proclaimed the country an independent state. In February 1920 the bolsheviks invaded North Caucasus and erected a Soviet-Republic in Dagestan. In February 1921 a rebellion broke out in Dagestan against the bolshevik-Russian rule. June 1922 Kabarda, Karachay and Cherkesses were Sovietized. July 7, 1924 the bolsheviks proclaimed the "autonomous" Chechenko-Ingus Republic.

Idel-Ural: November 12, 1917 the National Assembly of the Turko-Tartars and Finno-Ugronians proclaimed the Idel-Ural Democratic Republic and elected Prof. Sadri-Maksudi as their president. April 12, 1918 the Idel-Ural Republic was occupied by bolshevik troops. March 23, 1919 the bolsheviks set up the Bashkir and on May 27, 1920 the Tartar Republics, instead of the Idel-Ural.

Cossackia: After the all-Cossackian Congress and after the proclamation of the Soviet-Don Cossackian Republic the Cossack Council for the Rescue of the Don proclaimed the state independence of the land of the Cossacks on May 5, 1918. In the following years 1918—1920

The Bulgarians and their "Liberation"

Continued from Page 8

appeared. The nation was indignant, and united under the slogan "Down with tsarist dictatorship!" The Prince bowed to the will of his people and defied the Tsar by reintroducing the constitution. The breach with Russia was thus a fact and what followed was the logical consequence and a deepening of the gulf between "liberator" and "liberated"

The lecturer went on to describe the union of north and south Bulgaria against the wish of the Russian Tsar which further widened the breach, the Serbo-Bulgarian war of the same year which was caused by Russia's inciting Serbia to attack Bulgaria, and the victory of the latter which aroused the anger of the Tsar.

"The victorious end of the war inflamed the Tsar's hatred even more. The Prince who had dared to act against his will had to be removed. It was Russia's aim to leave the Bulgarian people without a leader and force them to their knees, so they would have to beg the Russian Tsar for forgiveness and protection. Russia succeeded in forcing the King to abdicate almost before a year had passed. The echo called forth by that step is best demonstrated by the remarks made by Bulgaria's competent men of the time. When asked by Prince Dondukov, the Russian High Commissioner, if it were not splendid to see Bulgaria freed from Turkish dominion, the Bulgarian Exarch, Antim I, promptly answered, "course it is splendid, your Highness, but it would be still more wonderful if we knew who would free us from the Russians."

At that critical time after the abdication of the King, the Russian paper, Moskowskij Wedomosti, which was under pan-slavic influence, said, "Who would oppose Russia if she decided to take over the administration of Bulgaria? Surely no one! Why should we hesitate?" Then the fate of Bulgaria depended alone on the attitude of

the people. The West could do nothing, because Western Powers had undertaken at the Berlin Congress to respect the right of national self-determination. The Russian diplomat, Baron Klaubars went as special envoy to Bulgaria and tried to incite the people against their own government. He approached the garrisons and did what he could to organize a revolt which would serve as an excuse for Russian intervention. He demanded the election of a new king and when Sofia did not submit he left the country, taking all the Russian consuls with him and had warships cruise in Bulgarian waters as a threat.

The leader of the liberals, Stefan Stambuloff, first as a member of the regency council and then as prime minister, was the prime mover in directing the people's will to resist. He was the boldest, most inexorable adversary of Russian imperialism disguised as pan-slavicism. No threat from Petersburg was able to weaken his opposition. Under his leadership the little Bulgarian lion showed the big Rusisan bear its teeth. With the conditions then prevailing there was nothing for the latter to do but retire.

An incredible thing happened: the nation which had been regarded by Europe as a ripe victim of the pan-slavic liberation policy, managed to maintain itself without Russian help and even against Russia, merely with its own resources. Bulgaria's emancipation was demonstrated further by the choice of Ferdinand von Saxony and Coburg-Gotha as the new sovereign, by the great National Assembly in Tirano, 1887. In spite of sharp Russian opposition the new ruler was unanimously called to the throne amid wild enthusiasm

(A further extract concerning the second "double liberation" of Bulgaria by Moscow in our times, will appear in the next number.)

a regular war raged between the Soviets and the Don Cossacks who were fighting for their independence.

Siberia: May 25, 1918 the autonomous government of West Siberia and Ural with its capital in Omsk, arose. August 15, 1918 American troops were landed in Siberia. December 14, 1918 the Russian general, Kolchak, drove the government out of Omsk. In 1920 Kolchak was killed. April 4, 1920 the Democratic Republic of the Far East arose, and state independence followed. On October 25, 1922 the last Japanese troops left Vladivostok. In November of the same year the Russian-bolshevik invasion of the Republic of the Far East began and its territory was incorporated in bolshevik Russia.

Stabilization through National States

This systematic listing of events alone, points out what the people whose future fate is under discussion, desire from the bottom of their hearts. The fact that even Russian bolsheviks were forced to grant a number of peoples within the Soviet Union their state independence, at least theoretically, shows how deep the idea of a national

state is among all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. Even the bolshevik revolution was not able to overcome that and the Soviet state had no other alternative but to build up a "Union", though it was only formal, to hold the peoples together.

Final stabilization of the relations in the Soviet-Russian sphere of power cannot and will not be achieved by a retrograde movement of creating a conglomerate of peoples.

The A.B.N. conception does not mean any "balkanization" of the Soviet Union, but on the contrary, it forms the only condition for ending the insatiable expansion of the Russian imperium, oppression and extermination of peoples. It is the only basis for the stabilization of political relations, not in that area alone, but over and beyond that for the security of the whole world from the steam-roller of Russian imperialism.

Our appeal to the world is, therefore: *Support our struggle for the restoration of our independent sovereign national state on the ruins of the Russian Empire.*

Side-Lights

The Moscow Party Council

The XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has been postponed again and again for the last ten years, has now been convened by the Central Committee for October 5. There are five points on the agenda:

- 1) Report of the Central Committee (Malenkov).
- 2.) Report of the Revision Committee (Moskatov).
- 3) Directives for the Five Year's Plan (Sabarov).
- 4) Amendments to the Statutes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Crushchev).
- 5) Election of the central corporations of the Party.

The Polit-Bureau and Organization Bureau chosen by the Central Committee are to be dissolved and replaced by a party "praesidium". In the party badge the usual "Bolsheviks" is to be dropped.

Since the announcement of that by the Pravda, the world's press has published a flood of commentaries. The dissolution of the Politburo, especially, has given rise to much speculation.

It would be better, neither to treat the coming changes as sensation and create uneasiness, nor to underestimate them.

The dissolution of the Polit-Bureau and the Org-Bureau and the amalgamation of their functions in a "praesidium" of the Central Committee does not come as a surprise. It represents the conclusion of a development which began practically several years ago i. e. party heads and heads of the state being identical had often been the case, as the members of the Polit-Bureau were usually deputy chairmen of the council of ministers, and the members of the Org-Bureau (party secretaries) were also members of the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Soviets. The reorganization of what actually existed in fact thus means a tightening up of the political and administrative authority and stricter control of execution.

The time chosen for the referendum may be of more importance, for doubtless outside and internal circumstances have been taken into consideration. In view of the growing isolation of the Soviet bloc and the strengthening at the same time of the non-communist world, based on the increasing recognition of the world menace of bolshevism, the Kremlin regards a demonstration of its determination and strength as necessary. Developments in home politics and economy have not reached the position desired by the Soviet government, not even the self-glorification on the occasion of the opening of the Volga-Don Canal can conceal the fact, that the total production in 1955 is double that of 1940 but only half as much as America's will be for 1951. Hitler Germany showed, however, what a totalitarian state can get out of economy and the strength of its people

when friction between party and state is reduced to a minimum by the greatest possible concentration of command and control in one body. Even the Russian press has not been able to ignore, in the last two years, that there is more social discontent and more fermenting agents than the Kremlin likes.

The intended changes in the party statutes may well have some such connection. For the ideological conquest of the masses the orthodox communist slogans have had to give way for the mottoes of "Soviet patriotism". Resorting to ideological expedients from the time of the "great fatherland war" shows that the regime is aware of the social discontent. One need not be a prophet to say that with increased danger from outside, caused by the Soviets maintaining their foreign policy, the stress on "patriotism", rather than communism, will be more accentuated. The omission of the usual preamble to the party statutes and the new framing of its first article is interesting in this connection.

It is idle to speculate from the fact that Malenkov is the chief speaker at the XIX Party Congress, whether that means he is to be Stalin's successor, for he has deputized for him in party questions for years. It may be more important that the future directorial constitution, in case the question of succession should become acute, excludes such a struggle for power as Stalin had to fight, in order to avoid any disturbance of government apparatus should a serious crisis occur.

P. S.

Veto Policy of the Kremlin

The Security Council recently, decided to place Japan's application for membership of the U.N. on the agenda of the plenary meeting, on October 14. Russia's vote was withheld. The Soviet delegate thereupon declared that the Soviet Union would prevent the acceptance of new members by veto until its proposed 14 new applications had been consented to.

At the coming October session the world will once more be shown what value the participation of the Soviet government in international institutions has, where they are not inclined or strong enough to force the Kremlin to conform to their principles.

The occasional sharp retorts made by western delegates cannot conceal the fact that by the careless and wrong estimation of the Soviet Union's political aspirations, the U.N. has not become an instrument of peace, but a rostrum for the political diplomatic struggle of the two world blocs and one which is obviously subject to the Soviet's veto policy. The cul-de-sac into which the war in Korea has run does nothing to alter that opinion, though it is the first important thing undertaken by the U.N.

The membership of Albania, Outer

Mongolia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, desired by the Soviet Union is rejected by the western bloc led by U.S.A. while Finland, Italy, Portugal, Ireland, Jordania, Austria, Ceylon, Nepal and Lybia, the members proposed by the West bloc, are refused by the East, led by the Soviet Union. Now, besides the application for Japan there will be those for North and South Korea, Indo-China and some other states, before long the German Federal Republic will express a wish to be a member and then the application from the German Democratic Republic will automatically follow. All that stiffens the two opposing sides.

Any attempt at compromise on the part of the West would only make matters worse as it would strengthen the Soviet's methods of obstruction in other international meetings and in other places. The argument, as long as negotiations are going on, there will be no fighting does not hold good with a power having a whole gamut of subversive means of campaigning at its disposal and never hesitating to use them.

The Powers in the western camp should make up their minds at last to consider their own potential forces and take the counter-measures that every constituted state uses towards criminal elements, breaking the law.

V. O. D.

The Bane of Collective Punishment

The collective punishment practised by the Germans on the populations in the countries they occupied in World War II, proved ineffective in the long run. In the struggle between the interests of the occupation forces and the feeling of legality and fairness in the indigenous population, the party which disregards the natural rights of individuals and nations always loses, quite apart from the political motives of the one, or the ideological aims of the other. That is a law of life. If it had not been so the French, Belgians, Dutch, and Norwegians would have had no success against the National-Socialist occupation policy and practices, and the struggle of the peoples oppressed by bolshevism, for the most elementary right, that of freedom, would have no prospect of a final victory. The western powers of late have repeatedly declared their solidarity with the desire for freedom and the efforts to attain it, of course from the realization that it also contributes to their own security.

Occupation policy, especially in areas infiltrated by bolshevism brings with it, it is true, hardships, acts of terrorism, counter-actions, but to apply the last collectively is a fatal disregard of the experience that in the place of the victims who cannot defend themselves, others take up the fight from a sense of loyalty. There is a fact in the underground movements of the freedom-loving which needs no denial. The National-Socialist occupation policy in Norway prepared the French, heart and soul for resistance, that in Poland and Ukraine was not without influence on the east European Peoples.

What the British are doing today in Malaya will have its reaction too, es-

pecially as the bolsheviks from "colonial" practice will cleverly draw their own advantage.

General Templer, the British officer sent to fight the partisans in Malaya is known from his time with the Occupation Forces in Germany, as a hard man: "Firm to unmercifulness". In his new field of activity he is proving that saying to be true, for he has now had the whole population of a village, Permatang Tinggi, men, women and children, sent to a concentration camp and the village destroyed. A Chinese official of the British colonial administration had been murdered and the population had ignored the ultimatum to give information as to the murderer.

That resembles the use and practice of certain German police officers in the East during the second world war to a T. It is of little significance here that they were condemned by the Nuremberg Tribunal set up by the victor nations, but that their actions stiffened resistance and closed the front of the then enemies of Germany more rigidly. It is easy to guess for whose mill General Templer's actions will bring the grist.

P. S.

Admiral Kirk's Successor

According to a press report Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens, Naval Attaché in Moscow from 1947 to 1949, will take over the chairmanship of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (abbreviated form, A.C.L.K.R.). The previous chairman having been appointed chief of the office for Psychological Warfare in Washington.

It is too early to comment on this change in the Committee. One must wait and see on what political standpoint Admiral Stevens will base his work there. We can, therefore only repeat what we said in our April number on the occasion of his predecessor's taking office. We welcomed the fact then, that he had expressed a knowledge of the many peoples in the Soviet Union, whose longing for liberation and hatred of Moscow he had experienced on the spot, but continued:

"His words, however, are weakened by us by the fact that he only speaks of the yearning of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for liberation from the yoke of bolshevism, for that is only a half truth. There can be no freedom for the Soviet peoples without their national liberation."

Admiral Kirk, unfortunately, disappointed our expectations. He was not able to free himself from the opinion that our peoples' struggle was being carried out alone against the bolshevist system, and, obviously influenced by Russians he let the essential factor of the struggle, the striving of our peoples after independence from Russia, slip into the background. It was not even found necessary to alter the name of the Committee so that the claim of our nations, which are included under "Peoples of Russia", to state independence might not be prejudiced.

Admiral Stevens, the new chairman, like his predecessor, has seen service in Moscow which justifies our expectation that he knows the problems of our peoples better than Admiral Kirk

There are no Russian Peoples!

Continued from Page 3

Nations. The Byelorussians are also struggling to throw off any kind of Russian yoke, and Your Holiness' language will be a shock there also, as well as to the sincerely Catholic States of Croatia, Slovakia, Lithuania and others.

Your Holiness refers to "brilliant and heroic deeds" of Russians in the past. The present writer has given intensive study to Russian history from the time these people appeared in history, and, as far as his information goes, these "brilliant and heroic deeds" consist without a break for 700 years in savage aggression, conquest, massacre and spoliation of weaker neighbours. It is a very terrible record, unbroken by a single ray of the light of humanity. The hunger and misery to which you refer was inflicted by Russia for centuries.

A Catholic Hierarchy only in Ukraine

Your Holiness is mistaken in saying that the Catholic Hierarchy in Russia has been destroyed; there never was a Catholic Hierarchy in Russia, at any stage of history, and so it was not destroyed. There was, however, a Catholic Hierarchy in Ukraine which has been destroyed by Russia, a very different matter.

The Hierarchy in Russia was that of the Orthodox Church which never at any time acknowledged Rome, and, indeed, was always hostile. The Supreme religious Head of the Church was the Patriarch; the Head of the Church was the reigning Tsar who governed through the Procurator of the Holy Synod and it was just a Department of the Government.

So far from any Russian Government recognising Rome, for centuries back it has been a declared ambition of Russian rulers to establish Russia as the "Third Rome".

This describes the action of Russian rulers in the past, but the present writer is able to implement it from his own experience. In the early 30s his professional work took him through extensive districts of Russia far from the beaten track — indeed, where probably no other foreigner has been permitted to go since the Revolution. He lived with countless peasants in many homes as one of themselves for varying periods. He also attended Church on every Sunday he was in Russia — in Churches in Moscow, in one great Cathedral far east, and in many churches in many small towns he passed through. He also had the advantage of (secret) talks with priests. On no single occasion among these priests or the old and devout peasants was there the slightest suggestion of adherence

did, and that his knowledge will be to the good of the Committee over which he presides. If he succeeds in freeing that institution from all Russian imperialist tendencies and calling upon real representatives of our peoples in order to achieve a common front against bolshevism, in that case Admiral Stevens may be assured of our support and co-operation.

P. A.

to or recognition of Rome or Roman Catholicism.

We fear Your Holiness's reading of Russian history and the present situation are equally wrong, and we trust Your Holiness will amend your Pronouncement and give hope, not only to Ukraine but to all the other subjugated peoples, many of whom, like the Lithuanians, are almost wholly Catholic.

It is useless to try to tell these peoples that once the emigrés step into Stalin's shoes they will have freedom; the non-Russians simply disbelieve this, as their whole experience entitles them to.

The present writer spent a good part of each year in business in the States on the western borders of Russia and was able to imbibe the atmosphere as to Russia among these peoples.

Professor Manning on Present Situation

We would draw your attention to the recent words of the first authority in the world on Ukraine and Slavdom, Professor Clarence Manning, the distinguished Professor of Slavic Studies at Columbia University. He says:

"The West still listens to the siren-song of the anti-Bolshevik Russians. Those of the Conservative-military class and of the Social Revolutionists and their allies both agree that Russia is one and indivisible, that all of the various peoples that exist within the territory of the once Russian Empire must be treated as a unit. It makes no difference that Stalin proclaims the dangers of the various nationalisms within the Soviet Union... The West hears only the voice of some Tsarist or Kerensky who proclaims the opposite and they forthwith believe that a free Russia, one and indivisible, is the only solution. It makes no difference that Stalin proclaims the annihilation of whole groups for their opposition to Russia, that he announces that it is only the Great Russians who are loyal to the Soviet and are responsible for Soviet Victories. That means nothing as compared with the word of a Tsarist general or a Kerensky who proclaims the opposite."

What Litvinov said in an Interview

We would also draw your attention to the remarkable interview given not long before he died by Litvinov to an American correspondent, in which he emphasised that the Russians could not be trusted; so think the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. And they know!...

... The writer has the closest association with their leaders, and he sees nothing impossible in such a termination. All these non-Russian peoples are in serious earnest, and are fighting and dying, both men, boys, women and girls, for their cause. If Your Holiness will not help them I am sure God will.

Yours faithfully

(Sgd.) John F. Stewart
Chairman

From behind the Iron Curtain

BOHEMIA

DANUBE—ODER CANAL

Now that the two largest enterprises of heavy industry in the C.S.R. "H.U.K.O." (Foundry Aggregate at Kasic) and "N.H. K.G." (New Foundries Kl. Gottwald near Ostrau) with the supplementary reconstruction of Neu-Ostrau. The strategically important building of the Danube—Oder Canal is to begin (from Theben to Kosel in Poland, 30 km.). To this canal, two tributary canals are to be added joining the Elbe with the main canal (Prerau—Pardubitz) and Brunn with the main canal (Brünn—Landshut). This gigantic strategic project is said to have been taken in hand at Moscow's instigation. Construction, which is to cover 8 years, will cost the C.S.R. annually 1% of its whole capacity of iron production (including the production of newly built foundries) and 5% of the whole production of cement. It is already expected that the work on the canal will be done by labour slaves reinforced by thousands of victims liquidated by the regime for opposition. The red barbarians never ask how many working slaves perish in the construction of a project.

COSSACKIA

"OPEN LETTER" OR OPEN LIE

At the close of the elaborate ceremonies on the occasion of the official opening of the Volga—Don Canal the official papers of Russian occupied Cossackia published the thanks of the Cossack people to the "great leader, the beloved father, Stalin etc." Not only were celebrations held all over the Soviet Union, but also in the satellite states to mark the building of that "grand, magnificent construction accomplished by communism".

All the Soviet newspapers published an open letter from the Cossacks to Stalin on the first page of their August 26, numbers. In the letter (dictated by the Soviets) it speaks of "deepest love" "boundless loyalty to the creator of our happiness", "beloved Stalin". All these tirades ring false, and even Stalin and his henchmen know that. The real attitude of the Cossacks is too well known, especially from the mass uprisings which have had to be crushed with so much violence. At the forced collectivization, in the years of artificially created famine, mass persecutions, for instance, all of which cost the lives of some 4 million people.

The Volga—Don Canal has been built—but at the cost of great sacrifice: men, women and children had to work on it day and night in summer heat and winter cold. Besides, there is no doubt about it, the canal will not serve the Cossack population but first of all the military, strategic aims of Moscow's imperialist policy, the exploitation of the Cossack land. Even the electric current from the great hydro-electric works Zymianskaya is supplied first to the factories in central Russia before the Cossack houses have a chance.

The "open letter" dictated by the Russians contains a curious thing, viz. that the

men and women of Cossackia promise "father Stalin" from joy and gratitude, to bring in the harvest in twenty, days to do more than their best and deliver the corn before the stated time. That must be a slip, in reality the harvest was over, two months ago, everywhere in Cossackia, and the forced deliveries were fulfilled too. That is the best proof for the "genuineness" of the letter, which is nothing but a brazen propaganda manoeuvre by the Soviet-Russian rulers in the land.

LITHUANIA

ORGIES OF RUSSIFICATION . . .

In the Soviet press in Lithuania the following headlines, citations, catchwords and sentences may be read:

"Let us learn the great Russian language—the language of Lenin and Stalin."

"The Russian language, the language spoken by Lenin, the language in which Comrade Stalin talks to his people. It is the patriotic duty of every young Soviet person to learn it."

The papers teem with expressions such as "the great Russian people" in countless variations till it becomes nauseating.

"Gratitude to the great Russian people."

"The leading role of Russian people."

"All peoples have rallied round the Russian people."

"All follow the Russian people."

"The Russian people has given us the great Lenin."

"The Lithuanians call the Russians their eldest brother and their best friends."

"The support of the great Russian people is essential for the prosperity of each Soviet republic."

"The people of Lithuania will be eternally grateful to its leader, the great Russian people."

There are also verses:

"Billows of the sea cease their tossing,
The clouds disperse,
The sky above shines
When the wonderful man
Rises from Russian earth."

Moscow, the holy town:

"Moscow — our joy, our bright morning,
the lighthouse of our harbour."

The Russians are said to be the first people on earth:

"Wherever we go, wherever we cast a glance, everywhere we see the Russians leading, the great Russian people."

"There is no power on earth that can turn the Russian people from their path."

The Russians are the inventors of the radio. The best radio in the world is the Russian, so there is no cause to listen to any other. Russia is the "home of broadcasting", Popoff invented the radio and Marconi stole his invention, etc. etc.

Soviet propaganda is just as impudent as it is naive and surpasses everything that made the Tsar's Empire notorious.

SLOVAKIA

"REACTION RAISES ITS HEAD"

Gen. Bacilek, Minister of the Interior in the Prague government, said at a press conference on August 8, according to an official broadcast, that: "Durcansky, former foreign minister of the Slovak Republic, is in Austria. Reaction is raising its head. I wish to point out that the security services have enough power to suppress any bourgeois nationalism".

The Moscow "Pravda" of August 10, 1952, No. 223 repeats the General's remarks on the President of the Slovak Liberation Committee with some propagandist frills.

Radio "Free Europe" had a commentary in Czech on the same theme without, however, mentioning Dr. Durcansky's name, a proof that the "Czechoslovakian" department of that station never loses a chance of turning everything concerning the political situation in Slovakia to fit its imperialist conception of Czechoslovakia. Slovakia wants to be free and independent and that does not suit the people in that department of Radio "Free Europe".

CHURCHES ROBBED AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

According to a decree of the communist government all gold objects and other valuables in the churches, such as pictures, books, etc. are to be handed over to the state. Further, church attendance is declared to show a hostile attitude towards the state resp. the people. Now those who are not party members will be persecuted for attending church. A great number of churches have been closed altogether. Most of the priests have been sent to prison or to concentration camps. Only the few priests who have placed themselves in the service of the communist party are tolerated. All the monks and nuns have either been taken in custody or sent to forced labour.

TURKISTAN

TURKESTANIAN YOUTH OFFERS RESISTANCE

On August 7, 1952, the Moscow paper "Komsomolskaya Pravda" published a report from the capital of the Kirghizian Soviet Republic, Frunze, on the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the communist Youth Organization, Komsomol, there. The report reveals how stubbornly the young Turkestanians are offering resistance to Moscow in every sphere, even within the youth organization and defy the Russians. Below we give some extracts:

"In the course of the last two years nearly all the functionaries of the Komsomol in the Kirghizian Republic have been removed from their posts and other men put in. In six areas of the Republic seventeen secretaries of the organization have lost their jobs. In one half of the district committee all the Komsomol functionaries have been replaced... Sometimes by chance, morally unreliable and politically doubtful men got into leading positions in the organization... Functionaries who have been found guilty of misdemeanours are often removed from a high post and put in a position no less responsible... Comrade Borbyev, first secretary

of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, was no example for other secretaries and members of the Committee bureau... The bureau of the Central Committee and the Regional Committee of the Komsomol of the Republic have been too indulgent to functionaries who have taken the question of raising their ideological-political and general standard too lightly, who were none too sure in Marxist Lenin theories, in questions of policy, literature, and art and who made mistakes in their practical work.

The low theoretical standards of the Komsomol functionaries can only be explained by the fact that in the districts of Oshsk, Laylaksk, Leninks, Kochkorsk, the ideological work among the young was disastrous."

UKRAINE

THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

In a leading article on August 6, Moscow "Pravda" writes: "The delivery of the grain quota should be carried every day and it must always be remembered that ~~exempt~~ fulfilment of obligations towards the state is the first commandment of every collective farm."

"Obligations towards the state" consist of taxes which in the form of grain fall upon every hectare of land in a collective farm, and of payment, also in the form of grain for the work of the tractor pools. After meeting those "obligations towards the state" every collective must lay aside a certain quantity of grain for future sowing and for fodder, while only what remains after all that has been done may be distributed to the labourers for their work.

The grain tax is not the same everywhere. For example, the collective farm of the Henichesk district of the Kherson area brought in a harvest from 821 hectares, 759 tons of grain was given to the state, i. e. 924 kg. of grain to a hectare.

The state pays the collective low prices. Before the war the state paid 6—7 kopeks per kg. grain, while in the government shops 1 kg. of bread cost 19 kopeks. All the mills and bakeries without exception belong to the state.

For their own consumption there remains . . . the collective labourer as a rule only maize, buckwheat, millet and perhaps rye. When nothing remains from the harvest for the workers the state is not much interested, the main thing is that the quotas are fulfilled. The threshed corn which is collected in machines on the fields is sent direct to the government granaries and silos and carefully guarded. No one is allowed even a pocketful to take home though he has no bread in the house.

The property of the collective labourer, who was a peasant before, is now the property of the Russian-bolshevik state and the workers on the collective farms are its slaves.

For every 100 to 200 collective farms there is a model farm. These model collective farms and "collective farm millionaires" have been formed mostly where deserving "Soviet heroes" have lived. The Soviet press makes great use of the model farms for propaganda purposes and boasts of them, "see what success good work and prompt fulfilment of one's obligations towards the state brings!"

"OPERATION B"

The Soviet-Ukrainian newspaper "Radanska Ukraina" reported on August 1, 1952 concerning the first showing of the Czechoslovakian film, "Operation B" in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv:

"The film tells the story of the destruction of the remnants of Bandera's band of traitors and murderers who, after the defeat of Hitler, tried to break their way through Czechoslovakia to western Germany."

With the help of that film Moscow is trying to represent the Ukrainian revolutionaries who for years after the end of the second world war fought a "shooting war" for the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian yoke, as a "band of traitors and

murderers". The very fact, however, that a whole film is made behind the Iron Curtain for the purpose of defaming the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is the best proof that the Ukrainian struggle for independence has an importance that can neither be concealed nor crushed. The film is intended by the Kremlin to convince the Ukrainians that their fight for freedom has been defeated, in reality though it will convince the world at large of the contrary. It is interesting to notice that Moscow has not dared to entrust the production of the film to Ukrainian authors or actors. Moscow apparently feared that Ukrainians would make the Bandera men too heroic and thus promote resistance rather than discourage it.

An Unvarnished Russian Conference

The Russian emigré newspaper "Masha Strana" (Our Fatherland) which appears in Buenos Aires, publishes a letter from a Russian woman in its May 10, 1952 number, in which among others, the following pious wishes and ideas are expressed:

"See! Russia that used to form a sixth of the whole world now forms a fourth. The Danube has become a Russian river. There followed the union of almost all the Slavs. Stalin has wiped away the disgrace of the Russian defeat in the war with Japan in 1905. Russia had no such prestige, even in the time of Catherine the Great . . .

. . . When war breaks out, as I am sure it will, Moscow will lay America in ruins so that no stone is left upon another. See! France is done for, three-quarters of the population are communists; Belgium will not fight; Holland is

only swamp and tulips; Luxembourg with its 300,000 inhabitants will have to hang its head in humility; England? — a beggar with only one egg a week; Italy out of the running through the floods; Scandinavia? — Swedish steel goes to Russia almost for nothing as indemnity for its independence; Denmark will do whatever Moscow wants because Stalin has his eye on Kiel. Who can rise against Moscow in Europe? — No one! . . .

. . . I hate the Anglo-Saxons as much as the bolsheviks and do not trust them at all . . .

My parole: God, Russia and an orthodox state system.

As you see Papa Stalin is all right, only his colour does not suit the exile Russians!

To realize that we only need a white Stalin!"

(From the magazine "The Caucasus" No. 8 (13) of August 1952, appearing in Munich.)

Stalin's New Five Year Plan

The Neue Zürcher Zeitung of September 16, contains a noteworthy comment on the above, from the pen of someone who knows bolshevism from theory and practice. In the commentary a characteristic feature in Stalin's declaration is pointed out which, from all appearances, will be the focus of the coming congress of the Communist Party in Moscow.

Stalin announces that the chief task of the party in the next five years will be the change over from socialism to communism. In the author's opinion this hint is of deep and symptomatic significance.

According to the theories of Marx, Lenin and Stalin the structure of socialism is only the first stage. The actual aim and final phase is the realization of a genuinely communist society in the whole world. The first phase is designated as the lower and the second as the higher and highest step of the socialist ideal. The masses are told that in the first phase each person is paid according to his efficiency, whereas when communist economy is realized each is to get what he needs and likes. The hardships of the socialist stage are made palatable by the prospect of better times in the second.

To our Readers!

In every number of our paper you will find an appeal to pay the subscription to the "A.B.N. Correspondence". That does not, of course, refer to those readers who have already sent in their subscriptions.

We must remind our readers too, that for technical reasons our French edition will not appear for the present, so in the meantime we ask our readers not to subscribe for it.

Its reappearance will be duly announced.

We are forced by our heavy financial burdens to request our readers to send in their subscriptions by December 31, 1952 at the latest; otherwise, much to our regret, we shall not be able to continue delivering our Correspondence.

Subscriptions should be addressed to the Bayr. Creditbank, Munich, account No. 10707 (for Dr. Wintoniak).

The Means like the Cause!

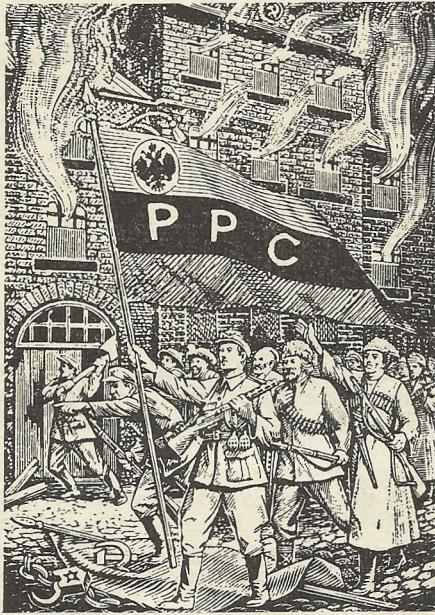
An Impudent Russian Fraud

The Russian exile imperialists, as we all know, are making every effort to falsify reality and hush up the non-Russian oppressed peoples' urge for freedom. The usual method adopted is to drown the cry of the subjugated for independence by their own loud shouts against bolshevism, in order to throw

sand in the eyes of the world. For the latter purpose any and every means is permissible, it seems. The latest, act by a group of Russian emigrants, calling themselves "Russian Revolutionary Forces" beats everything undertaken up to now and exposes a guilty conscience as well as the improper cause they serve.



Ukrainian original



Russian falsification

The cliché reproduced here is of a woodcut by the best known Ukrainian artist Nil Khassevych, whose pseudonym is Bey Zot, and which he executed at home in the underground. At the end of 1949 it was taken by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) all over Ukraine for a leaflet and circulated everywhere. (See "A.B.N. Correspondence No. 1/2, 1951). It symbolizes the struggle of the fighters for freedom united in the U.P.A. for the liberation of the subjected peoples from the Soviet-Russian dungeon of nations under the banner of the U.P.A. with its motto "Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals". The leaflet enjoys great popularity among the peoples in the U.S.S.R. Now the above-named "Russian Revolutionary Forces" have stolen that leaflet which has become the national symbol of the Ukrainian fighters and altered it for their own purposes. As will be seen in the illustration, the motto and the Ukrainian arms on the banner have been replaced by the Russian double headed eagle and the initials of the "Russian Revolutionary Forces", while the stormed building representing the dungeon of nations, with the names of the nations imprisoned there, have been simply erased. With this altered placard the strange Russian "revolutionaries" are seeking to win souls for their imperialist aims in Ukraine and among other oppressed peoples.

This extraordinary case is not only

a mean plagiarism and forgery, it shows how poor the Russian anti-bolsheviks are in ideas, arguments, self-reliance and imagination. It also serves as an authentic proof of how far the Ukrainian underground movement, and the fight for freedom of the other non-Russian peoples have advanced. The Russian imperialists have apparently no other resource but to attempt to reach these peoples by forgery and fraud.

Fraudulent manoeuvres for a fraudulent "liberation campaign".

The A.B.N. in Canada and Australia New Branch Organizations

Parallel with the consolidation of the A.B.N. and the strengthening of its position in the world there has been intense activity of late which has resulted in the foundation of branches in different parts of the world.

First of all the A.B.N. branch in Toronto must be mentioned. In the last few months, during President Stetzkó's visit and under his personal auspices, sub-groups have been set up in all the large emigrant centres of Canada, right out to the Pacific coast.

Great activity has been evinced of late in the Australian branch of the A.B.N. and there, too, several new groups have been formed. At the initiative of the Byelorussians, the Society of Byelorussian Veterans and the Slovaks, from the local organization of the Slovak Liberation Committee for Queensland a local A.B.N. committee

Calendar of National Memorial Days of our Peoples

October

October 2

Georgia: The brother martyrs David and Constantine. Georgian knights and heroes in battle against the Arabs in 6th century. Their remains were kept in the monastery of Mozamethi (Prov. Imerethi) until the Soviets closed the monastery and removed the remains to the People's Museum.

October 6

Hungary: The result of Goergey's surrender, Aug. 13, 1849, was cruel reprisals, the execution of 13 Hungarian generals in Arad and many politicians (Battany among them) in Pest. An Austrian reign of terror set in and the leaders of the revolution were to be imprisoned. Led by Kossut, they escaped into exile, to Turkey, France, Italy, England, U.S.A. and Switzerland.

October 14

Cossackia: National religious festival and commemoration of the capture of the fortress of Asov, 1639.

October 14

Ukraine: Army Day and also the day on which the U.P.A. was founded. Oct. 1942, U.P.A. batt. began fight for liberty against national-socialist as well as Russian-bolshevist conquests.

October 28

Bohemia: Day of Czech independence 1918.

November

November 1

Ukraine: (1918) Proclamation of Ukrainian independence at Lviv.

November 17

Bohemia: Day of mourning in memory of the execution of Czech students in 1939 and the closing of the universities by the Nazis.

November 21

Byelorussia: 1920, at the initiative of the Council of Sluch (Rada Sluchchyny) the fight began against the Russian-bolshevist conquerors.

November 23, 1943

A.B.N. At the suggestion of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), under protection of different national liberal detachments, the first conference of representatives of the peoples subjected by Russian-bolshevism took place. At this meeting the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was founded.

has been formed in Brisbane, with Mr. Damat Jackevic (Byelorussian) as chairman and Mr. Josef Kuruc (Slovak) as secretary and manager. The main object of which is at first to make known the aims and ideas of the A.B.N. to the general public there.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE
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The Anniversary of Tyranny and the Moscow Party Congress

(Text of the declaration made by the Central Committee of the A.B.N. at the press conference held in Munich on the anniversary of the bolshevik October Revolution)

Vanished Revolution-Myth and New Strategy / Revised Edition of Marxist Doctrine / Double-tongued Bolshevik Propaganda / Comfort for the Famished and Suffering in the East / Appeal to the Inexperienced and Gullible in the West / Perfidious Avowal of Nationalism and Democracy / Strengthening of Russian Imperialism / Deception on a Large Scale — A Cry of Warning to the Western World

The 35th anniversary of the bolshevik October revolution is predominated by the Kremlin's new strategy, announced at the recent Party Congress in Moscow by the first representatives of Soviet Russian dominion.

As early as 1937, Stalin, in his book "On the Shortcomings in the Party Work", expressed a warning against losing contact with the broad masses, comparing the bolshevik party with the Greek god Antaeus who remained undefeated as long as he was in touch with mother Earth, but who was conquered and strangled by Hercules when he succeeded in tearing him away from the earth. What the earth meant for Antaeus, as an invincible source, the constant contact with the people according to Stalin, was to be for the bolshevik party.

That metaphor and with it the express warning seems to have been the pole star at the Moscow meeting. Thirty-five years after the rise of bolshevist dominion, it has become perfectly clear, apparently, to the party leaders how far reality is from that Stalin "ideal" and what deadly peril threatens bolshevist rule through losing feeling with the millions and with the different peoples who have been governed only by force and deceit for 35 years.

The despots in the Kremlin appear to have no illusions, now that the realization of the truth, which is dawning more and more among people on both sides of the Iron Curtain, threatens to crush their regime with Herculean power. Taken as a whole the speeches and publications at the Congress were nothing but desperate attempts to revive the vanished bolshevist revolution myth on which the Kremlin has lived for 35 years, and win back the confidence of the masses. The resolution to drop the once proud epithet "Bolshevik" which was bound up with the much praised October revolution, alone points to the fact that the word for the world means brute force, slavery, fraud and genocide and that it has thus become an unbearable burden

which even the chiefs wish to shake off.

Stalin's remarkable publication, appearing under the innocent guise of "Remarks on Economic Questions" and ostensibly intended as a directive for the congress, was actually meant to be a grand piece of propaganda which was, at the same time, to give its stamp to the new Soviet "Manual for Political Economy". It would appear from Stalin's directives that that "Political Economy", a still unfinished work, is a new gospel and weapon in the service of world communism, in which the much weakened doctrine of Marx is to be repaired and the worn-out thesis of bolshevist ideology to be freshened up and the Kremlin's whole strategy for psychological warfare adapted to present needs.

Moscow's new strategy is two-sided and double-faced. On one side it is to take effect on the people and nations within the Soviet sphere of influence and on the other is directed at the free western world. The confused doctrine and the impudence of the new dialectic thesis cannot conceal the fact that the bolshevist rulers depend on the endurance of the ground-down masses, while in the free world they appeal to the gullibility of inexperienced people and the blindness of naive political leaders.

The trump card in the social section is the announcement of an imminent change from socialism to communism. For anyone who is familiar with bolshevist doctrine and practice, that move is easily understood. The direct object of the announcement is to comfort the miserable masses in the U.S.S.R. in that the hard transition time of "building up" socialism, when each was rewarded according to the work achieved and the strength of the workers drained by the Stakhanov system, is over at last, after 35 years of deprivation, and is giving place to a new era of actual communism when each is to be rewarded according to his ability and his actual requirements, so that everyone will have as much as his heart

Stepan Bandera

No Common Language

Labour in Vain

All attempts, whether open or disguised, to put the Ukrainian cause in the service of Russian imperialism have met with a decided failure, because it is contrary to the firmly fixed Ukrainian policy. In Ukraine, as well as in exile, the whole national community reacts as one man against any such endeavour to break through the united front, making it futile from the off set.

Nevertheless, some American groups have undertaken to alter the consistent Ukrainian attitude, for the sake of psychological warfare against bolshevism. By every possible means the attempt is made to couple the national liberation struggle of the peoples subjected to Moscow with the opposition in Russia against the bolshevist regime. The prospect of a political system tinged with democracy is to serve as the foundation of the unity aspired to; the Russian imperium, however, incorporated to-day in the U.S.S.R., is to remain with the inclusion of Ukraine and all the other oppressed peoples. The possible "concessions" to be granted the nations in the future debolshevized imperium are only to be discussed at some later date. The first object to be attained for the moment, is the overcoming of the bolshevist system of government, for which our peoples are expected to shed their blood, without being allowed to question the "indivisibility" of the Muscovite empire.

Unanimous Resistance

Such catchwords and aspiration uttered by Russian emigrants, backed by certain American patrons, have, from the very beginning, aroused the opposition of Ukrainians of all political directions, as well as the national representatives in exile of the other subjected peoples, in spite of which the American patrons insist on a one-sided russophile conception which, in course of time, is likely to become the official political course of the United States. It has gone so far that all kinds of political pressure has been exercised to break the unanimous national resistance and win weak individuals among the emigrants, for the Russian cause. Finally, America's attitude towards the political emigrants of those peoples,

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Ayas Ishaki Idelli:

400 Years Since the Conquest of Kazan

General Ion Gheorghe:

The Tragic Fate of Rumania**The Declaration of the A.B.N.**

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desires of the good things of this earth. For the satellite states which are in the process of "socialist construction" the announcement is to induce them to endure the ordeal of "people's democracies" and follow the example of the Soviet Union blindly and eagerly, in order one day to enter into the joys of communist "ideal economy".

In the national section the Congress in Moscow outdid everything bolshevist propaganda has achieved hitherto in deceitfulness, lies and cynicism. While representatives and members of the enslaved peoples of the U.S.S.R. and vassal states are arriving in their thousands in concentration camps for "national deviationism", Beria boasted in his great speech of the equality and enviable prosperity of these peoples, prepared and given them by the Soviet government. Stalin himself played the part of standard-bearer of the national idea, appealing to the national feeling of colonial peoples and even pretending to be troubled at the limited sovereignty of the free nations in the West, without being at least disturbed by the gallows standing everywhere in the satellite states of the Soviet, erected there even for "national communists": Nationalism which till yesterday was despised in the doctrine of Marx and defamed in the west by bolshevist propaganda as fascism, is now to be a weapon for world communism and exported to help restore bankrupt bolshevist enterprise.

That move in strategy and tactics on the part of the bolsheviks, should be the focus of public interest in the West, as a lasting lesson. Recognizing the inexhaustible power of the national idea Moscow is trying to seize it from the West and turn it as weapon against the western powers, regardless of the fact that within the Soviet Union and the whole Soviet sphere, everything is done to extirpate all national characteristics and the last trace of national independence.

Finally, in the strategic section Stalin and the other speakers at the Congress threw some more trumps on the scales, such as; war between the Soviet block and the western world was not unavoidable. Communism and ca-

pitalism could very well live peaceably side by side. The old Marxist thesis of capitalist encirclement which had to be broken through to help the proletarian world revolution to victory, was dropped. Stalin assured his hearers the Soviet block need not wage a war, as the capitalistic world would break up through its own discord and that the capitalist countries were heading for a war among themselves. What these speakers are driving at is obvious: Political leaders in the West must be convinced of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union, to promote a conciliatory spirit and readiness for concessions towards Moscow, encourage the pacifist atmosphere in the West and lull it in the illusion that war with Moscow is not unavoidable, so that all the defence preparations, and the self-sacrifice and restrictions entailed thereby were in vain. In this way Stalin expects to gain time until the western production and armament potential has been caught up with and, if possible, surpassed. By quenching the thought of war, all hope of any imminent salvation for the enslaved peoples in the Union and satellite states will be crushed and the spirit of resistance paralysed.

The suggestion that the establishment of a western defence under America's direction carried a hidden peril with it because it limited national sovereignty, reduced the nations to vassals of the United States and exposed them to exploitation by "American imperialism" was another trump card. The reconstruction of Japan and Germany and the restoration of their potential forces was an acute danger in itself, which the western world had unnecessarily brought to pass against its own interests, simply because it had fallen into the error of imagining itself menaced by the peaceful Soviet Union. These whisperings aim at sowing suspicion and discord and frustrating any effective combination of forces for the subjection of Soviet Russian tyranny.

Still another trump was Stalin's championing democratic freedom and civil rights which to-day in the West were being trampled under foot. To save "threatened" democracy and the freedom of the West, the bolsheviks once more call upon the "progressive" democratic and socialist forces, as well as the peasant parties, to co-operate, with the pious assurance that the bolshevist party, in spite of all its power is not arrogant, but on the contrary needs the support of all these forces and offers them its hand in their common cause. That is a new edition of the threshed out parole of the so-called "peoples front", regardless of all the experiences of so many burnt sacrifices for collaboration with communists, and is not only an irony but also reveals at once the weakness and isolation of the communist fifth column in the West. Should any one in the West still require authentic instruction let him read Lenin's will, for that is what is most consistently followed in bolshevist practice. "Victory can only be achieved for the proletariat by the most revolutionary party of Marxism and by a ruthless campaign of extermination against all other parties."

In spite of all the assertions of equal rights among nations, Stalin was not able to refrain from pointing out Russian priority, not alone in the Soviet state but in the bolshevik world altogether, for he emphasized that the October revolution could never have taken place if it had not been for the Russian communist party and thanks to the special qualities inherent in the people by which victory was so systematically achieved. Emphasis on Russian messiahship, in spite of all contrary considerations was not a random shot. It was evidently necessary as a reason for and strengthening of bolshevist russification policy and is another proof of the fact that bolshevism in reality is merely another and stronger form the traditional Russian imperialism.

A summing up of the bolshevik congress in Moscow in the 35th year of Soviet rule, must not be closed without a word as to the achievement of its leaders; a tremendous array of subtle dialectic and rhetoric, all bent on one object: to make the world this side and that of the Iron Curtain believe words which the speaker himself knew to be froth to deceive the world.

In view of all that, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) looks upon it as a duty to warn the world once more against falling into Stalin's trap. The representatives of the national and liberation movements of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states, wish today to place before the governments and peoples of the West the following warning:

Give no heed to the hypocritical assertions of peace made by the bolsheviks who are arming day and night for war, but prepare seriously to put down the never-ceasing Soviet Russian aggression, if you do not want to be a victim too.

Against Moscow's new ideological weapon in the form of the coming "Political Economy" with its dissembling thesis of national equality, peace and democracy, set your own ideological weapon with a real avowal of the national idea and social justice and real guarantees of national freedom and independence.

Do not allow the bolsheviks to sow discord and dissension among you, but hold out your hand honestly to one another and seize the hand offered by our subjugated peoples in time, by active co-operation with the competent bearers of the immortal national idea.

Do not allow the greatest slave owner of all time, Josif Wissarionovich Stalin, in whose concentration camps more than 20 million people are languishing and in whose dungeon state more than 25 nations are facing dissemination or russification, to boast of being the patron of national sovereignty and surety for civil rights, only in the end to hand out the same fate to your own peoples.

Do not allow bolshevist propaganda to knock your strongest weapon in the fight against bolshevism, — the national ideal, — out of your hand, and use it against you in the service of a satanic world conquest.

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Christo Stateff, Former Bulgarian Minister

The Echo of a Political Myopia

A Question of "Fascism" and "Fascists"

The most decisive permanent factor for the success of Soviet policy is propaganda. The Soviet regime has succeeded in convincing the peoples of the U.S.S.R., as well as communists all over the world, that it is no business of theirs to know what Stalin and his friends are planning, but rather that they should believe what they are told. The fundamental aim of Soviet propaganda is to camouflage the secret intentions of its policy, to keep up certain basic errors, to preach Soviet-Russian messiahship ad absurdum and, at the same time, to incite conflicts, mutinies and war. One of the preliminary bases in the U.S.S.R.'s fight against the West is so-called "anti-fascism". That does not mean Italian fascism or German national-socialism. When the war ended that was all a closed chapter. Soviet propaganda has given these expressions quite another sense, without touching their real character at all.

In false, bloated form the words fascism and fascists have been forced upon the public as a metaphor of a political pest which must be exterminated, and yet not so very long ago Stalin himself was a partner with Hitler and Mussolini.

This post-war campaign "against fascism" was only to conceal the political trend which was actually directed against the West. At the time it was not convenient to take up a position and make a frontal attack, nor was the time ripe for calling a spade a spade. All the lances had therefore to be pointed at fascism. At the same time, however, communist propaganda marched against institutions, social forces, cultural institutions, economic and political programmes, charitable movements and Churches, in fact against everything that did not harmonize with the interests of the Soviet Union. To bring discredit upon all such institutions it was enough to label them "fascist". In that way a real mass psychosis was produced. Due to that propaganda the term fascist has come to be used to express everything that is perfectly mad and accordingly every "fascist" would be despised, ostracized and even liquidated.

Having ascribed every vice to "fascism", Soviet propaganda proceeded to generalize all opponents of the Soviet Union and communism under the common denominator "fascist", and to-day Moscow attacks indiscriminately with this artificially constructed new weapon, everything that does not suit her. Churchill and the English Queen, even the Pope are branded as "fascists", i.e. enemies of progress and the working classes. They are no longer "bourgeois", "capitalists", "reactionaries", but something very much worse, "fascists".

During the weeks and months after the "victory" in the west this far-reaching agitation was given practically no serious attention. When the western allies needed the co-operation of the Soviet Union for organizing peace, many leading politicians, especially in the case of coalition governments with communist members, adopted that agitation. The activities of a number of committees and public organizations were scrutinized in that light and many vied with one another in that direction in



order to appear more "progressive". Those unhappy people never dreamed that the conception of "anti-fascism" thus forced upon them would one day become a kind of guillotine, not only to cut their heads off, but also for the intellectual and

material achievements of all Christian culture and western civilization.

While for some of the misled politicians the abolition of fascism meant merely the abolition of a system which was contrary to democratic principles, the catchword "Death to Fascism!" maintained the sense given it and was carried out in practice by all dictatorial communist regimes. Tens of thousands of innocent people became victims of the masses systematically stirred up and incited against them, merely because their political conceptions were different. In town and country people were beaten to death as "fascists", people who had never heard the word and who had no idea what it meant. Even political activists who had been prominent in fighting against fascist regimes were driven to the wall.

"Death, Death, Death!" was the cry of the masses, the gist of resolutions passed at meetings, the inexorable will of red prosecutors who turned over their victims to the executioners, many of whom had been delivered up by the West for the purpose.

The campaign contrived by Moscow against fascism is still going on and, paradoxically, the Yugoslav radio stations close

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depends entirely on the position they take concerning that Russian-inspired action.

Our answer to that is to declare unequivocally that our attitude towards all initiatives, plans, actions, respecting the future of our people depends alone on the standpoint of our national liberation policy. The rejection of Russian dominion and the sponsorship of our nations by an indivisible Russian state, no matter what its form of government may be, has become vital for our peoples and an irrevocable injunction for their leaders. No tactical consideration for combating the bolshevist system can outbid the fundamental element in our political will and action. The American plan of collecting all parties on the basis of an indivisible Russian empire is consequently doomed. The national liberation struggle with which our peoples are engrossed, makes that idea of "indivisibility" impossible.

Our attitude towards the various Russian groups and plans can only be determined in conjunction with the national fate of our peoples. There can be no deviation from that principle, much as we estimate the best possible relationship with the powers and forces supporting that Muscovite bias, as it would appear merely from tactical opportunism.

In the question of our liberation policy we brook no compromise and can approve of no adaptations, because that would be fatal for the future of our peoples. Co-operation with the supporters of Russian imperialism, no matter how much they oppose commun-

ism would be an antinomy based on the absolute difference between the "partners" as to fundamental aims. Our peoples who are striving for national freedom and independence, with which they include the fight against bolshevism, and, on the other side, the Russians whose object is the retention of the Russian empire and for whose anti-bolshevik aims and campaign our peoples are to be harnessed and who presuppose their sponsorship for us in the future.

The objectives of our liberation struggle are crystal clear: Absolute freedom from brutal domination by Moscow in general and from its present bolshevik system of government in particular. Destruction of the communist regime and establishment of our independent national states on the hereditary ground of each people, far away from Moscow, and free from any commitments with the Russians.

Lasting Lessons of History

Historical facts teach us that traditional Russian imperialism without regard to state policy or social system, has remained unaltered in its thirst for the conquest of alien peoples and lands. In every epoch and under every regime all possible means have been taken to bleed and crush our peoples and keep them under subjection, and never have the Russian people raised a hand to prevent it. On the contrary, the political powers and systems were only sure of their support when they were successful in their championship of imperialism.

The Russian state in all its different forms, tsarist, democratic or bol-

shevik, has again and again employed cunning and perfidy to transform every kind of federation into the dreadful oppression of Russian dictatorship.

Irrevocable Aims

Independent national states, that is the irrevocable aim and object of our struggle, and it cannot be substituted for anything else. The mere change of the ruling system, with the retention of dependence on Moscow, will not lead to that end. The anti-bolshevik struggle of the present cannot be separated from the struggle against the Russian empire, because, at bottom, bolshevism is only another phase of the same imperialism.

There are no Russian elements, even to-day, who would be willing to give up imperialism and accept our national liberation plan. Rather do they affirm our subjection and only seek to draw a veil over it for present purposes. The various Russian organizations and parties in exile are concentrating all their efforts to combat our movement for independence and its representatives in the free world. As far as the integrity of the Muscovite empire is concerned, they are tugging at the same rope as the bolsheviks, and carry on the work of the latter in places they cannot reach.

The gloomy spectacle of 1917/20, when red and white Russian forces, in spite of their ideological antipathies, joined hands to wreck the independence of Ukraine and the other restored national states, is being repeated. The resources of the West, which were put at the disposal of Denikin to fight against the bolsheviks, were employed by him against the Ukrainian army, although it, too, was fighting bolshevism. In just the same way, the Russian imperialists in exile, under the plea of a common front, are trying to influence the policy of the western powers in favour of the indivisibility of the Russian empire that will not only undermine the liberation of our peoples but must infallibly weaken the forces fighting bolshevism.

The Russian centres are working to blot out the national problems from the political field and the public in general, by saying that the solution of the present world crisis is only to be achieved when the bolshevik regime is abolished. The integrity of the Russian empire is to be taken as a matter of fact.

The Vital Condition

The world to-day must realize that there are forces in the Russian camp which reject the cause of freedom as a stabilizing factor in the present situation, are even enmical towards it, whether they call themselves bolsheviks or anti-communists. Thus every attempt made to co-ordinate the liberation policy of the West with the Russian anti-communist course, is to deny that policy itself and capitulate

DDr. T. Baron de Collas

About "Free Europe"

Reading always with great interest the articles about world politics, finance and economy in the American Press, I follow with special interest those dealing with our mutual enemy World communism. The press of the whole world reports the subversive activity of the Fifth Column. Unfortunately features discussing this question thoroughly and in detail, relating what is happening to the people behind the Iron Curtain are rare. In my country in Hungary for instance, since their occupation in 1945, the communists have driven away, imprisoned and liquidated 95% of the intelligentsia. Where is that to lead and what will become of this country in a few years under such circumstances? The Korean war has awakened the world at last and has shown America the danger of communist aggression. Without sparing expense and entirely with American funds the "Free Europe Committee" was created, with Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens as president.

This Organization is intended to awaken the people behind the Iron Curtain by way of broadcasts, to keep them alive by proving to them that free people still exist in free countries and to strengthen their hearts by fostering their hope for a free life in the nearest future. For this reason, with high expenditure, this transmitting station "Free Europe" was built in Munich, Germany. As that is the purpose it is meant to serve, it is of great importance, who the political leaders of the different sections are. We are grateful to the American people for their sacrifice and I feel the American taxpayer has a right to know how the money he has contributed is going to be used. I also declare it to be the duty of all concerned to criticise in order to help, to point out possible faults to the public, before it is too late to remedy.

We Hungarians, who within one generation have experienced communism twice (first in 1919), we know that no compromise with it exists. I am a Hungarian refugee myself, and have experienced personally

to Moscow's imperialism. As far as our peoples are concerned, any connection with the enemy on any such basis would be a betrayal of our liberation work and a crime against our national destiny.

The fight against Moscow, against bolshevism and every sort of imperialist plunder will continue implacably till the Russians give up the attempt to act as guardians of Ukraine and all other oppressed peoples, till they consent to full independence and declare themselves willing to take up peaceful relationships on a basis which respects the sovereignty of all. Until then there can be no common language with the Russians. There can be no co-operation or co-ordination of the exile forces and no discussion of same, until politicians in the Russian camp recognize our irrevocable rights and approach us with a positive programme in that sense. That is and remains the vital condition.

(Based on an article which appeared in Ukrainsky Samostiynyk No. 42 [143]/1952)

the atrocities during the first communism in my country, and also recently I was imprisoned for years, before my escape.

The public does not know, that Rakosi, who since the Russian occupation in 1945 until the present day rules in Hungary, held already under the regime of Bela Kun in 1919, during the first communism there, the important position of a People's Commissar. *For this activity he was sentenced later to 15 years imprisonment.*

Some naive men (who called themselves politicians) sustained the opinion, that they could compromise with communism and lent themselves as tools to Rakosi and his comrades. This was more than an error! The "Small Landowners Party" which under the regime of Admiral Horthy (head of the Hungarian government from 1920 to October 1944) represented an opposition, gained an absolute majority at the elections of October 1945. Together with the communists and the social democrats they created the ill-famed "People's Court". Ferenc Nagy became prime minister. With the active collaboration of the "Small Landowners Party" the People's Court passed thousands and thousands of sentences, among which many hundreds were death sentences. The most highly appreciated intelligentsia, the best patriots, ended their lives on the gallows. The methods of the "People's Court" have become especially well known through the ill-famed process of Cardinal Mindszenti. Most of the condemned are still languishing in Hungarian prisons, if they are still alive or have not been deported to Russia. The "Small Landowners Party" sent a magistrate and even a prosecutor to each session of the "People's Court". The abhorrent sentences were pronounced and the atrocities went on with the consent of the president of the Government Tildi, of Ferenc Nagy as Premier, of Monsignore Varga, President of the Parliament (the head of the "Hungarian National Committee" in New York at present), who were the rulers at that time. They watched with open eyes what was going on. They confirmed the death sentences. Ferenc Nagy, official representative of his country, traveled to Moscow, to be received by Stalin, who for his valuable services presented him with an automobile. Nevertheless, in 1946, together with Rakosi, he took a trip to the U.S.A. and broadcast a speech from Washington, in which he proclaimed, that Hungarians are free people, living in a free country, denying thus before the whole world the subjugation of the Hungarian people by the Russians.

Later Ferenc Nagy and his colleagues the ministers became superfluous, it was their turn now to be tried by the "People's Court". One by one they took a poser to save their skins. Ferenc Nagy, who not so long before in his speech in the U.S., when talking about a free Hungary, praised the Russians, escaped overnight through Switzerland to the U.S.A. in the same car Stalin had given him as a gift. The leaders of the "Small Landowners Party" are at present in the U.S.A., where, sponsored by certain official American places, they created the so-called "Hungarian National Committees" in New York.

The lack of a clear political programm is a reproach raised against "Radio Free

Turkistan's Immortal Fight for Freedom

By Dr. M. H. Erträk

Under the Russian Yoke

Since Russia conquered the country of Turkistan by force and robbed the Turkestanian people of their independence, there has been a continuous struggle for independence in Turkistan. By his superior military power the Russian conqueror tries to transform the Turkestanians into slaves, without any will of their own and to enforce a rapacious colonial government on their country. The systematic Russian policy of extirpation and the tenacious resistance of the Turkestanians, that in the course of history became apparent again and again in sanguinary rebellions and wars, has roused on both sides a hostility, which lasts undiminished up to this day. This explains the fact that by the Turkestanians the Russian is considered the arch-enemy, with whom there is neither peace nor reconciliation before the independence of Turkistan is restored.

The impulse for the numerous and sanguinary rebellions in Turkistan, lies not only in the brutal acts of violence of the Russian government, but principally in the deeply founded national self-reliance of the Turkestanians, which was strongly marked by a century-old national and political tradition. So the Turkestanians demonstrate again and again their love for freedom by a self-sacrificing resistance against the alien government of the Russians, a resistance, which is furthered by the knowledge that the Russians are not only undermining Turkestanian independence, but are, moreover, aiming at the destruction of the treasures of civilization, at the annihilation of the Islamic spirit and the plundering of Turkistan.

By an elementary impulse of self-preservation the Turkestanian people rose in mass-revolts against the alien government of the Russians, no less than twelve times during the Tzarist period only, that is in the years:

"Europe". Well, how could those people, who have in such way cheated and deserted their country and their countrymen, indicate a political programme through "Radio Free Europe"? Can those so-called exile politicians, who now play at political leadership, have credit at home or in exile, could they be trusted? Those men have badly disappointed and betrayed their people. The fact alone, that they saved their own hides is bad enough propaganda for them among their compatriots.

As manager of the Hungarian section of "Radio Free Europe" at Munich a Count Julius Dessewffy has been appointed. It is not irrelevant who the political director of such an important propaganda office is. This count is a newspaperman. He also belonged to the "Small Landowners Party" and before the war to the "Kiss Ujsag" (Little Newspaper), a daily paper he took over after the Jewish owner was evicted

- 1805—14 under the leadership of Sultan Qaraty
- 1836—38 under the leadership of Isatay Tayman
- 1837—46 under the leadership of Sultan Kenasary Qazim
- 1856—57 under the leadership of Cahān Hodsch Normuhammed
- 1868—69 in the district of Samarkand
- 1860—70 in the districts of Ural and Turgay
- 1874—76 under the leadership of Pulat Chan
- 1892 in the district of Taschkent
- 1889 under the leadership of Ma-dali Eschan
- 1916 under several leaders.

In the time from 1898 to 1916 the Turkestanians accomplished, besides these mass revolts, altogether 4,922 sorties and plots against the foreign alien dominion of the Russians, which were, however, only of local character.

Turkistan Faces the Tsar

The last great rebellion against Tsarist Russia occurred in the year 1916. It originated in the refusal of frontline service in the Russian army. To carry through the order of the Russian Tsar, by which all the "foreign people in Russia" had to be mobilized as frontline workers, the male population of Turkistan was pulled by force into the barracks. Yet the erroneous belief of the Russians that the long years of a policy of russification had made the Turkestanians compliant instruments for the service of the "greater Russian brother", was profoundly disappointed. Moreover, the Turkestanians were not at all to be frightened by the force and brutality of the Russian army, which was shown them more than once. In July 1916 a mass revolt broke out in the whole country. The whole population of Turkistan, young and old, men and women and even children, went to attack with all available means, even the most primitive arms such as woo-

and which he had to return to the same after the Russians marched in. Dessewffy was allowed to keep 500 acres of his properties, as a premium for his personal attitude towards the regime at times (1946) when 100 acres were the maximum a land-owner might own! Where are the requirements, the knowledge qualifications and necessary principles for such a responsible job at "Radio Free Europe"?! Gone are the times when the title "Count" itself meant a political programme.

At present such men work at "Radio Free Europe". Is this the proper propaganda? Should the patriotic national idea be proclaimed among Hungarians at home and in exile by the same individuals who from 1945 to 1951 broadcast communist propaganda and who now overnight have become active collaborators of "Radio Free Europe" at Munich.

den sticks and stones, prepared for any sacrifice and with firm decision met Russian military forces, with their modern equipment. The balance of this legendary revolt says: 4,725 Russian corpses, 2,683 Russians missed and 9,000 houses of the Russian invaders burnt down. The exact number of the killed Turkestanians is nowhere officially stated. But it is possible to make an approximate estimate on behalf of the fact that, according to Russian statements alone 337 leaders of the rebels were condemned to death and about 168,000 Turkestanians were sent into exile to Siberia. In the Jetti-su district not less than 205,000 Turkestanians fled for eastern Turkistan. 50 villages in the surroundings of the historical town of Samarkand and, according to an explicit order from the district governor, it was forbidden for all eternity to mention their names any more. The Kirgises in Issyköl, in the valley of Tschu and Narin were driven from their home-country.

After the revolt of the year 1916 had been suppressed Kerensky came with a commission of inquiry to Turkistan and seeing the corpses of thousands of hanged rebels in the ruins of the destroyed historical town of Dschizzach, even he could not refrain from weeping.

Kerensky's Faithlessness and Cunning

The February revolt of 1917 did not change the fate of Turkistan. The sentence of death against the 347 leaders of the revolt in 1916 was neither annullled nor mitigated, but cruelly executed. By this the Russian "democracy" showed its chauvinistic features, that resembled exactly those of the suppressive government of the Russians. The promise of Kerensky that "Turkistan should be given its independence" was forgotten and his declaration, that "Russian democracy has no responsibility for all that happened in Turkistan" turned out to be a lie. During the seven months reign of the provisional Russian government the revolts in Turkistan continued. Kerensky, who had grown up in Turkistan, who knew the language like a native and who was said to be a great friend of the Turkestanians, gave order for new and very rigorous measures to prevent any national revolt, measures which adjusted exactly to the plan of General Kuropatkin, the sanguinary suppresser of the revolt in 1916.

Cunningly Kerensky now promised to solve the Turkestanian problem by the legislative assembly of Russia and by this he gained confidence of the larger part of the Turkestanians, who expected that a territorial autonomy with a government of its own would be established.

After the bolsheviks seized power, the Turkestanians tried to make use of the Soviet catchwords of national freedom and equal rights, and put the central government before accomplished facts. In the former Turkistan "Ge-

Communiqué

The Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) on the Establishment of the so-called Co-ordination Centre of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign in Munich

After a thorough study of the resolutions passed at a conference of the four Russian and five non-Russian splitter groups, (10, to 18, October, 1952, in the Regina Palast Hotel in Munich), at which the establishment of what is called a Co-ordination of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign was announced, we, the representatives of the liberation organizations of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, have to say the following:

1) We beg to call the attention of the whole free world to the danger inherent in the political principles with which certain American groups are approaching the problem of the U.S.S.R. These principles are likely to cause the hundred million non-Russian peoples to waver in their friendly attitude towards the West, which they regard as their natural allies in the struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

General Gouvernement" as well as in the former Steppe-General Gouvernement, an autonomous government of Turkistan was proclaimed, in December 1917, which requested Petersburg to dissolve the Soviet commission in Tashkent, and to withdraw the Russian forces from there. This demand was answered by Stalin, then commissioner for the nationalities, literally by the following perfidious declaration: "If the working masses have enough power at their disposal, they shall expel the Soviet commission of Tashkent themselves".

That was the first open breach of the demagogic bolshevist promises to the "nationalities". For it was certain from the very beginning that the unarmed Turkestanians were not able to attack the heavily armed Soviet Russian military forces. The congress of the Moslems of Turkistan in the town of Kokand, decided to discuss the question of national independence of Turkistan at the planned constitutional assembly of the country the following spring, 1918. Shortly before that assembly was due to meet, the Red Russian troops opened fire on the government buildings and occupied the whole town of Kokand. Attempts were made to defend and reconquer the town, but the Soviet forces, superior in number and well armed, as they were, gained the day. Thus in February 1918, in the town of Kokand, the fight of the Turkestanian nationalists against the alien bolshevik regime and the forced dissolution of the autonomous Turkestanian government introduced that inexorable fight for freedom waged by the Turkestanian people and known in history as the "Basmachi" movement. The intention of the bolshevists to discredit the Turkestanian fight for independence by that name (Basmachi means "robber") failed, for the name

2) We consider the political platform and structure of the Co-ordination Centre as an expression of complete misunderstanding of the actual situation in the sphere of national conditions in the Soviet Union. We therefore stand in strict political opposition to this Co-ordination Centre.

3) We call upon our peoples to look upon this Centre as a dangerous attempt of certain American groups which doubt our hard-earned right, granted us by the natural order of things, to re-establish an independent national state, or wish our peoples to give up their rights in favour of Russian imperialism, within the limits of the year 1939.

The fact alone, that the great majority of the emigrants belonging to these peoples have taken a stand against the programme of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, throws a light on the pos-

remained to become the symbol of Turkestanian heroism. For the western world, too, the name means to-day essence of national resolution for the liberation of Turkistan, a fact, that has had to be admitted even by the Soviets.

Supporters of the National Revolution

To sum-up the history of the Basmachi Movement, even concisely, as a bearer of the national fight for independence in Turkistan, it would be necessary to write whole volumes. The effect of the movement which has lasted through decades of heroic fights for freedom, may be summarized in the following five periods:

1.) 1918—1919 — The beginning of armed resistance. On the initiative of the population itself the rebellion spreads spontaneously;

2.) 1919 — Mass revolts with a distinct political aim: the independence of the country;

3.) 1923—1926 — The fighting units are suppressed by the Red Army;

4.) 1926—1937. Retreat of the fighting units and of single fighters for freedom into the steppes, woods and mountains. Single attacks on railways, munition depots and N.K.V.D. officials;

5.) 1938—1952. Underground work and organization of passive resistance.

In the period from 1940 to 1945 there were different rebellions as a protest against mobilization for the Red Army. Specially to be mentioned is the revolt, organized by Usman Batur in eastern Turkistan, the revolt in March 1951 in the trans-Caspian district and that in the Pamir Mountains, under the leadership of Rahamanqul.

The resistance of the Turkestanians against Soviet Russian policy communist party machine and the bolshevik propaganda system have never ceased.

(To be continued in the next issue)

sible effects of such a policy. The Committee only succeeded in winning over, for money, a small number of emigrants who declare themselves willing to co-operate in that programme, also the fact that the Co-ordination Centre resp. the American Committee, in spite of all efforts, has been unable to find a single Ukrainian organization which would be ready to work with it politically. The Ukrainians have the largest population among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union.

In particular we note:

a) In the political platform of the Co-ordination Centre, a new sort of right to self-determination for our peoples is demanded as the first condition of their separation from Russia, viz. by way of a general plebiscite of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly or National Assemblies of our peoples.

To that it may be stated, that our peoples, through their long uninterrupted and selfless struggle against Russian subjection have already expressed their determination, and most clearly in 1917—1918 when they founded their independent states.

It may also be mentioned that national state in all history has ever been founded by a plebiscite. That was not the case, either with the United States or the liberation of Ireland or Belgium, and the same may be said of the restoration of the Polish, Rumanian, Greek and the Baltic States. Recent examples are, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, the Philippines and Indonesia.

b) The platform of the above Centre claims that the whole territory of the Soviet State must be freed from bolshevism before the self-determination of our peoples can be set in motion. In that demand we detect a mental reservation, to have self-determination effected under the pressure of a strengthened, post-bolshevik Russian state. The suggestion that the self-determination should be undertaken by an all-Russian assembly points to the real motive behind it all.

c) In the structure of the Co-ordination Centre we see a tendency to give preference to the Russian people before the non-Russian.

Of the 60 seats in the council of the Co-ordination Centre, 50% are reserved for Russian organizations and 50% for the other five non-Russian peoples, which means that the Russians dispose of a 50% influence, while the single non-Russian peoples have only 10% each.

That preference does not correspond to international custom, or to the efforts of the Russians in the struggle against bolshevism. The "Co-ordination Centre" rejects the idea of equal rights among the nations, while A.B.N., by contrast, maintains that to every nation, whether great or small, the same unconditional rights should be accorded and respected, without discrimination as to race, religion or riches.

d) We should like to remind the free world that the non-Russian peoples can only become allies of the West if the right to national independence and definite separation from Russia is granted them unreservedly.

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Ten Years of Heroic U.P.A. Fighting

By M. Wernyhora, Captain of the U.P.A.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) celebrates the ten years of its existence in October this year. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), the underground government of Ukraine, has named October 14, as the festival of the U.P.A. and Ukrainian weapons, and thereby the U.P.A. and the Ukrainian people are to be associated, for all time to come, in the fight for independence. Although the liberation struggle of 1918 to 1921 led to no result, it has become a motto of the young generation who are carrying on the fight in various forms and with varying intensity, in spite of alien occupation.

The beginning of World War II and the subsequent occupation of almost all the Ukrainian countries by bolshevist Russia and later by Hitler Germany, gave the Ukrainian people the opportunity, by the act of June 30, 1941, — the proclamation of an independent state, — to manifest its will before the occupation authorities and the whole world. This will for a free life in a national state was so strong and so determined that it could not be broken by the terrorism of occupation, by the storms of war, or by the "logic of facts" i. e. by the mighty ones of this world, who grudged Ukraine its place in the sun.

In the autumn of 1941 small armed detachments of the O.U.N., the largest political organization, began to take action and that was "the commencement of the new form of the revolutionary liberation fight, the setting up of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army". The U.P.A. grew rapidly, people of different political views joined

up, people who realized that the plan of the U.P.A. was right, people who wanted to take an active part in the liberation of their country." (From the U.P.A. Chronicle).

The ten years of fighting were passed under incredible difficulties. "The U.P.A.



O.U.N. - Fighters nerve themselves to new action.

were faced the whole time by vastly superior numbers and technical equipment. Five years they have fought on in peace time, when the enemy is held by no war front, and all know that the U.P.A. receives no help from outside, that they are dependent

entirely on their own resources" (U.P.A. Chronicle). When one considers Soviet reality with all its peculiarities, the N.K.V.D. with its unlimited powers, mass arrests, deportations to Siberia, collective responsibility, individual terrorization and mass terrorism, shrewd methods of provocation, the blockade of whole areas, the razing of forest villages and combing the woods etc., as well as the stricter collective system, hunger and forced evacuation of the west Ukrainian frontier area, the mobilization of the young for labour in canal construction and socalled afforestation and the floods of lying propaganda, all of which is intended to bring about a change in the psychology of our people; when one realizes all that, one may gain some idea of what the Soviet reality means under which our revolutionary underground forces have not only persevered in their lonely struggle, but have perfected their tactics and methods and even widened their sphere of activity.

And the source of strength from which they draw? The strength of the U.P.A. lies in that, that it is an army of the people, of its own people, and is fighting for its vital interests, national and social liberation and for an independent state. "The strength of the U.P.A. lies in the support it receives from the people who are fighting heart and soul with it. The strength of the U.P.A. lies in its courage, in its perseverance, in the heroism of its soldiers and commanders and in its able partisan tactics". (U.P.A. Chronicle). That alone made the unequal fight possible during the last ten years and also explains the success. General Taras Chuprynska, its Commander-In-Chief, wrote: "The successes achieved by the U.P.A. have surpassed all the ex-

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A Warning to the World

400 Years Since the Conquest of Kazan

By Ayas Ishaki Idelly, Chairman of the National Centre of the
Turko-Tartars of Idel-Ural Abroad

Exactly 400 years ago, on October 15, 1552, the capital of the Turko-Tartar state Kazankhanat, the legendary town of Kazan, fell into the hands of the Russian conquerors. Russia seeking expansion to the east and south was firmly determined to make of that key position of the Turko-Tartar country a spring-board for imperialism and began a policy of ruthless denationalization and assimilation. Despotism, expropriation, deportation, forced labour eviction resp. settlement and russification were the principal features of Russian terrorization in conquered Kazankhanat. The usual means of government exercised by tsarist-Russian imperialism.

In spite of all the brutal measures that were in force, the subjected Turko-Tartars never lost their national feeling and sense of belonging together and they have carried on an unceasing struggle for liberation ever since, a struggle which has many historical dates. Their love of freedom was manifested too, in the last two world wars when the Turko-Tartar prisoners of war combined in volunteer units against tsarist and later against red Russia. During the years of the revolution 1917/18 this brave people went actively to work to organize its national and state independence. In June 1917 the autonomy of Idel-Ural was established and a few months later the independent democratic Republic of Idel Ural was proclaimed by the National Assembly ('Kurultaj) of the Turko-Tartars at Ufa. There, too, the national government (milli Idara) was chosen which ruled the country until its occupation in April 1918 by red Russia. Part of that government still exists in Turkey as exile representation.

Even to-day the Turko-Tartars commemorate the fall of their capital, Kazan, — October 15, — as a day of national mourning. We have taken this occasion to ask the well-known Turko-Tartar statesman Mr. Ayas Ishaki Idelli to let us have an article for our paper. We are publishing his article with special pleasure as, coming to-day 400 years after those events, it may be a portent to the world and instructive for many a western politician.

The author is known as a Turko-Tartar politician and writer, he was deputy in the National Assembly at Ufa and an authoritative member of the national government. He is one of those statesmen who called the Turko-Tartar state into being again in the revolutionary years. From 1928—1941 Ayas Ishaki Idelli edited the paper of the Idel-Ural emigrants "Jana milli jul". The Kurultaj (National Assembly) of the Idel-Uralians in exile



Co-founder of the U.P.A., Chairman of the 1st Congress of the U.H.V.R. and of the 1st conference of the subjugated nations. Fell in 1946.

which met before the second world war in the Far East, elected him as chairman of the National Centre. The more recent political emigrants and their liberation organization founded during the last war, "Fighters for the Independence of the Turko-Tartars of Idel-Ural" which has directed the armed resistance of 40,000 Turko-Tartars, acknowledges Ayas Ishaki Idelli's leadership, for he is working for the independence of Idel-Ural.

Historic Performance of Duty

The numerous wars between the Khanat of Kazan and the princes of Moscow arose from various causes but were fought for definite political and economic aims. By succeeding to the heritage of the Turko-Tartar state, Altyn-orda, the Khanat of Kazan was called upon to defend the way to the rich countries of Nagay, Astrakhan, Crimea and Siberia, — the populations of which were of the same nationality, — from the advance of the Russian conquerors. It was the fall of all those Khanats that made the Russian occupation of Turkistan and Caucasia possible.

The warriors of the Kazan Khanat, involved as they were in incessant fighting against attacks by the Russian armies, well knew that they were defending, not only themselves, i. e. the countries which had belonged to them for centuries, but were guards on the main Russian route to the wealth of their kin in the Orient and as such had to prove their worth. When they met the furious onslaughts of the Russians and launched desperate counter-attacks themselves, their one object was to throw the enemy back at all cost, not alone to save their mothers and fathers, wives and children from a slave's lot, but also the peoples of the same race in the other Khanats. Thus victory was a duty imposed by history and which the warriors of Kazan honourably fulfilled for 115 years until their fortress fell. In the course of that



Ayas Ishaki Idelli,
Chairman of the
National-Centre of
the Turko-Tartars
of Idel-Ural
Abroad

performance of duty the Kazan soldiers had carried out 15 victorious campaigns, though suffering terrible losses and enduring unthinkable privations.

Unequal Struggle for a Key Position

The Turko-Tartar Khanat with its mighty fortress, Kazan, dominated the valley of the Volga, thus forming a perfect position for the defence, both of the roads to the treasures of the Urals and Asia and the road from the east to the Caucasus. For that very reason the Muscovites considered every means justified that would destroy that bulwark against Russian expansion. In order to give their marauding incursions striking power, the Russian princes incited the religious feelings of their followers, starting wars of conquest as crusades against Islam. Churches and cloisters were put into the service of extravagant propaganda against the "Tartar infidels" and Russian priests exhorted the soldiers to "do their duty as Christians" and utterly destroy the Tartars. Where religious exhortation failed, Russian propaganda resorted to other "convincing arguments" and sought to arouse the poverty-stricken Russian peasants by illusory ideas of Tartar wealth in "chickens and geese", in order to make the raiding campaigns savoury.

In spite of that "psychological" preparation, however, at all encounters with the superior numbers of the Russians, the Kazan Tartars proved morally superior in their desperate fight. Although they, like the Turko-Tartars of the other Idel-Ural khanats, were a peace-loving people ready to live in concord with their Russian neighbours, they showed boundless courage and self-sacrifice when it came to defending themselves against the invaders. The men of Kazan who had only been trained for purposes of self-defence, displayed more endurance, discipline and pluck than the Russian masses put in the field against them. That may be explained by the fact that the former were fully conscious of the justice of their cause and the historic responsibility for the fate of the neighbour lands of their brothers, while the Russians were filled with a lust for gain from which they could not even free themselves on the field of battle. That is why, too, that their ranks were often broken at the first impact with the Tartars and they suffered such heavy losses, so that more than once an army fled, panic-stricken.

Although the repeated attempts made by the Kazan Khanat to get help from the

Khan of Crimea and the Turkish Sultan, against the inroads of the Russians were in vain, the Kazan Tartars kept up the unequal struggle till it reached the limit of endurance.

Russian Treachery and Intrigues

Besides the invasions of armed forces the Russians tried to achieve their plans of conquest by all manner of treacherous, crafty political manoeuvres and court intrigues, above all to break the succession of the national dynasty by having the direct successor of the Kazan Khanat dynasty, founded by Olug Muhammed, Prince Abdul-Latif, murdered. When in 1519, on the death of Muhammed Emin Khan, last heir of the dynasty, the throne was left vacant, it was offered to Prince Sahib Girey of Crimea. The new Khan was also a descendant of Olug Muhammed and was related to the Turkish Sultan, Chuis Selim, so that a connection with the ruling house of the Turkish Empire, then regarded as the first world power, was formed. Shortly after, the Sultan was acknowledged as Khan, i. e. King of Kings, by the peoples of Kazan and, at the same time, the Mohammedans of the Khanat recognized him as the head of all Mohammedans. By these events the Khanat of Kazan seemed to be protected from further incursions from the Russians, as it was so closely connected with the Crimea and great Turkey as regard dynasty and religion.

The interruption of the dynastic line, however, and the succession of the Prince of Crimea to the throne of Kazan caused disquiet, envy and competition among the rulers of the other Khanats. Russian princes took advantage of the occasion to make trouble in Kazan and drive the Girey dynasty from the throne through a favourite of the Muscovite court, the Khan of Kasim, Sheikh Ali, an adventurer and upstart.

The Muscovites then developed great activity on the Bosphorus, where just at that critical time for Kazan, the wise statesman Sultan Selim died. His successor was Sultan Suleiman.

Mistakes followed by Nemesis

The new Turkish ruler made the fatal mistake of burdening himself with a useless war with Austria. Russia availed herself of the opportunity to forward her affairs with Kazan behind Turkey's back. Through the daughter of a Russian priest, who under the name of Karam Sultan and as the wife of the Turkish ruler, reigned in the palace on the Bosphorus, the Russian wire-pullers, by means of gold and intrigue, managed via Constantinople to gain influence over the Khan of Crimea, so that he should "live at peace with Russia". From that time on all the Kazan delegations who wished to lay their political and military cares before the Sultan were sent away as "mischief-makers and useless visitors".

Thus Russia succeeded in isolating the Khanat of Kazan from all friends and protectors. At that critical moment Khan Safa Girey, too, suddenly died and the throne was again vacant. The people of Kazan begged the Sultan to place a relation of the late Safa Girey, Prince Bulak-Girey on the throne, but their request was refused.

The indifference of the mighty Turkish Empire towards the Khanat of Kazan encouraged the Russian princes in Moscow, who in the meantime had declared themselves the tsars of all Russia, to stir up all

The Declaration . . .

Continued from Page 2

Support the process of national liberation in the U.S.S.R. and wherever the Soviet system reigns, in order to shatter Russian imperialism from within.

Root out the fifth columns from your countries and isolate the Soviet Russian war-machine from all the sources which are still open to it, or from which supplies are still flowing surreptitiously in quantities.

Give no support to any new imperialistic initiatives started by Russian emigrants in the West, or collaborators and profiteers of a communist dictatorship, as that will only have the effect of laming the liberation movement. Give no protection to artificially constructed states where independent civilized European nations, such as Croatia, Slovakia etc. are forced to live under duress. Make an end of the domination of national minorities by alien states.

Set up, at long last, a common front with the victims of Soviet Russian imperialism on the basis, freedom for all peoples and the unconditional recognition of their future independence.

See that the anniversary of shameful bolshevist tyranny is not celebrated much longer in Moscow as a day of freedom, peace and equality of nations, as it is an insult to civilized mankind.

Freedom-loving peoples and individuals in the whole world unite in the struggle against bolshevism and for the freedom of nations and individuals!

the malcontents in the Khanat so that when in 1551 the Russians once again approached the frontier a revolution was started by russophile elements, giving the ambitious Sheikh Ali the chance to seize the throne. Without any outside support, with no resources but their own, the Kazanians gathered their last national forces, deposed Russia's minion and called Prince Yadkar Khan of Nogay to the throne. Under his leadership Kazan prepared to offer determined resistance to the imminent Russian menace.

The Fall of the last Bastion against Russian Expansion

By 1552 the time had come. From Moscow, Tsar Ivan IV started the fifteenth war against the bastion of Kazan. Under his personal leadership an army of 200,000

Kazan will rise again as an Outpost

It is 400 years since that tragedy overtook the Turkish peoples and to-day it appears as if the unbounded imperialism of the Russians in bolshevik garb, is preparing to bring the same tragedy to the whole world.

During the past centuries no generation of the Idel-Uralians has left a stone unturned in the attempt to shake off the yoke and regain the liberty of the country. By revolts and availings themselves of momentary international complications they have succeeded in restoring Kazan's freedom at times, but it was always short-lived. The Tartars of Idel-Ural, however, never lost hope or confidence and have belied the words of Russian rulers that "there are no more Tartars, there are only Russians now" by maintaining their national sense all



After blowing up the fortress wall of Kazan, murderous Russian hordes burst into the palace garden.

(Historical picture by an Estonian painter)

men attacked the peaceful countryside of Kazan and soon the fortress, with its 30,000 brave defenders was invested.

Attack and counter-attack lasted 40 days. After having lost nearly half of their whole army, the Russian hordes poured into the town on October 2, (15,) 1552. In order to spare the peaceful population the battles had been fought by the defenders outside the town. Nevertheless the Russians wreaked their vengeance for the heroic, stubborn defence on the citizens, not even sparing women and children.

Once the fortress of Kazan had fallen the way was open to all the riches of Asia and the Caucasus. Two years later the care-free Khanat of Astrakhan was destroyed, the shores of the Caspian Sea reached and the Caucasus threatened. In 1561 the Russian army occupied the Khanat of Siberia and began to threaten Turkistan. 1773 the Khanat of Crimea was destroyed and Constantinople in danger. In 1864, having broken Dagestan's 30 year resistance, the Russians entrenched themselves in the Caucasus and menaced Turkey from still another side. Finally in 1884 they took possession of Turkistan and threatened India.

Thus the fall of the fortress of Kazan removed the last obstacle to the occupation of all the other Turko-Tartar Khanats and led to a dangerous expansion of Russian domination over Turkistan and the Caucasus, right to the frontier of Turkey itself. The neighbour Khanats, the Turkestanian and Turko-Mohammedan Caucasians who failed to aid Kazan in its distress thus, so to speak, themselves made the bed of Russian subjugation upon which they have been forced to lie.

Dr. D. Donzow

How to become a Dictator

My old schoolfellow, an old communist whom I have not seen for 50 years kindly disclosed to me last night the great riddle: how to become a dictator?

— All the dictators, I asked, ascend from the poor people. How do these little men suddenly become so powerful?

— The little ones, he answered, become great when the great become little.

— When the great become little?

— Yes, and then we overthrow them.

— But why was your revolution successful?

— By proceeding step by step.

— You mean?

— We made the revolution against the tsar, then against the landlords and the great bourgeois; then against the petty bourgeoisie and rich peasants, who became meanwhile the exploiters of the people, then . . .

— And when is the end of this movement?

— It is not so easy to stop. In Russia and abroad we call to our aid every kind of oppressed people: the "have-nots" against the "haves", the women against the men, the children against their parents, pupils against teachers, soldiers against officers, the bald against the shaggy, the illiterates against the educated, manual workers against the intellectuals, the idiots against the psychologically normal, the black and yellow against the white, and so forth.

— Until?

— Until the issue finally becomes a war of all against all, and then the common cry will be for a salutary dictatorship or a dictator armed with a big stick.

— The late Roosevelt spoke also of the big stick. . .

— But did not use it, and we do.

— And from where do you get this stick?

— From where?! The people itself has given it to us — sometimes by its own vote to crush down its enemies, and once in our hand, we never let it go.

— "We"? Who is that, this "We"?

— Our party, the party of the people, the defenders of the poor, its acknowledged leaders. As such, we become managers of all property of dispossessed people's enemies, endowed with all executive power of the state. We give to this regime the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the new democracy, but really. . .

— But really I don't see any difference between new and old. Your dictatorship doesn't differ from the overthrown absolutism, except in name!

— Oh, it makes a great difference. To rechristen one thing means to deprive it of all its *odium*, to make it more appetizing for the stupid masses. The same *aqua distillata* with a different label on the bottle can heal or kill a credulous man.

Our dictatorial government is called the government of the workers and peasants, and it is no more a tyranny! Our political inquisition is called the People's Court of Justice and it is no more an inquisition! Our Empire, moulded according to old Atilla patter, we called the association of free nations! The inner order of our immense prison state we called the most democratic constitution of the world, and it is no more a prison! Our new serfdom of

A Milestone on the Way to Byelorussia's Freedom

The Insurrection of Sluzk

November 27, 1920

The young Byelorussian National Republic was forged from the first days of its existence in the fire of battle. The insurrection of Sluzk is written in golden letters in the history of that struggle.

In November 1920, when the Polish-bolshevist plan to divide Byelorussia became evident, preparations for an armed struggle were made. In that, the Byelorussian National Committee played the most important part, in close connection with the council and government of the Republic.

A national militia of 500 men was organized in the cause of self-defence. In order to carry on, on a wider basis, the Committee decided to call a meeting of the whole Sluzk area. It took place on November 14, 1920 in Sluzk, attended by 107 delegates from 15 districts and in the presence of Paweł Zawid, authorized by the government of the Byelorussian National Republic for Sluzk.

It was a critical time and every minute precious. The Assembly hastened to finish its work on the same day. A Council of Sluzk (Rada Sluchchiny) was chosen which took over the administration of Sluzk.

slaves we called the free cooperation of workers and our new tyrant we call — the beloved protector of all classes and nations exploited by bad western capitalists, and millions believe us! To give a new name to old things that is . . .

— But that is a terrible lie!

— Many western newspapers and politicians voluntarily repeat this lie every day. Don't forget that the persuasive force of a perpetually repeated lie is immense. *Plebs vult dacipi.*

— But if the deceived masses should, after years, realise that under the attractive label on the bottle you offer them, you are giving them a poison? Would they not make a revolution against you?

— A revolution against us, who liberated the people from execrable capitalism? It would be a counter-revolution! Besides, don't forget one thing: the people would have no possibility to make a new revolution. . .

— No possibility?

— You see, to achieve socialism the masses have to work all day and sometimes the night through. Then they must attend our meetings and theatres; the fulfilment of this duty takes all their leisure, so that they have no time to contemplate their situation or to imagine a new idea against us. And without a leading idea there can be no great political movement, no revolution. We have directed all thoughts of the masses to such a degree towards their stomachs that they think only of food and amusements — *panem et circenses* — and all that is under our control.

— And why do they still run after that promised golden future of socialism, which they can never obtain?

— Why not? They run as the dogs at greyhound races run after a false rabbit. By our promises or terror, by their stupidity or fear. You see, having made them dependent on us for their physical existence; having deprived them of their

The assembly passed the following resolution:

"The first Byelorussian Assembly at Sluzk welcomes the Council of the Byelorussian National Republic and declares that it will do all in its power for the building up of the country. The Assembly protests against the occupation of our country by the alien and illegal Soviet power."

Long live the free and independent Byelorussian National Republic within its ethnographic borders."

Then the preparations for an armed insurrection began. The young people followed the call of the Council and the forces grew. Very soon the first regiment of Sluzk was organized and after a few days the regiment of Hrozaw and other small military formations. They, altogether, formed the Sluzk division of ten thousand men. The peasant women of Sluzk gave each military organization a flag with the inscription "We march to die, so that our country lives". The division was commanded by Colonel Sokal Kutylovsy who fought in World War II in the Byelorussian formation against the bolsheviks and was after-

courage, we can terrorise them; having killed in them every habit of free thinking, having deprived them of their wisdom we can easily deceive them; having made them vile, miserable, materialistic creatures without a notion of conscience and of God's commandments, having deprived them of every nobleness, we can corrupt them. What force in the world could break our power on this mob? It is true, there is in our Empire a bad resistance — movement. . . But do you support it? Have you enough courage for that?

— But there are still free peoples outside of your gigantic slave factory!

— Oh, outside. . . Outside. . . There is our 5th column. There is our 6th column of the so called "neutrals", who label as imperialism, chauvinism and reaction every attempt to prepare any mental or physical resistance against us. There are Endilots, Johnsons, Fuchs, Hiss, Rosenbergs and millions of others. There are some newspapers and films which systematically disarm the people intellectually and morally. . . There are pubs and bars full of people and there are empty churches. . .

At these words I was so furious that I cried:

— Stop this nonsense! With our freely elected leaders we will not let you terrorise or deceive us!

But while I was speaking so, I noticed my friend gradually becoming red as Walt Disney's Donald Duck when the devil invaded his soul and brain, and he began to shake with laughter. This laughter became as deep as the laughter of Mephistopheles in Gounod's "Faust" and awoke me from my terrible dream. . .

In the streets, in the new magazines I saw the happy laughing faces of lucky people, and their leaders. The picture theatres were full of a smiling crowd. Apparently the international situation was not so bad as it seemed to me after my conversation with the red ghost.

wards handed over by the allies to the Soviets and liquidated.

On November 26, 1920, part of the Sluzk division engaged the enemy. The battle developed along the line of the villages of Bystryzi-Charnahubowa-Dashnava. The insurgents took the little town of Zimkavich, the bolsheviks suffering heavy losses in dead and wounded. Some of the red soldiers surrendered. Thereupon the bolshevist command put their most faithful communist detachments in against the insurgents and mass arrests and executions began among the population. In spite of the enemy's superior numbers and terrorism, the insurgents defeated the bolsheviks at the small towns of Kopyl, Zimkavich and Wyzna. Only lack of arms and munition forced the insurgents to retire to the river Lan, where they succeeded in making a few counter-attacks, but they were not able to save Byelorussia from the bolsheviks. It was an unequal fight, the insurgents were forced to leave the fields of Sluzk and cross the river Lan and were disarmed by the Polish and interned in Byelostok. Another group retired into the woods of Sluzk with their arms, organized themselves into detachments and kept up the fight for a whole year with incredible endurance.

32 years have passed since those November days when Byelorussian blood was shed for the home land by its faithful sons. The heroic example which they gave will be followed by a future generation in the fight against the enemy for an independent Byelorussian state.

Free and independent Byelorussia for which the insurgents fought and died will be the monument erected to them by their spiritual descendants, one day. A. W.

The Echo of a Political Myopia

Continued from Page 3

their broadcasts with the words "Death to Fascism, Freedom for the People!" and are thus in this point still in harmony with Moscow.

The threat concerns the whole western world, wherever the communists succeed in putting up the sign "fascists". The ladder up which the Soviet propaganda has been able to climb so high, was supported for a long time by short-sighted western politicians.

Gradually, it is true, realization dawned, but even now not too clearly. The effects of that political myopia, trouble the consciences and convictions of many a member of the different committees, diplomatic chancelleries and intelligence services which are still making microscopic investigations concerning emigrants in the west, in order to detect that poisonous germ "fascism".

The importance ascribed to the national idea in our times and the driving power within it, was made manifest once again, paradoxically, by Stalin, at the last bolshevik congress in Moscow when he tried to pose as the protector of the "national sovereignty" of the peoples.

That may be a lesson to the world and it is to be hoped that the western democracies will take note in time that the hour has come to revise their attitude and no longer fail to realize the role the national idea plays in the struggle against bolshevism, otherwise Stalin may seize the trump card in this historical conflict.

The Tragic Fate of Rumania

A Noteworthy Lecture by General Ion Gheorghe

Ion Gheorghe, a well-known Rumanian general and a member of the Rumanian National Representation in exile, gave a striking report to the Stuttgart Society for East European Problems dealing with the past and present situation of his oppressed native land. The extract published here gives a survey of present conditions in Rumania. (Ed.)

The Rumanian people is a victim of the geographical situation and the strategic importance of its country. At present the Soviets aim at turning Rumania into a huge arsenal. As the Rumanians were probably fully aware of Soviet intentions, they fought on the side of Germany in the last war, not as a result of German pressure, but by their own free will and because it was to their own interest to do so.

The issue of the Battle of Stalingrad and the subsequent retreat of German and allied troops had repercussions on the internal situation in Rumania. Representatives of the parties in opposition to the government tried to extricate Rumania from the war, and, as they put it, to lead the country back into the camp of the Big Democracies. But the Soviet Union was then in that camp and democratic politicians in Rumania knew all too well what that meant, which did not make their decision any the easier...

As early as spring 1943 the leaders of the parties in opposition — particularly Julius Maniu, chief of the Peasants' Party — had put out feelers through Prince Barbu Stirbă and Constantin Visoianu and with the support of King Michael to the Western Powers in Cairo. Their demand that the Western Powers should guarantee the independence and integrity of Rumania as a condition of laying down arms was refused. Nor were the Rumanians able to convince the Western Powers of the danger of allowing the Soviets to be sole and supreme rulers of South Eastern Europe. Soviet resistance to the Western Powers exercising any influence at all in that area threatened to be so strong that the Western representatives finally supported Moscow's demands; they even persuaded the Rumanian spokesmen to drop their fears and to end hostilities immediately. Rumania then capitulated on August 23, 1944. The entire country being occupied by Soviet troops, an armistice was signed in Moscow, the severity of whose conditions far exceeded anything that had been discussed in Cairo. The Soviets had thus secured all they wanted, and very cheaply. Even at that time there was no repairing the damage done by the short-sighted policy of the West and the thoughtlessness of Rumania's representatives.

After the Potsdam Treaty was signed, the Soviet dropped all pretences. Vyhinsky arrived in Bukharest, curtailed the powers of the King, who was still under the illusion that he could exercise his constitutional rights, dismissed the comparatively democratic government and installed a purely communist regime under Petru Groza.

After the King had been forced to abdicate and a communist dictatorship had

been introduced, a vigorous purge, which did not even stop at the democratic politicians who had signed the armistice in Moscow, nor at all leaders of business, journalism and cultural life, Church and Army...

The Soviets are systematically trying to give the Rumanian people a Russian coat of paint as quickly as possible. The mastery of the Russian language is essential to any advance in life; Russian is constantly gaining ground in the Army, the schools and in offices. The fact that the Rumanian people and their language are Latin in origin is considered a crime, and they are made to suffer for it...

The masses in Rumania have lost all interest in life. The resistance in the mountains and the forests, which began so hopefully, is to a great extent paralyzed, and all hope of help from the West or elsewhere has vanished. The Soviets de-

Press-Conference of the A.B.N.

35 Years of Bolshevik Tyranny Enslavement, Genocide, Concentration Camps and Forced Labour

Under the above motto, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) called a press conference on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the October Revolution, on November 6, at 4 p. m. in the rooms of Café Deutsches Theater, Munich.

The conference was attended by more than 50 representatives of the press agencies and newspapers of Germany and other countries, as well as the emigrant press, and presided over by Prof. Wilhelm von Szepesvaralyay-Haendel, representative of the Hungarian National Delegation. After his short introductory speech, the A.B.N. declaration, given below, was read by the secretary general of the Central Committee, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny. The declaration pilloried bolshevik tyranny and at the same time contained a warning to the western world of the new deception as practised by the bolshevik despots at the recent Moscow party conference.

The following representatives of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. were present at the press conference: President Yaroslav Stetzko, former premier of free Ukraine, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, secretary general, and vice-president of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Tursunbay Dehkanbay, representative of the National Turkستانian Unity Committee, Prof. Wilhelm von Szepesvaralyay-Haendel, representative of the Hungarian Liberty Movement, Prof. Dudolf Wierer, vice-president of the Czech Democratic Federalists, Major General Hinko Alabanda, vice-president of the Military Commission, as representative of the Croatian army, V. Glaskov, Chairman of the Supreme Cossack Representation in Exile, Kyrill Kamenoff, member of the National Bulgarian Delegation, J. Gytis, editor, leader of the Lithuanian Regeneration Movement, Sergei Hokh, member of the executive of the Byelorussian National Committee, Dr. Stjepan Buc, secretary general of the Croatian National Committee.

liberately keep the standard of living of the people as low as possible so as to kill their interest in politics and make them forget the past...

In the meantime the bolshevization of Rumania has made huge strides, for which the complete indifference of the West is much to blame. And still the despots in the Kremlin are not content. There are still many headaches for the regime. The peasants, whether collectivized or not, are a constant thorn in the flesh. Memories of Western culture surviving in various classes give the secret service some trouble...

Although the annual production of oil is still over 5 million tons, oil for lighting purposes is still exorbitant. Bread is still strictly rationed in an agrarian country like Rumania. The low standard of living is leading to the complete proletarization of all classes... Increased production is not intended to raise the standard of living, but to satisfy the requirements of Soviet economy...

Rumanian youth is being systematically influenced in schools and Rumanian youth organizations, though they by no means turn out convinced and enthusiastic communists. And still that influence is the most dangerous feature of the bolshevization of Rumania...

The peasantry are more or less passive. It might be more serious for the regime if the interference with church life goes deeper, for in that respect the Rumanian peasants are most sensitive.

That is why the regime takes care to leave externals of ritual apparently unchanged. Dignitaries of the Rumanian Orthodox Church have long since been sent to prison on all sorts of pretexts... Some of the clergy have yielded for the sake of their positions, but there were many others who have gone to prison, and even to death, for the sake of their faith. The clergy of the Greek-Catholic Church, the Uniates, have been particularly courageous...

The Rumanian peasants being suspicious by nature are more or less immune to propaganda... Although workers get favoured rations, there is a great deal of discontent, in consequence of increased targets...

The regime is particularly concerned about the army. In spite of purges it has not become the willing tool the Kremlin desires... The period of conscription is not long enough to win the sympathy of peasant recruits. The decision not to use the army at the front in case of war, but only as an occupation force in the rear, shows how much the Soviet command relies on it. The most reliable instrument of state, on the other hand, is what is known as the People's Police, a troop composed of tried communists, and the real support of the regime. It is better equipped, fed and paid than the army...

The People's Police regard former non-communists, whose leaders have long since been imprisoned, as possible cells of resistance. The same may be said of the officers who were dismissed in the course of army purges. Nor do the Soviets trust the minor clergy or the former intellectual classes. Even the opportunists among them are not sure of their position or their future. By degrees all former intellectuals are being replaced, by those who are trained communists. This process is advancing slowly but surely...

A Myth that has Vanished

(Continuation of the lecture held by Mr. Michael Balsamoff before the Stuttgart Society for the Study of East European Questions, on "The Bulgarians and their Liberators" of No. 9/10 of "A.B.N.-Correspondence".)

II

After the experiences they have had, the Bulgarians have become immune to all pan-slavic slogans. But in Europe, the public continued to cling to the alleged "liberation myth" in connection with Bulgaria, which made the Bulgarian people in the eyes of their diplomatic chancellories appear as ready and willing victims of Russian expansion in the Balkans, although by their steadfast attitude after the liberation they had given convincing proof of the contrary.

It was this myth which was at bottom to blame for the mutilation of the country by the Great Powers at the Berlin Congress and which sealed its fate for some time to come, so that Bulgaria was never destined to achieve its full liberation and unity.

An episode that occurred in World War I is a striking example of how far from any sentimental pan-slavic attraction the Bulgarian people were. Assuming that the Bulgarian soldiers would not fight against the army of their Russian liberators, strong Russian elite troops were sent to Dobruja in 1916 to clear the way to Bulgaria for the Rumanian troops. General Koleff's cavalry regiments went against the Russian invaders with such determination that they were completely defeated and fled across the Danube.

Moscow, too, took up the pan-slavic idea again later, to disguise imperialist intentions and presented itself in the second world war in the guise of a "double liberator", for as tsarist Russia had freed Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke, the bolshevists then maintained that they were freeing Bulgaria from Hitler's slavery and a fascist regime. All the while Moscow took up an attitude towards Bulgaria that beat everything for perfidy.

In September 1944 Stalin declared war on Bulgaria and, in spite of Bulgaria's strict neutrality towards Russia, marched the Red Army into the country at a time when the German troops there had not only been disarmed but had left Bulgaria to the last man. At that moment too, Bulgaria was negotiating a truce with the Western Allies and the latter were only waiting for Stalin's agreement for it to take effect, which meant that Bulgaria would be out of the war and then Moscow would have no excuse to march in. To make matters worse Russia's declaration of war came on the same day that Bulgaria declared war on Germany, so that according to international law it was a belligerent power with the others. London and Washington only heard of that arbitrary and perfidious act through the Moscow radio...

The reason for that highly extraordinary behaviour by the Soviet Union, wanting at all cost to occupy Bulgaria, is not far to seek. Moscow had no illusions as to the attitude of the Bulgarian people who had already cold-shouldered repeated all-Russian annexation aspirations. It was well-known that the tiny communist party of Bulgaria and its accomplices in the "Fatherland Front" would never be able to seize

power alone. A fact that is moreover confirmed by Bulgaria's new masters, who never lose an opportunity to declare that without the presence and support of the Red Army, the revolution of September 4, 1944 and the establishment of a communist regime would have been unthinkable.

The whole development in Bulgaria since the present regime was forced upon the people against their will and which is only upheld by mass murder and continuous terrorism, is an undoubted proof that our Soviet-Russian "twofold liberators" were only able to introduce their regime with the help of the steam-roller of the Red Army. This fact alone is an historical justification for the attitude of the Bulgarians and an eloquent proof of their stubborn resistance against their undesirable and hated "liberators". That is why, when they are compelled by militia terrorism to celebrate the 9th of September as day of "liberation", they feel in their hearts that it is mockery and provocation.

In conclusion a quotation which does credit to its author for its truth and insight:

"When Russia supported the frontiers laid down in the preliminary peace of St.

Stefano it was not, by any means, with the idea of creating a strong Bulgarian state, but in order to lay hands on the new Balkan land and get nearer to the straits. Russia was, and still is, decidedly an enemy of an independent Bulgaria, for it would then be the greatest obstacle to Russia's plan of conquering the Balkan peninsula".

These words are from no other than the father of Bulgarian communism the notorious Georgi Dimitroff, who half a century ago wrote them to the paper of the Bulgarian Workers Party "Rabotnicheski Vestnik" (Worker Courier), February 9, 1905, as warning of tsarist intentions. It is an irony of fate that this same Georgi Dimitroff, fifty years later, as head of the communist government in Bulgaria helped with his own hands to build the bridge to Bulgaria for Russia's aspirations, cloaked in the idea of a "proletarian world revolution". When he awoke from his delusion and realized his role as grave-digger of his own country it was too late. His attempt to follow Tito's example landed him in Moscow to "recover his health" and ended in his premature departure to another world.

Thus ended the dream of the last Bulgarian illusionist who tried to spin out the liberation myth of bolshevist brand.

(Abridged extract.)

Side-Lights

Overlooked by the Press of the World

On the occasion of the recent party congress of the bolshevist party in Moscow, western newspapers published various reports and commentaries and many an "expert on Russian affairs" expressed an opinion. But one fact was overlooked by the press of the western world which for those able to read between the lines of Russian bolshevik newspapers speaks volumes.

Three weeks before the congress met, the columns of the Soviet papers were filled with reports on party rallies in the different Republics and areas of the U.S.S.R. Although these reports were most carefully prepared, the true state of affairs might be discovered between the lines. A short summary of which will be of interest.

At all the party rallies in the national Soviet Republics and in the areas of the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) there was much discussion of the intensified bureaucracy.

At every rally in the national Soviet Republics and in the different areas of the R.S.F.S.R. the fact was made clear that the co-operation between party management on one side and party members and citizens on the other was bad and getting steadily worse.

At nearly all the non-Russian Soviet Republic rallies "nationalist deviations and lapses" were censured and condemned. It was also ascertained that delicts were to be found among party members and even functionaries.

The speeches and resolutions all showed that in the Soviet Union the main stress is laid upon industry resp. the intensification of armament production which is being driven at high pressure.

The latter fact is a clear sign that the Kremlin, while on one side seeking to allay the fears of the West by stating that there is no war threat from the Soviet Union, is aiming at becoming economically independent and strong enough to overrun and defeat the West, should occasion arise.

That the question of "national delicts" was only treated at the congresses in the non-Russian republics and areas in the Union and not discussed at all in the Russian area is a clear indication of the continued resistance put up by all non-Russian peoples against the Kremlin's russification policy. Convincing proof of that fact is to be found in the following quotations from the Moscow Pravda:

"The party organizations in Uzbekistan (Turkistan) are to carry on an inexorable fight against any sign of bourgeois nationalism and bring to light the reactionary spirit of pan-Turkism" (Pravda 28. 9. 52).

"Literary criticism (in Georgia — Ed.) has paid too little attention to ideological distortions and neglected to work against relapses into bourgeois nationalism". (Pravda 20. 9. 52).

"The dilatory ideological work (in Ukraine — Ed.) has not been made up for... In literature and art serious ideological distortions have not yet been exorcised." (Pravda 29. 9. 52).

More attention should be given to such notices than has hitherto been the case. In times of intense preparation for war, Moscow has always had a sharper eye for internal tension and differences, and tightened the reins on the subjugated peoples. This statement may well be one of the most important accompanying circumstances of the last Moscow party rally. L. W. K.

Resistance still Active

Swedish newspapers have said that there are no more partisans in Lithuania. We know, however, that the struggle against the bolshevik hordes in Lithuania is still going on. The Lithuanians are a people with an old, state, religious and folk tradition. They always resisted the tsarist yoke and now, since World War II, they are struggling against bolshevist occupation. The Lithuanian underground movement is at work as before.

One member of the resistance movement writes from his own experience that, "the young people that General P. Plechavicius gathered around him have remained in occupied Lithuania and built up an active underground movement. Many of them have fallen in the conflicts with the N.K.V.D., but their places have been taken by new partisans. When there are deportations and compulsory conscription, many men and even women disappear into the woods. As long as the cruel bolshevist tyranny remains the underground fight will continue."

Further he writes, "It may seem unbelievable that after so many long, hopeless years there are partisans in the woods. The saying "When it becomes unbearable we shall run to the partisans" has become proverbial. "If we fall in the fight", the Lithuanians say, "we shall know that we have not lived in vain". There is another Lithuanian proverb "The Kremlin will not perish through us, but Stalin, at least, shall learn to fear us."

No one knows the whereabouts of these partisan heroes, but every Russian knows to his cost that there are partisans in Lithuania. It is true the tactics have been changed, but the fight goes on against bolshevism and russification and will continue until Lithuania has risen again as an independent, national state.

"No one films this cruel, heroic fight", the underground combatant writes, "no one glorifies it or pays for it, when a soldier falls, he has just vanished for good". Only the comrades-in-arms, the Ukrainian, Latvian, Estonian, Cossack, and Caucasian partisans know and understand for what their Lithuanian brother fights and dies.

That is but small comfort. What the subjugated peoples and their fighters need is real help from the western world and not merely platonic words. *J. Gytis*

Ukrainian Monarchs for A.B.N.

There was a congress of Ukrainian Monarchist (Hetman) Organization in America (U.H.O. A) from August 30, to September 9, 1952, in Detroit.

In the resolutions passed at the congress we read:

"The Congress of the Ukrainian Monarchist Organization (U.H.O.—A) is in agreement with the peoples subjugated by Moscow, that the dissolution of the imperium of the U.S.S.R. in independent national states is in the interest of all the free peoples in the West and of a real conclusion of peace in the world."

The congress entirely approves of close collaboration with the peoples subjected by Moscow whose representatives are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). In view of the liberation of these peoples from the Muscovite-Soviet yoke, the Ukrainian Monarchist Organization (U.H.O. A) asks for still closer co-operation with the A.B.N."

Byelorussians Against Imperialists

Announcement by the Byelorussian National Centre

It was mentioned in the press of late, that at the discussions at Wiesbaden and Starnberg (Bavaria), representatives of the Byelorussians also took part. In that connection the foreign section of the Byelorussian National Centre (B.N.C.), as the political representative of Byelorussians in exile, finds it necessary to announce that the participation of single Byelorussians at those discussions was a private affair, having nothing to do with the national liberation movement.

No authorization was issued by the foreign section of the B.N.C. to any Byelorussian liberation organization whatever to take part in the so-called American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia action, and for the following reasons:

Having studied the activities of the A.C.L.P.R. which is trying in the S.O.N.R. to establish a common front of peoples in the Soviet Union against the present state and political system, as represented by Moscow, i. e. bolshevism, the Foreign Section of the B.N.C. came to the conclusion that the participation of Byelorussian political exiles in that front was not permissible, for it would run contrary to the interests of the Byelorussian people.

Neither the A.C.L.P.R. nor any of the Russian exile groups in the so-called S.O.N.R. recognize the right of the Byelorussian and other peoples under Moscow's bolshevist occupation, to national freedom and the re-establishment of their state independence, from which it may be concluded that the said organization's plans for the "maintenance of a united and in-

divisible "Russia will be followed after the liquidation of Moscow's present state-political system.

By their unceasing struggle for freedom against the former tsarist regime the Byelorussians realized their right to self-determination at last, on March 24, 1918, with the proclamation of state independence.

Moscow's hand was forced by the persistent opposition to Russian bolshevism, to recognize, at least formally, the Byelorussian people's right to state independence, and created a Byelorussian Soviet Republic with the right even of seceding from the U.S.S.R. Later the right to be a member of the United Nations was granted too.

Acceptance of the new basis set up by the S.O.N.R. would be a fatal mistake which would throw the cause of Byelorussian liberation far back. It would be treason against the best sons of the people who are waging a desperate fight at home for liberty, under the cruel conditions of an alien dictatorship.

Considering what has been said above, the Foreign Section of the B.N.C., as sole political representative of the Byelorussians in exile, is against Byelorussian organizations joining any such international institution, as long as, in practice, the democratic rights of our peoples to an independent state existence is not acknowledged, much as it approves of the idea of a common front.

*Presidium of the Foreign Section
of the Byelorussian National Centre.*

In Exile, September 28, 1952.

Ten Years of Heroic U.P.A. Fighting

Continued from Page 7

pectations of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the Ukrainian people, and they have achieved success under conditions until now unknown in the history of mankind."

What were these successes, it may be asked? They are of the most various character. With regard to the population: under the protection of the U.P.A. the male population were able, to a large extent, to escape extermination on the imperialist fronts in 1944/45. The U.P.A. paralysed deportations for forced labour and the herding up of young people for work in the factories, also prevented forced collectivization. Furthermore it frustrated the organized famine with which Moscow hoped to break Ukrainian resistance, spring 1946. Then too, the U.P.A. by their fight, put a check on the activities of the terrorist machine of N.K.V.D. and thus weakened the pressure of the occupation on the population.

Detachments of the U.P.A. have often penetrated into enemy country, punished high occupation officials such as Generals Vatutin, Swierczewski, Moskalenko and others, harassed the enemy by ambushes and attacks, and prevented the realization of his plans for the destruction of the Ukrainian people.

Political action has been, to make extensive expeditions through the home country and outside with the watchwords of freedom on their flags; they have rallied other

peoples to fight against the enemy and founded a common front of peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Among the Ukrainians themselves the U.P.A. has brought life into liberation idea and made it more dynamic and gathered the broad masses around it. To-day The U.P.A. is known in the remotest parts of the Soviet Union. Influenced by this struggle there has been a great change wrought in the character and mentality of the people. The omnipotence of the N.K.V.D. and terrorism has been broken. The deviations, so much discussed and written about in Ukraine, may be attributed in no small measure to the influence of the U.P.A. fight and the idea of liberation. There is much behind the words of Moscow's governor in Ukraine, L. G. Melinkov, secretary-general of the communist party, at the recent congress of the party in Moscow, that "serious ideological shortcomings exist among the Ukrainian workers and peasants in Ukraine". His words show that the Ukrainian liberation movement enjoys the confidence and sympathy of the people. In battle new cadres of the liberation revolution arise and are trained underground. All that, places the cause of liberation on a firm basis and creates the conditions for a final victory.

From the tactic of large U.P.A. detachments making extensive expeditions, as in the years 1944/45, by which attention was aroused in the liberation movement every-

"Peace Preparations" in East Asia

It is not certain yet whether the fresh activity of the communist forces in Korea and the offensive of the Vietminh partisans in Indo-China have any connection with the Peking peace conference which, after an unexpected postponement, began October 2, and lasted almost two weeks. Similar conferences in the past have always led to immediate communist action on a large scale, as for instance "The Congress of Youth" in Calcutta 1948 which was the starting point of the insurrection in Malaya and prepared revolutionary activity in other south-eastern Asiatic countries.

The connection between the Peking conference and the Moscow party rally is perfectly evident. If there is any spot where the Kremlin's "planned" disintegration of the western world's defence has hope of success, it is south-east Asia, where there are headaches enough.

It was definitely not by chance that the "Congress of Defenders of Peace in the Countries of Asia and the Pacific", was originally arranged for September. It was the first anniversary of the signing of the Japanese peace treaty, by which the strategic belt of defence against communist expansion in south-east Asia was considerably strengthened. One aim of the conference, and probably the most important one, was to break through it by a combination of politically subversive and military action. Its initiators therefore recommended a spreading and strengthening of the peace movement in Asiatic and Pacific countries and stormed against the American intention "to restore Japan's militarism" and turn it later to account against the "national liberation movement" rising among the peoples of Asia.

At least as important, however, was the demand expressed in the resolution passed by the congress, for the promotion and raising of imports and exports and the restoration of peaceful economic and trade connections in Asia. But Soviet advance in that sphere, especially at the Economic World Conference in Moscow, showed that the states in the communist block were only interested in getting strategic goods from the western hemisphere. Apparently the imposing production statistics of the U.S.S.R. cannot conceal the existing bottle-

where in the Soviet Union, the leaders have gone over to the tactics of deepening and strengthening the idea of liberation in all spheres of life in Ukraine and other countries where subjugation prevails. The Ukrainian liberation movement is now concentrating on the following aims:

1) The support of an organization in Ukraine which will propagate the revolutionary idea among the people and prepare the necessary cadres for the building up of the state.

2) To carry on the fight in all those forms which will serve for the final struggle, not only among the revolutionary cadres but also among the broad masses, and be a guarantee of efficiency.

The fact that the U.P.A. have carried on successfully amidst Soviet conditions for ten years and have won the unreserved sympathy of the people makes us certain the the aim we strive for will be reached and become reality. A people which has raised such a heroic army as the U.P.A. is worthy of its national freedom in its own state, and will attain it sooner or later.

neck in economy. For "an exchange of peace goods" there was no enthusiasm, as the illusionists who had gone to Moscow with such high hopes for western economy discovered to their sorrow. The attempt now made to put the "peace organization" at the service of economy is not new, and the worn-out, ever-repeated tactics show how seriously the communist block can be hit by its isolation.

P. S.

Prof. Durcansky in Munich

The ex-foreign minister of the Independent Slovak Republic and present president of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, has been on a political journey through several European countries in the last few months. He was in Switzerland, and Austria, Paris and Rome, arrived in Germany, the beginning of November, to continue his work here for the liberation of Slovakia and the restoration of the Slovak Republic. Wherever he goes Prof. Durcansky has political discussions, negotiations and press conferences and visits the different centres of the Slovak emigrants.

Prof. Durcansky is the most active and popular Slovakian politician alive. He was the first foreign minister of the Slovak Republic. After the war he was condemned to death in absentia with the President Dr. Josef Tiso in a staged trial.

A Moral Vacuum that will bring its Revenge...

From an article sent us by one of our contributors, Mrs. Aino Torn, we take the following noteworthy remarks.—Ed.

... In one breath the man behind the Iron Curtain hears of civil rights and the restriction of those rights to which millions are to be sacrificed, he hears of the exploitation of peoples by Stalinism and the retention of economically favourable conceptions of great territories, cherished in the past, to which three-fifths of the population of the Soviet is again to be exposed. The Atlantic Charter says, it is true, that every nation has the right to freedom and self-determination, but the non-Russians in the Soviet Union who would any day prefer death to life in "free" Russia, is to be deprived of that right. There is talk of "the same right to freedom that is given by God to every individual", but the non-Russians are to give up their right in favour of a Muscovite people who have always remained alien to them and of whom they know from long, practical experience that there is no living with them, while in the course of time even good neighbourly relations might be developed with free peoples.

The moral right to decide whether non-Russians are to, or can, live with Russians is no concern of those who have themselves no experience of what it means and who seek to reserve decisions long ago made. They will succeed with their ideas of great territories and favourable economic conditions just as little as in restoring the better based economic right of Alexander the Great, or Emperor Akbar. Anyone believing he must cling to long vanished melodies is going along a way plastered with purely materialistic principles, to dialectic dissension, leading to a *moral vacuum* and it is a question what will remain to set against bolshevist ideology.

Lithuanian World Association

First London Conference

The middle of September, this year, the first conference of leaders of the Lithuanian communities in European countries took place in London. The following resolutions were passed:

The most important task for exile Lithuanians is to combat communism. It is therefore resolved to intensify this struggle, to enlighten the world on the subject, and to fight for the liberation of the home country from the communist yoke, also to co-ordinate, with due regard to conditions in different countries.

In particular it is resolved:

- 1) To make use of the labels issued by the Lithuanian Martyrological Department in U.S.A. to stick on envelopes etc. and to collect subscriptions. The funds thus collected to be used in the fight against genocide.
- 2) To take the Genocide Exhibition which was organized in U.S.A. to Europe. The technical arrangements for the transfer being entrusted to the Lithuanian Central Committee in Germany.
- 3) To collect reports made by German returnees from the Soviet Union and publish them in book form. This work, too, to be carried out by the Central Committee in Germany.

On the question of collaboration, the conviction prevails that political frontiers should in no way hinder the co-operation of Lithuanian communities in the different countries.

It is therefore resolved that the Lithuanian magazine appearing in London is to become the official paper of the Lithuanian communities in Europe.

Lithuanian publishers to be centralized in their work and aims, the publication and sale of books.

This first conference to be followed by one in Germany in July 1953. Until then the Central Committee in Germany to be given the duties of a European secretariat of the Lithuanian Communities.

Ukrainian Youth Demonstrate before the U.N. Palace

On November 8, 1952, the 35th anniversary of the October revolution the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) arranged a great demonstration in front of the U.N. palace, the object of which was a protest against the russification and bolshevik terrorism in Ukraine. At 9 a. m. more than a hundred members of the S.U.M. appeared there carrying banners with inscriptions such as: "End the russification of Ukraine", "Put a stop to the physical extermination of the Ukrainian people", "Russian communism is a new form of the traditional Russian imperialism", "20 million Ukrainians have been done away with by red Moscow".

Moreover, members of the S.U.M. distributed a great number of leaflets that day. Entering the hall of the palace they handed their leaflets to delegates, observers and journalists.

In addition booklets were sent to all U.N. delegates entitled "The Crime of Moscow in Vynnytsia", to inform them of the atrocities committed by bolsheviks in Ukraine. That manifestation proved a great success for Ukrainian youth in their campaign against Russian bolshevism and imperialism.

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

PARTISAN ACTIVITY

Vienna (d. a.). Reports from Turkey speak of strong anti-communist activity among the Bulgarian partisans and especially in the almost inaccessible Rhodopen Mountains. In small groups, mostly deserters from the army in full uniform and equipped with modern weapons, they keep the communists in the nearby villages in a constant state of alarm. A number of cases have been reported when communist commissaires and local functionaries have been condemned by martial law and executed.

COSSACKIA

BOYCOTT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The regional congress of the communist party in Cossackia which was held before the XIX Party Congress, showed, according to party papers, that only 1.6% of the population was in the communist party. Of these only 14.5% were working in villages the rest was made up of party big-wigs and functionaries, usually from elsewhere. The women form only 9.1%.

Thus one sees that the Cossack population does not join the communist party and sees in it the instrument of alien domination and terrorism.

GEORGIA

SHORTCOMINGS AND RECRIMINATIONS

The Moscow *Pravda*, November 11, 1952, reports that at the municipal communist party conference at Tbilissi, the capital of the Georgian S.S.R., the municipal secretaries of the party, Zedginidze, Dshibladse and Laschkaraschvili were sharply criticized for not having given enough attention to backward works, in consequence the machine repair shops "Zentralist" and "The other plants had not fulfilled the plan". "The municipal party committee of the Association of Soviet Writers, Artists and Composers had not been able to make an end of fawning, in its criticism and self-criticism".

Also that the committee "had not taken sufficient pains with the Marxist-Lenin preparation of the scientific cadres".

EASTERN GERMANY

CLASHES BETWEEN PEOPLES POLICE AND WISMUT WORKERS

There were more clashes between People's Police and workers of the Soviet Wismut Co. in the middle of October at Saalfeld. A squad of police was beaten up by some 200 workmen when they were about to arrest drunken colliers for rowdiness. Cursed as "Russian slaves" and "murders of workers" the squad was disarmed. The excited mob was only dispersed when re-

inforcements came on the scene and rescued the policemen, several of whom were wounded. A number of the Wismut people were taken off to an unknown destination in police cars.

LITHUANIA

DENATIONALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY

The "purge" of the communist party in Lithuania still continues. A number of functionaries, heads of collective farms and managers have been discharged. Yet the Moscow *Pravda* still continues to criticize the communist leaders in Lithuania for "neglect of their duty". Lithuanian experts are being invited to place their knowledge and experience at the disposal of remote provinces in Soviet Russia and to leave Lithuania.

Several Lithuanians and other Balts have been forced to sign three-year contracts for those parts. In most cases the Balts are sent off to the Lake of Baikal, where they are treated as deportees. Not a few of these "volunteers" are being drawn upon for the construction of the railway at the White Sea. Their posts at home are then taken by Russians who are turning out to be drunkards and rowdies. The whole point is to deprive the land of its own native population and thus clear the way for complete russification.

UKRAINE

PETLURA AND BANDERA — A SYMBOL

In the speech he held at the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Alexander Korniychuk, promised, in the name of the Association of Writers, Composers and Artists of Ukraine, "to wage an implacable campaign against the slightest sign of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism" . . .

"... The Ukrainian people cannot ignore the criminal behaviour of the American government in giving 100 million dollars to organize espionage and diversions by bandits and monsters, among whom are the thrice cursed enemies of the people, the undefeated remnants of Petlura's and Bandera's band..."

The Ukrainian people has not forgotten the conference at Yassy when representatives of England, America and France met, and at which a Petlura minister took part, America's giving the Petlura bandits an 11 million dollar credit and supplying weapons and ammunition for it.

We do not know how many of those 100 million dollars, voted for seditious activity against the Soviet Union and the countries of the People's Republics, were handed over by Truman to the Petlura banditti...

There cannot be a doubt but that those servants of Truman's, the Petlura-Bandera bandits and criminals will be hunted by the Ukrainian people like mad dogs".

(*Pravda*, Oct. 11, 1952.)

AGAINST NATIONALISM . . .

The Moscow *Pravda* reports September 3, 1952, that a municipal conference of the C.P. (b) U. took place in Kyiv, "at which great attention was given to the ideological work. A year ago the central press (Moscow press — Ed.) discovered important errors and distortions of a bourgeois-nationalist character in the work of a number of the different organizations in Ukraine..."

There are many gaps in the activities of the party organization for the Writers Association. The party organization is not sufficiently active in promulgating fundamental criticism and self-criticism among writers. There are many flaws in the work of the theatre, opera and ballet. In the last, the repertoire of the Russian classic ballet has been ignored until quite recently.

A return to bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism is to be noticed in the work of the Literary Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. Those responsible for the publication of the second volume of works by Vasyl Stefanyk, Mrs. Hrudnytsky, Kryzhanovsky, Kurylenko and O. Biletsky smuggled material in, in which the names of great enemies of the Ukrainian people, bourgeois nationalists are mentioned...

Re-organization of the Voice of America

Since October 23, 1952, the Ukrainian Department of the Voice of America, which until then had been a part of the Section of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., under the direction of O. Barmin, has been included in East European Section.

After the re-organization there are now the following sections in the Voice of America:

- 1) The former section of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R. has been divided into two parts:
 - a) the Russian department under O. Barmin,
 - b) the Turko-Tartar, Caucasian and other departments of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., except the Ukrainian, under the direction of I. Oreania.
- 2) Baltic Section, — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.
- 3) West European Section.
- 4) East European Section, — Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and Ukraine, under the direction of J. Armitedj.

Prayer for the Home Country

Wherever Catholic Lithuanians live in the free world, priests and congregations close Divine Service with the following prayer.

"... Lord send Thy blessing upon us who were forced to leave our home. Give us strength to bear the heavy lot of the homeless in a strange land. Grant that each one of us may remain true to our country and that when we return to it one day we may carry with us a new spirit of resurrection."

Assist, Oh Lord, with Thy fatherly love and protection our brothers and sisters who have remained behind, strengthen, for Thy Name's sake, those who are suffering torture for the freedom of their people. Comfort the mourners and the sorrowing and grant those, Oh Lord, who have fallen on the field of battle, eternal life . . ."

BOOK - REVIEWS

UKRAINE OVERLOOKED ONCE MORE

Arnold Jaggi: Russia and Europe, Past and Present (Rußland und Europa in Geschichte und Gegenwart) Published by Paul Haupt, Bern, 1951, pp. 238.

This popular German book, written at times with what one might call verve, certainly has its good points. It is based for the most part on reliable historical sources and does not fall into the "idealization" of the Russian people that one so often meets with to-day, but in judging them refers to the informative opinions of more or less impartial Russian thinkers, such as Chaadayev, Herzen, Bakunin, and avoids the much favoured fanciful outpourings about the "Slavonic soul". One thing, however, which is of really positive value is the fact that the author definitely stresses the "absolute continuity between tsarist and bolshevist Russia" and does not fail to explain by historical facts how "bolshevik Russia is carrying on the ideas and customs of tsarist times". The statement that "the Soviet Union is not content with securing itself against time-serving attacks but rather continues along the way that Russia's policy of expansion has mapped out", sounds particularly actual. Bolshevik Russia in that respect is more Russian than Russia under the tsars". The gloomy fear expressed by the author that the average west European might lack the depth and spontaneity of the moral sense and feeling that is required to realize the whole horror of Russian communism, to reject its principles unreservedly and persistently enough and to really fight against them", we can only confirm.

And yet the book misses its main object and gives the reader in several respects a false picture of Russian social history. Ukraine and the nationality problems in the Russian Empire hardly exist for the author. The Kyiv period is simply treated as a chapter in Russian history (although the author does justice to the mighty difference between old Kyiv and the later Moscow). Ukraine of the Cossacks' time (16 – 17 century) has been completely dropped, the influence of Ukrainian culture on Moscow and Petersburg, as well, of course, though even Russian historians admit it. Only under Nicholas I do "Ukrainians" appear, only to disappear again till the Ukrainian deputies in the second Duma, while, it is hardly believable, the bolshevist treatment of the different nationalities" (not peoples and nations, please notice) is cut down to eleven lines (pages 209 – 210).

The Ukrainians are not even mentioned by name in connection with the "terrible famine of 1932/33". The famine is merely said to have raged in the "most fertile agricultural areas". The author seems unaware of the fact that especially Ukrainians were left to starve to death.

After all how should he know it? For his Russian or russophile authorities, for Berdajew, Masaryk, André Gide, Koestler, Stepnin, Dallin and Nikolayevsky, there is no nationality problem of any importance in Russia, and never has been: what lay east of Poland and Lithuania was just "Russian".

It is by altogether ignoring the manifold antagonistic national ingredients of the Russian Empire, however, that the author spoils any possibility of answering the questions he sets himself, satisfactorily, and when he closes his treatise with the "painful question, what has become of the moral treasures collected for their people by the dignified characters among the revolutionaries and mental heroes like Tolstoi", we cannot help remarking that those dignified revolutionaries and mental heroes, almost without exception, have either approved of the oppression and russification of the enslaved non-Russian peoples (carried out by force and treachery), or at least ignored it, and that the Russian people who condoned the cruel imperialism and anti-cultural attitude of the ruling class have now in the terrorism of the bolshevist régime just what they have helped to bring about in the centuries of their genocidal expansion.

V. D.

WHY GERMANY FAILED IN THE EAST

Jürgen Thorwald: "Those they will destroy" — Report on the great Betrayal (Wen sie verbergen wollen — Bericht des großen Verrats). Steinruben Verlag, Stuttgart. p. 606.

The portentous question of how Russia is to be defeated, occupies public opinion in the whole world to-day and it is a matter of course that a good deal of attention in this connection is given to the causes of Hitler's failure in Russia.

The well-known German author has placed his chapter on Vlassov in the centre of interest in his book. Thorwald's thesis reads: Hitler lost in the east because he did not know how to make allies of the peoples in the Soviet Union. In

detailed descriptions Thorwald draws a picture of the indefatigable efforts made by a number of clear thinking Germans in the ministries for the east, the army and the headquarters of the S.S., to check Hitler's catastrophic so-called "under man" policy and bring it into a sensible political direction. In this connection three clear policies stand out: one upheld by Rosenberg, Prof. Gerhard von Mende, von Bräutigam, von Leibrecht and other politicians in the ministry for the east, required the independence of Ukraine, the Caucasian federation and Turkestan, in order to make allies of those peoples against Russia; Russia proper to be established within its ethnical borders as a satellite state of Germany's. This plan met with violent opposition from Hitler and his liegemen, headed by Bormann, Göring, Keitel and, in the first years, also Ribbentrop.

Another plan was proposed by Arlt, a young and very able politician, who used his formal membership of the S.S. to give Germany a sensible policy in the east. In 1945 he even gained the favour of the chief of the S.S. headquarters, Berger, and drew up a plan for the liberation of the eastern peoples, not only from bolshevism, but also from Russian imperialism. He made it clear that only a positive plan of establishing Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Cossack, Turkestanian and Baltic States, as well as a Caucasian federation, could break the resistance of the Red Army and create a political atmosphere for the re-organization of the east. His plan found natural allies and ready support among the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., but opposition on the side of the Russian emigrants and their general, Vlassov. That plan too, came to grief through resistance on the part of Hitler, Himmler and men of their way of thinking.

The third policy was represented by Himmler himself. In 1944 he changed from the under-man policy to the great Russia conception and relied on General Andrej Vlassov. His policy aroused the indignant opposition of the non-Russians who consistently refused, up to the end of the war, to have anything to do with Vlassov. Hitler could not overlook the Ukrainian factor and had to agree to a Ukrainian National Committee under General Schandruk, besides the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia under Vlassov. Furthermore, General Schandruk was appointed commander of all the Ukrainian units which until then had fought as volunteers or been pressed into the German army, while General Vlassov was put in command of all the Russian units. The Caucasian, Turkestanian, Byelorussian and Cossack units continued under German leadership. Vlassov, it is true, claimed the right to represent the non-Russian peoples too, but by the setting up of the Ukrainian National Committee, his claim as far as Ukraine was concerned had only theoretical value.

Which of these three, resp. four German conceptions proved practicable? The under man theory failed completely. It was the real and most important factor that led to the defeat of Germany in the east. The other three never got beyond their inception and first political feelings. Rosenberg's plans were never put into operation although he was minister for the eastern area.

Dr. Arlt's idea which corresponded with Rosenberg's was stopped at the first attempt to realize it. Nevertheless the two plans showed that they were working along the right lines, in winning the non-Russian peoples for the fight against bolshevism and arousing their enthusiasm for it.

The fourth plan, i. e. Vlassov's, after the collapse of the under-man policy, became the official German thesis.

Jürgen Thorwald declares that plan was doomed to fail, but he is far from discovering the real causes for the break-down of the war. The fact that the first Vlassov division deserted to the red-inclined insurgents in Prague gives the author some trouble. He brings forward several arguments and puts the blame on the delaying tactics of the Germans. He believes the Russians did not want to fight because in the critical months of 1945 there was no prospect of a German victory, but he quite overlooks the historical fact that the desertion of the Russians was occasioned by Soviet Marshal Koniev's summons. Thorwald has not a word to say about the fact that not one of the military units of the non-Russian peoples was guilty of any such default as the two Vlassov divisions. In our eyes, the failure of the Vlassov experiment was due to the reluctance of the Russians to fight against the victorious Red Army at a time when it was about to realize the greatest expansion of the Russian empire.

The weak point in the book, in our opinion, lies in the misunderstanding of those connections. Jürgen Thorwald is making a dangerous attempt to prove to the West that the Soviet Union can only be defeated with the help of the Russian people, while we declare that the Soviet Union can only be put out of action with the assistance of the non-Russian peoples.

R.O.I.

Calendar of National Memorial Days of our Peoples

December

Dezember 10

Cossackia: Independence Day. In commemoration of the proclamation by parliament of the independence of the Cossack State, December 10, 1917.

Dezember 12

Idel-Ural: (1917) Turkovo-Tartar and Ugro-Finnish National Assembly at which the independence of the Idel-Uralian Republic was proclaimed.

December 26

Hungary: (1948) In memory of the arrest of the Cardinal Primate Mindszenty by the communist despots in Hungary.

January

January 3

Cossackia: Day of the Church. Tsar Peter I liquidated the Cossack Autocephalic Church and joined it to Moscow. The Church, however, fought on for more than a hundred years.

January 10

Cossackia: Day of Union. All the independent Cossack republics were solemnly united in the Supreme Cossack Parliament in the United Cossack State.

January 12

Azerbaijan: (1920) The independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan, recognized by the Council of the Great Powers.

January 14

Georgia: The day of St. Nino, who converted Georgia in the fourth century.

January 22

Ukraine: (1918) The independence of the Ukrainian National Republic declared by the Ukrainian parliament, Zentralna Rada (Central Council). 1919 reunion of all Ukrainian ethnographic territory in one united Ukrainian National Republic.

January 29

Ukraine: (1919) On this day 30 young students and workers fell fighting the red conqueror, near Kyiv at Kruty.

Communiqué

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May we express the hope that the newly elected president of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, will thoroughly revise the mistaken policy hitherto followed in America in reference to the subjugated peoples in U.S.S.R. and the national problems obtaining behind the Iron Curtain.

We oppose, and shall always oppose, every attempt to retain the Russian dungeon of nations in whatever form it is proposed, and no matter who in the West supports that monster. Our aim remains unaltered: the dissolution of the Russian despotic empire into independent, national, democratic states of all our peoples: Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Azerbajians, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, etc.

Press Bureau of the A.B.N.
Munich, November 5, 1952.

A.B.N.-Correspondence

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Editorial

A Warning to the West

Worse than bolshevism

The fear of bolshevism in the West is worse than the evil itself. Indeed, the fear of bolshevist Russia is the West's most dangerous enemy, paralysing its will, driving it to compromise and preventing it from doing anything positive to put an end to Russian aggression.

"Fear has big eyes" is a Ukrainian proverb. The bolsheviks are only too familiar with the West's paralysing fear of Russia. It is systematically fed by Fifth Columns who spread rumours of the incomparable strength of the Soviet Union, its masses of fanatic soldiers, deadly Russian weapons, the omnipotence of the M.G.B.-M.W.D., etc. By means of such legends the bolsheviks hope to suggest invincible strength and thus paralyse the West's will to fight.

It is, of course, good if the West is mobilized by the danger threatening it. But if fear of this danger calls forth defeatism in the West, then it no longer benefits the West but the enemy. Though the West recognizes the danger of bolshevism, it does not take the necessary steps to meet it. Many Western politicians repudiate the policy of the strong hand because they are afraid of irritating or provoking Moscow. That is hiding one's head in the sand like an ostrich, or something worse; it is the policy of a man hypnotized by a boa-constrictor's venomous eye and unable to avert death.

It is high time that the West realized its chances of victory if it unites with the nations subjugated by Moscow. Such an alliance would make it not only superior to bolshevism, but invincible. Cooperation with the subjugated nations would also give the

West confidence in its strength that the free world needs, and must develop if it is to be victorious.

The real enemy

Just as in World War II the real enemy of the Allies was Germany only, but not the many countries occupied by Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway, Serbia, Greece, Poland, Czechia, etc., the present enemy of the West is Russia alone and not the non-Russian countries occupied by Russia, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbajan, North Caucasia, the Cossack Republic, Idel-Ural and Siberia, countries that declared their indepen-

dence in 1918/21 and had their own governments.

In the Soviet Union today, the Russians play the part of a master people, and it would be a great mistake to put them on the same level as the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and regard them as equally subjugated. It would be just as much a paradox to maintain that, for instance, the Germans under Hitler were just as much "subjugated" as the Poles in the Generalgouvernement during the last war.

No plans for world conquest are cherished either by the Ukrainians, the Bulgarians or any other non-Russian people under the dictatorship of Moscow. But the Russian people, which

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Why has Europe become so small?

By Dr. D. Donzow

Yesterday my friend, just returned from the East asked me:

Why has our free Europe become so small? In the XVIIIth century it extended beyond Ukraine. In the XIXth only to Memel and Pruth. And now Europe has its Eastern frontiers on the Elbe, in Vienna, and North Greece. Why has it become so small?

Because Russia has become so large. But why is Russia driving the West back so irresistibly?

Do you know, why Islam's attack on the Continent was so irresistible?

No. Because the Mohammedan had his Holy Book, the Coran and his Prophet Mahomet. And do you know, why the drive of the armies of Napoleon against free Europe was for so long irresistible?

In consequence of the war-genius of the Emperor?

No, because "Robespierre on horseback" was fighting under the sacred banner of the new Prophet. Rousseau and his Coran, the works of the French Encyclopaedists, the ideas of 1789.

I did not think of it like that.

Certainly not. And do you know, why for six years Nationalsocialism in Germany was so irresistible?

Because of the unpreparedness of his enemies?

No. Because Hitler wished to conquer our Continent in the name of a new "Holy Book", "Mein Kampf", of which he was the Prophet.

And Russia?

Russia, too, found its "Holy Book" in the works of Karl Marx and his disciple Ulyanov-Lenin.

But you forget that all these "Prophets" were defeated by the United Nations of Europe!

All?

Certainly all! Napoleon — or if you will — Rousseau, was defeated at Waterloo in 1815 . . .

But in 1830, 1848, 1871 the ideas of 1789 conquered all the countries of the West.

And Hitler too, was crushed on the field of battle!

But the principle of his totalitarianism began to ravage the life of all West European democracies.

Perhaps, the principles of the Coran also?

No, not those. Why? Because at that time Europe also had its Holy Book, that of the Apostles. And in the name of this book, in the name of Christian ideals of society, the knights of Christian Europe crushed the Empire of Attila, and that of the Saracenes, and later the Empire of the Turkish Sultans. "Hoc signo vincis"! — was not in that time an absurd motto.

And now?

Now a new red Mahomet is knocking at our door. But do you find today many Christians, who possess such vehement love for their faith and such a

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has always proclaimed its messianic mission, is still striving for world hegemony. If the West therefore, seeks to put up a defence against this aggression from Moscow, it must first be quite sure who its real enemy is, where he is, what his plans are, what his strength is, and on whose power he depends.

It would be tragic if the West were to swallow Russian bait and consider all the nations in the East as equally to blame for bolshevism. In reality bolshevism was put into the world by the Russians alone and is merely a continuation of the 500-year old Russian imperialism, as Dean Acheson, Secretary of State in the U.S.A., very rightly confirmed. It is not an "international clique", but solely the Russians that are responsible for bolshevism, a specifically Russian phenomenon, a system of world policy that is not even identical with marxism or communism.

Up till now, the Russian people has made no great attempt to destroy bolshevism. Why is there no resistance movement in Russia proper, no insurgents like the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) created by the Ukrainian people from its own resources? Why is there not a single sign of anti-bolshevist resistance in Russia, such as the U.P.A. in Ukraine, the Basmachi in Turkestan, the White Partisans in Slovakia and other fighting organisations in all the non-Russian countries under Moscow's occupation?

Natural allies

In organizing its fight, the West must be sure with whom and against whom it intends to fight. It must and can fight only in cooperation with the peoples subjugated by Russia, and against Russia. Another question to consider is what propaganda is called for if, in addition, diversion is to be created in the Russian people itself, i. e. in the enemy's ranks; and still another is to decide if the real enemy may be regarded as a potential friend and if the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union should be lumped together with the Russian people on the false assumption that they have a common fate.

A clear distinction must be made between oppressors and oppressed. This alone will permit a clear strategy of

Why has Europe become so small?

Continued from Page 1

passionate hatred of Evil, as, for instance — in the "dark Middle ages"? Do you find to-day a sufficient number of Christians, who are as devoted to their Holy Book and its philosophy of life, as the Moslems to theirs or the Bolsheviks to the teaching of Marx? What banner could reassemble European Knighthood against a new Mahomet, so many of whose knights are not believers in Christ, but...

If that is so, all is lost?

No! But Europe needs new leaders! New Charles Martels, new Ducs de Bouillon and Richards, the saints and heroes. Only they will save Europe.

battle and reveal where the real enemy is. The decisive blow against the heart of the enemy's power is always the most important part of wise strategy. The proper knowledge and use of allies widens the front of attack and opens new possibilities. Unwise strategy may lose the support of potential natural allies and drive them into the arms of the enemy, as Hitler did in his Eastern campaign.

The enemy in the East is, and will always be, Russia alone, in its ethnic frontiers, a fact Western strategy must always remember. In World War II, for instance, it never occurred to any of the Western Allies to fight against France, Belgium or Poland merely because these countries were occupied by Germany and might possibly be transformed into friends of that country. On the contrary, every normal person was certain that opposition to Germany in those countries had grown as a result of occupation. And the Allies quite properly did not fight against peoples under the power of Germany; they supported the resistance of De Gaulle in France, of Bor Komorowski in Poland, of General Mykhailovich in Serbia, etc. Similarly, the West today ought to support the organizations of resistance among peoples oppressed by Russia, if it wants to ensure victory over Russian world imperialism.

An absurd attitude

The attitude of present day Western politicians towards the peoples subjugated by Moscow is absurd. The Western Allies considered it quite natural for France or Holland in the years 1940—44 to desire liberation from the yoke of Germany and independence, and all their plans were based on this natural assumption. Why, then, do they not consider it equally natural that, for instance, Georgia or Ukraine or Turkestan should desire liberation from the Russian yoke and independence today?

Western politicians are putting up gigantic plans for Western defence and strategy. Anyone with the slightest idea of the national liberation movements among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and their potential is horrified at the thought of the methods employed by Western politicians against Russia.

And the solution is a simple as child's play. Treat our peoples as you did those of the countries occupied by Germany in the last war and you will not go wrong. That is all we ask of the West.

Untenable arguments

The answer will perhaps be; You want us to fight, not only against Russian imperialism, not only against bolshevism, but also against the Russian people as the instruments of bolshevism. And we maintain that you must have courage to look at the truth. The aim of the conflict must be victory

Against whom did the Allies fight in World War II? Only against national

socialism, or against Germany? And against whom in the first World War? Against the Kaiser, or against Germany? If the fight was against national socialism only, why the dismantling of industrial plants, why the demand for ethnographic German territory in the East and why the complete demilitarisation of Germany? Why has a central state been replaced by a federation? In putting those questions we do not wish to pronounce any judgement on the policy of the Allies towards Germany. We wish only to state facts and draw conclusions at a time when the world is threatened by a far greater enemy than Germany, namely Moscow. If such preventive measures seem called for against Germany, are they not far more justified against imperialist Russia?

The very existence of bolshevism which always was a more dangerous enemy than national socialism, and always lay on the watch, ought to have been sufficient reason for the Allies to treat Germany differently during and after the war. At any rate, no one can deny that in the Second World War, the Western Allies fought not only against national socialism but against Germany as a whole, just as Germany fought against France, and not merely against the Second or the Third Republic, and against Great Britain and not against the British monarchy.

An inexorable historical fact

In expressing these indisputable facts we do not want to advocate the extirpation of the Russian people or even their annihilation by atomic bombs in a future war. We merely wanted to show who is on the side of the West and who is not, in this historical conflict and to draw therefrom conclusions as to strategy. We wish to state unequivocally that a Third World War must attack not only bolshevism, but Russia, whereby we do not mean the entire territory of the Soviet Union, still less its sphere of influence and its satellites, but only the territory occupied by the Russian people.

But we should like to point out to Western politicians that the situation in Russia is quite different from that in all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R. which fact should greatly influence the strategy of the West.

As in World War II the propaganda meant for the German people was different from that for the French, Belgian, Dutch, or other people under Germany, the propaganda of the West today must vary according as it is directed to the peoples of non-Russian countries or only to the Russian people itself.

**A.B.N. fights against
Bolshevism and every form
of Russian Imperialism!**

The Second Front

(*Preparations, Consequences and Importance*)

The West can gain a permanent victory over the U.S.S.R. only if a second front of the subjugated peoples can be erected behind the Iron Curtain throughout the entire country. If it does not coordinate and synchronize its actions with those of such a second front, the West will scarcely win any war against the bolsheviks.

Conditions for Formation of a Second Front

The first condition for this coordination is that the West should recognize without reserve the conception and the ideas of the subjugated peoples, i. e. the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. and the reconstruction of its various independent states, and that it should help the satellite states to recover their sovereignty; further, that the West should refrain from interfering directly in our internal affairs, but help us to build up our sovereign democratic national states.

To realize these aims it is essential:

a) to contact representatives of the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain, who have formed the A.B.N., to recognize them as entitled to speak for our subjugated peoples and to launch a great political and publicity campaign behind the Iron Curtain. In other words, the centre of coordination in the free nations would have to co-operate closely with the centre of coordination for the subjugated peoples, in order to organize campaigns and draw up plans of strategy, etc.

b) for the West to contact the coordination centre of military operations for the subjugated peoples, in order to draw up plans for common military and political campaigns.

Military and Political Strategy

The following points are important for military and political strategy:

a) In order to meet the bolshevist tactics of war on two fronts — aggression abroad and civil war at home — and bolshevist methods of involving the West in peripheral wars (Korea, China, etc.), the following strategy is indicated: first, the second front of all subjugated peoples should be consolidated by a proclamation by the West in support of their aims; secondly, an attack must be launched on Moscow, the bastion of bolshevism, and on the Russian ethnographic territory, in order to liquidate the hinterland of bolshevism.

Whenever the West attacks bolshevism in its stronghold, the subjugated peoples will be able to cope with the Russian occupation troops, provided they receive support from the West. If the strategy of the Allies is coordinated and synchronized with that of the subjugated peoples, it will be able to cut off Russian troops in central and western Europe from their bases by the formation of a front in their rear, i. e. in the Baltic states, Byelorussia,

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Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

*Yes, Russia is a Sphinx. Exulting, grieving
And sweating blood, she cannot sate
Her eyes that gaze and gaze and gaze
At you with stone-lipped love for you
and hate.*

Aleksander Blok (1880—1921)

I.

There is a general belief in the West that Russian bolshevism alone has been the originator of all the evil which now endangers the world. This is an erroneous belief. Russian bolshevism has not been a producer of anything new but a mere copyist of things existing in Russia long before it. It has been the outgrowth of Russian spirit and Russian history in much the same way as German nazism was the outgrowth of German spirit and German history. It is a difficult task to separate Russian bolshevism from traditional Russian imperialism, as it was impossible to separate German nazism from traditional Prussian militarism and German imperialism.

Bolshevism, the Outcome of Russian History

There is no doubt that Russian bolshevism has emanated from traditional Russian imperialism. Indeed, Secretary Acheson's recent statement that Stalin's imperialism is only a continuance of the 500 year old Muscovite imperialism is irrefutable. The roots of many Soviet actions and institutions can be sought and found in the events and developments of Russian history. There is a close affinity between the policies of Russian tsars in the White Kremlin and the policies of Russian commissars in the Red Kremlin, and their political methods are inseparably connected. In other words, today's Stalin's machinations are only the machinations of old "Mother Russia", disguised in Soviet proletarian garb and both constitute a very "holy" and "eternal", "one" and "indivisible" Russia.

Terrorism, a Traditional Policy

Accordingly, terror is nothing new in Russia; it is another Russian tradition of long standing. Four hundred years before Lenin and Stalin, the Russian tsar Ivan the Terrible had all his opponents rounded up by his famous Oprichnina — a model for the Soviet N.K.V.D. and banned them to northern tundras where "they had to repent their sins while the bitter cold froze the marrow of their bones". The earliest mention of torture in an official document is in his "Sudebnik" (1497) — the first code of Russian law ("Ruska Pravda" or the Rus law code, attributed to Grand-Prince Yaroslav the Sage of Kyiv (1019—1054) was the law code of the Ukrainians) and in his ordinance of 1556 there are elaborate regulations about torture which was used even as a means of enforcing payment of debts. Two hundred years later the Russian tsar Peter I. (for the

Russian imperialists he is "Great") executed his opponents publicly with his own hands and condemned many of them to exile on the shores of the Arctic Ocean; a fate which also befell his personal favorite and prime minister "Count" Menshikov, when the latter incurred the tsar's displeasure. Both these forerunners of Lenin and Stalin became famous by murdering their own sons. Ivan slew his son with his own hands while Peter signed the death warrant of his only son after having him forcibly "repatriated" from Italy. Do you wonder, dear reader, that both these forerunners of Stalin are the most beloved heroes of the Russian history as taught by all Russian imperialists, irrespective of color — red or white?

"Secret Prikaz" — the successor of the Oprichnina in the 18th century and "okhranka" in the 19th century were one proof more that the most perfect of all systems of political police has been the Russian. The Russians would find it hard, if not impossible, to conceive of a society without secret police and so it has survived even the Russian Revolution as its terrorist methods have been legally sanctioned under the Soviets.

Lenin and Terrorism

It is true that the whole history of bolshevik domination of Russia is one of bloodshed. Since the very beginning of bolshevism in Russia, terror has been ruthlessly employed in order to annihilate all foes of the regime and to suppress all its adversaries so as to prevent the formation of any opposition. Many innocent people had to be destroyed for the Soviet regime to live. Lenin himself constantly demanded more blood. According to the teachings of this Father of Russian bolshevism as expressed by Lenin in his pamphlet "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" the "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" is "the power conquered by the proletariat and maintained by violence over the bourgeoisie" and is "the power unbound by laws". Revolution without terror was to Lenin not revolution at all. "The great bourgeois revolutionists of France of 125 years ago made their revolution great by the use of terror" wrote Lenin in September 1917 in the pamphlet "The threatening catastrophe and how to overcome it" and five months after he had secured power, he insisted upon the most resolute terrorist measures of the most brutal character. Consequently, Soviet terror became an essential feature of a regime and the All-Russian CHE-KA carried out Lenin's terrorist design on a scale unprecedented in history, and soon became a byword for terrorism throughout the civilized world.

But one method of terror was not enough for Lenin; he sought out severer methods of terrorization, methods which combined with terror would

transcend anything the world had previously known. "The guillotine only terrorized, it only broke down active resistance. But this is not enough for us. It is not enough to 'cow' the capitalists, in the sense that they should feel the might of the proletarian state and should forget about showing active resistance. We have to break down passive resistance which doubtlessly is the most hateful and dangerous one" insisted Lenin in his pamphlet "Peasants and Workers". And he found these methods not only in the degradation and cheapening of human personality and in the absolute disregard for human life, but also in the moral disintegration of his horde of followers, and the corrosion of the basic moral principles, without which men sink to a state below that of a brute, and which he attained by setting up brutalities, unprecedented sadism and old Russian torture-chambers. Having been guided in his moral actions by the principle of "the aim justifies the means" Lenin never showed himself over-scrupulous in choosing most foul methods of violence and terror.

In 1918, the All-Russian CHE-KA began to publish its organ "The Weekly of the CHE-KA". And it is in this "Communist organ" No. 5 of Oct. 6, 1918, that we find a document immortal in its own right. The document is a "Letter to the Editor" sent by the Bolsheviks of Nolinsk, the letter which was entitled "Why do you sentimentalize?". The letter read:

"Tell us why you did not subject this same Lockhart (British representative in Russia — O.M.) to the most refined torture in order to extort from him information and addresses which that fool certainly had in his possession? Tell us, how is it that instead of putting him to torture, the very description of which would strike terror into the heart of every counter-revolutionist, you permitted him to leave the CHE-KA greatly embarrassed? Let every British worker know that the official representative of his country is engaged in such dealings that he has to be put to torture to account for them..."

And below we find the Editor's remark: "We agree in principle". Thus, torture-chambers became an intrinsic part of the Russian terror system.

On Febr. 10, 1922, the All-Russian CHE-KA was abolished, having been reorganized into the G.P.U. (State Political Administration). But though the initials were changed, the methods remained unchanged: the G.P.U. continued the work of the CHE-KA as if nothing had really changed. The G.P.U. merely improved on CHE-KA methods and carried on where the CHE-KA had left off.

Names Change, Methods Remain

Lenin's death (1924) did not lead to any change in the policy of terror. The terror instruments were only perfected — the system of forced labor was introduced and it not only inspired fear but also gave economic

profits. Once again the name was changed, this time to N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for the Interior). Its chief, Beria expanded the N.K.V.D. beyond anything that had ever been known before. He organized special N.K.V.D. troops, with their own arms, artillery, and air force in order to quell any possible disorders in the interior. Just before Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R., the N.K.V.D. was divided into two separate commissariats — N.K.G.B. (People's Commissariat for State Security) and N.K.V.D. (People's Commissariat for the Interior). After World War II, they became "ministries" and now we have M.G.B. (Ministry for State Security) and M.V.D. (Ministry for the Interior), but all these changes of name brought about little change in the essence and practice of those institutions. The objective remained the same: ruthless suppression of everything opposed to the Russian bolshevist state.

Stalin's Terrorism

What distinguishes Stalin's terrorist policies from those of Lenin is the fact that he started, after some hesitation, to apply inside the party the terror policies which Lenin applied mercilessly against everyone outside the party. The first outbursts of Red terror struck counter-revolutionists, the participants in the national-liberation movements (Ukraine, Georgia, Cosackia, etc.), peasants who protested against the collection of grain, workers who took part in strikes, etc. Many were shot on charges of agitating against the confiscation of church property. The second wave of Red terror struck at the "wreckers" of industry and "sabotagists", at the time of N.E.P. (New Economic Policy). During the collectivization of agriculture, from 1929—34, some of the hardest blows of the Red terror were struck at the peasantry, much the largest class in the population. The artificial Soviet-made famine of 1932—1933, aiming simultaneously at destroying Ukrainian national consciousness and at the annihilation of the democratic small farmers, obliterated millions. President Kalinin, in a speech in 1935, referred to this wretched episode as follows: "The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some, this school was quite ruthless."

Then came the epoch of the annihilation of Old Bolsheviks. The victims assumed full guilt for every frame-up crime imputed to them. In accordance with the demands of the dictator, they heaped false accusations on one another. They publicly indulged in moral self-flagellation, glorifying the wisdom of the great genius of their hangman.

When Lady Astor, in company with Bernard Shaw and Lord Lothian, met Stalin in the summer of 1934, she blurted out the unconventional question: "How long are you going to continue killing people?" Stalin, possibly taken a little off his guard, shot back the retort: "As long as it is necessary." One may wonder, how long it would be necessary to kill people. Stalin himself gave the answer to this

question at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1937. His statement was: "One must remember, and never forget, that so long as capitalist encirclement exists, there will be wreckers, diversionists, spies, and terrorists, scattered throughout the Soviet Union by the espionage services of foreign states; one must remember this and fight those comrades who undervalue the force and meaning of wrecking activities". And he demanded "revolutionary vigilance" and "ruthless suppression" of "the people's enemies" — a new term Stalin himself invented in his "constitution" of 1936.

It would be interesting to know who these "wreckers", "diversionists", "spies" and "terrorists" are at present — after some thirty years of "happy life" in the Soviet "paradise of the working classes". The "counter-revolutionists" of the "transition period of socialism" are no more; they been annihilated by the terror of the twenties. The "white guardists" of the civil war are no more; those who survived became Stalin's most humble servants as they were Russian imperialists too, and they preferred Stalin's Russian Empire to a dismembered Russia. The old Bolsheviks with their ideal of a stateless, moneyless, truly egalitarian Utopia, animated by a kind of Christian ethic, prescribed and enforced by men who rejected the Christian faith, are no more. They have been annihilated by the new generation of Russian fascists who comprehended that old, eternal Russia could not be trimmed and snipped to fit the communist coat, but the communist coat had to be cut to the Russian measure. In the meantime, the Russian people have whole-heartedly embraced bolshevism. This is not at all surprising and, indeed, it would have been surprising had they not. The Russian people has been working up to it through centuries. It is something that the Russian understands, something that appeals to him. The topranking leaders in the Kremlin, the real rulers of today's Russia are the Russians; they are of the Russian people. And because they are of the people, they are the best men to rule the Russian people, as far as it is concerned.

Non-Russian Peoples are now the victims

Who then are the "people's enemies" at present? The only opponents to "Russian communism" at present are the oppressed non-Russian peoples who cannot compromise with Russian fascism striving at their total annihilation. We must not forget that the number of the oppressed peoples increased considerably in consequence of World War II. The old civilized nations of Central Europe have been included within the Soviet sphere since VE Day, thus becoming victims of ruthless Soviet imperialism. The frantic efforts of the Soviet government to bring its oppressed nationalities into complete subservience by means of purges and russification, its vast liquidations and persecutions now in full swing in Ukraine and other non-Rus-

Communism and the National Fight for Freedom

By N. Oleshko

We must not be surprised that the world should pay great attention to the 45-page pamphlet issued by the Chinese Communist Party on its thirteenth anniversary. We have already become accustomed to the desire of the West to see Titoism recurring everywhere, a desire so strong that it regards that system merely as a force antagonistic to Moscow, practically ignoring its communist contents.

Two Different Views

Everyone remembers that there was a time when this view played an important part in a policy of enthusiasm for the Chinese Communists. The advocates of this policy naturally are anxious to find their hopes confirmed in the pamphlet we have mentioned. They note, for instance, that Stalin's name no longer occurs in China in the list of leading communists, which readily admit might be a significant symptom. More interesting, however, is the fact that both sides set their hopes on the development of nationalism.

For Moscow, nationalism is the foundation of its plans for seizing power and spreading bolshevism throughout the world. The West, on the other hand, regards it as a power that will eventually split the communist camp. In an article entitled: "Crisis in the Colonial System Comes to a Head" (Academy of Science, U.S.S.R., 1939) E. Zhukov writes as follows: "The main task of colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for liberty is concerned (1) with their liberation from imperialist tyranny, and (2) with carrying out agrarian reform. These aims are common to all colonial countries and their national struggle for liberty."

If we ponder the matter, we come to the conclusion that both sides are right.

The national consciousness which is awakening among colonial peoples gives Bolsheviks an opportunity of combining the national fight for liberty to be waged by colonial peoples with the struggle to reform social conditions, above all with the struggle to destroy the last remnants of feudalism in agriculture.

Thus the national fight for liberty contains another movement, an internal movement making for civil war, and the fight for power which is the communists' main aim.

Vital Differences

The difference between these two views is not so much that the one is aggressive and the other rather defensive. Much more vital is the fact that the West regards national movements for freedom from the point of view of present-day policy, while Moscow plans for the future. We may maintain that it is one of the fundamental principles of communism to foster national movements in colonial countries in the manner we have indicated above.

Capitalism will not collapse, as communists first thought, as a result of proletarian revolutions or of wars between capitalist powers, but in consequence of being cut off from colonies and of the rise of communism in those colonies. Astafiev ("From Colony to People's Democracy", Moscow, 1949) writes: "The struggle for liberty among subjugated peoples, which is undermining the strength of international imperialism, is a stage in the general struggle of democracy under

the leadership of a great socialist state with whose help alone it can be successfully concluded."

Nationalism, a Stage on the Way to Bolshevism

Zhdanov ("On the International Situation", "Pravda", 22. 1. 1947) also designates national movements as a stage in the general struggle between communism and capitalism: "Increasing threats to colonial systems as a result of the Second World War became apparent as national movements for freedom grew in colonies and dependent states. This section of the capitalist system was thus endangered." National movements for liberation are therefore regarded by bolsheviks as the first stage in the communist revolution.

We are compelled to inquire further into the rôle of nationalist movements in the structure of Communism, seeing that they aim at securing the support of the entire people, while the Communist revolution always emphasizes social differences and the supremacy of one class. Communist logic is able to unite such contrasting principles as the unity aimed at by national movements and the hegemony that obtains in a Communist state, for it argues that "the national bourgeois class is revolutionary at a certain stage" (Astafiev) and "the national factor in the struggle for liberation is a factor of revolution". (Stalin.)

From the National to the Soviet State

For Stalin, the stages in national revolution are: "First stage: bourgeoisie fights on a united front against imperialism — second

Continued on Page 6

sian countries of Soviet empire, — all point to a feverish concern of Moscow over its empire. The blade of Russian terror is directed now against the non-Russian peoples of the empire.

Today, there is no doubt that Stalin is waging a genocide of great dimensions against the oppressed non-Russian peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and Northern and Central Asia in the name of the superior Russian master-race. Today, genocide, the calculated race-murder of entire nations, ranks first among the methods of Russian terror. Millions of Balts, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Tatars, etc. are being murdered simply because they are Balts, etc. In many ways these genocidal practices of Russian imperialists surpass all the indignities forced upon subjugated peoples in the darkest corners of the world.

Genocide in Russian History

Genocide is an old Russian specialty which had often been practised by Russian rulers — tsars and commissars alike. Here are some facts. In 1169, Prince Andrey Bogolubsky of Suzdal (then capital of Muscovy-Russia) sacked

the capital of Ukraine — Kyiv. His soldiers ruined Kyiv, murdering its population including women and children, taking everything of value and deporting many to Suzdal. Tsar Ivan the Terrible upon taking the city of Polotzk in 1563, gave the local Jews a choice between submitting to baptism or being drowned. The chronicles talk of some 20,000 Jews being put to death. The same tsar, in spite of the unconditional surrender of the "Great Lord Novgorod" in 1570, ordered the population to be murdered, drowned or deported. In the 17th century, the Russian tsar used genocidal practices as a means of subordinating the Old Believers ("raskolniki") the most important sectarians in the Russian Orthodox Church. Many of them were burnt alive. In the 18th century, Tsar Peter I. ordered the murder of the whole population, including women and children, of Baturyn, the capital of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1708) — ally of Charles XII of Sweden. Catherine II, ordered ten thousands of Crimean Tatars to be expelled and drowned in the Black Sea (1783). Marshal Suvorov, exterminated the population of the Warsaw suburb Praga in

1796, suppressing the desperate efforts of Polish patriots under Kosciuszko to recover national independence. The methods of Tsar Nicholas I in exterminating the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Catholics (Uniates), or suppressing Shamyl's Caucasian insurgents in the 19th century, as well as notorious Jewish pogroms (1871, 1881, 1891, 1906, 1912, etc.) followed the traditional Russian patterns of racial murder.

Stalin's wholesale murder of Volga-Germans in 1941, of Chechens, Ingushes, Karachayi, Balkars, Crimean Tatars and Kalmyks in 1944—1946, show that the list of these genocidal practices is endless, as endless as the tragedy of the people doomed to live in the Russian empire. It shows us that Russia of yesterday and today is a sick nation, like a psychopath who must kill someone for the sake of killing. Russia to-day is a 300 million conglomerate of many nationalities, fused together into one empire by aggressive Russian imperialism. But these nationalities are in open antagonism to the Russian master-race and, therefore, these nationalities are the chief victims of the Russian genocide of our days.

To be continued in the next issue

stage: internal dissension — third stage: sovietization."

In order to secure the transition from the first stage to the second, i. e. to internal dissension, it is essential that the leadership of national movements should be in the hands of communists. Why? Because internal dissension must be inseparably connected with the transference of power to the working-classes and the Communist party as the leading power in the national struggle for liberation. For "the national struggle for liberation in colonial and dependent states where the working classes (i. e. the communists) direct the struggle will become a struggle for a people's democracy". (E. Zhukov.)

"The system of a people's democracy is not constant, not lasting. As such a system exercises the functions of proletarian dictatorship, it greatly furthers socialist elements, not it is true, all at once, but gradually and by a cruel class-war." (Astafiev.) This, then, is the latest bolshevist view of a communist world revolution developed from national struggles for liberation, as may be proved from their recent publications.

The Danger Point

This view contains one critical moment, namely the "transition to internal dissension" and the "transference of the struggle from the national sphere to that of a world revolution" — in accordance with Moscow's plans. That is why it is easy to understand the argument of Western politicians that the first stage is followed by a collapse or some form of "Titoism".

Bolshevism in Europe and the Far East

But there is an error in this reasoning which confounds all Western hopes. For bolshevism in Europe and bolshevism in the Far East are different. Bolsheviks themselves declare that people's democracies in the East differ from those in the West (European satellite states) because the former countries are more primitive. So they do not pursue their policy of establishing a complete hegemony there; on the contrary, they intend to retain some of the old social classes, in order to secure for themselves the sympathy of tradesmen, small shopkeepers and businessmen, and above all of the peasant population.

"Neither the existence nor the development of small and medium capitalist elements is a danger. Nor are the independent peasants who remain after agrarian reform and who can scarcely be eliminated." (Mao Tse Tung: "The present situation and our tasks", 1948.) Mao emphasizes that it is possible to carry out agrarian reform only "with the peasants, condemns as reactionary a policy of equalization, and regards it as essential to support peasants after the land has been divided up." He also stresses "the necessity for small private trade enterprises, businesses and concerns with moderate private capital to the structure of society" (Lecture, 25. 12, 1947). It is obvious, therefore, that the social structure aimed at by the Bolsheviks after seizing power in the countries of the Far East is similar to that in the U.S.S.R. under the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.).

It is not for nothing that a dictum of Stalin's from one of his early writings on the subject of national revolutions and the social program is often quoted again: "In

A "Soldiers' Lot" in a People's Democracy

Authentic Report

. . . Two soldiers from a People's Democracy were among recent arrivals at the Salzburg refugee camp, one of Europe's most "popular hotels". They escaped through the iron curtain from Hungary and are still wearing their uniform, though without insignia. The cloth is green, the cut Russian.

"Our escape", one of them said, "was not particularly exciting. Some time ago we were detailed for service on the Western frontier. As I worked in the office, I knew how the roads were patrolled in the night. We simply walked over."

Their account of life in the army is the first factual report we have received about the People's Democracy in the throes of armament.

Preparations for war are proceeding in Hungary at lightning speed. In addition to the men whose turn it is to be called up, there are masses of new recruits. There are also many volunteers who are accepted, no matter what their age is. In Raab (Gyor), for instance, an infantry soldier recently celebrated his fifteenth birthday.

Women in the Ranks

The number of female recruits is steadily increasing. They are mostly girls up to the age of 35 who are recruited from various factories by the communist party. Those who have illegitimate children must hand them over to special childrens' homes, for which they are paid 1000—5000 gulden, the minimum sum for a sickly girl and the maximum for a healthy boy. They must, however, renounce all their maternal rights. Women soldiers receive the same training as men. When on duty, they wear trousers, and otherwise a soldier's coat over a skirt.

Political Training

Communist theory is one of the main subjects of the soldier's training. Every

any case, capitalist countries must not sever their connection or their trade contracts with countries where the new economic policy has been introduced under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In contrast with circumstances in European countries under bolshevism, the danger point when national struggle develops into internal dissension is prepared for by a N.E.P. period when the national revolution is artificially prolonged. That is why "Titoism" is impossible in the Far East, at least there is little hope of any such movement with a common front against Moscow. It is true that the N.E.P. system conceals another threat to communism that must not be overlooked. But this must not blind us to the fact that communists know where they are with national revolutions, and have incorporated them in their idea of world revolution. The West, on the other hand, has not adjusted its policy to these national movements. It is ignorant of their revolutionary tendency and does not understand them when they take place within an Empire.

unit, from a platoon of 10—12 soldiers up to a division, has its own political officer. He has no active duties, but is responsible for the theoretical training and also plays an important part in planning the military training of his unit. A commander's orders for the day, for instance, are not valid unless they have been approved and signed by the political officer of the battalion.

Political instruction is given from 8—10 every morning. All must appear: men on the sick list are not allowed to go to the doctor till after 10. The teaching itself is quite mechanical. The political officer takes groups in turn and starts off with a lecture. One speaks about the plague of imperialism, another of "ten blows by Stalin", by which he "has won peace for all peoples". Other subjects are: Tito's fascism, the disgrace of the Kulak, marxist theory, the church's treason, etc. Then questions are put on the previous day's lectures and the soldier's notes are inspected. Too many notes indicates bluff, and too few, laziness, both of which are severely punished. Then the group proceeds to the next officer, and the machine continues.

The Aim of the People's Army

The aim of the People's Army is explained thus: it must become increasingly strong in the service of peace. Its most important task is to protect the country from attack by imperialists. It may happen that it is necessary to carry this out in foreign countries, "should the defence of peace and the liberation of peace-loving neighbours so require". Peace must be saved at all costs; this is the supreme law of the People's army.

The Common Round

The day is devoted to military training. It is very severe, being based on imitation of the Soviet army — "You must copy the Soviet soldier, the best in the world. Like him, you must overcome every physical obstacle". No corporal punishment is meted out during drill (e. g. for lying down during forced quick marches, etc., which is strictly forbidden for officers).

In the afternoon, the orders of the day are read out and political training continued, either in the circle of "Friends of the Szabad Nep" (the official daily paper), or in the "Society of Democratic Youth", of which every soldier must be a member, though it is a civilian organization.

In the first case, an article is read aloud and discussed. The meetings usually last 2 hours and severe penalties are inflicted on anyone who does not take part. The smallest and most frequent penalty is for falling asleep during the meeting and it consists of standing on one leg for the rest of the time. The days ends with supper and a tattoo.

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They shall not Pass . . .

By Edith Hyder

Editorial Note: Mrs. Edith Hyder, well known in Canada as a writer and broadcaster, became a warm champion of the peoples subjugated by Moscow after she had studied their past history and their present struggles. Recently she has broadcast a political commentary from the Canadian W.H.L.D. Station, Niagara Falls, as part of the weekly program edited by the "League for the Liberation of Ukraine". We reproduce her broadcast with a few insignificant cuts.

For as Somerset Maugham the fine English author wrote — "if a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is, that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too". Somehow I believe the wisdom in both these utterances fits into this solemn hour (like the missing parts of a jigsaw puzzle) and if we place those thoughts right, the picture of today lies clearly revealed and what we must do to perfect it. As we remember so many things today which have gone before, there are other human forces we must never forget. First, the countless thousands from the new red-subjugated countries, who have either lost their lives, murdered by red robots acting for Stalin, or who are in terrible, deadly slavery, separated from their country, homes, loved ones and any kind of human comfort or need. Working as I have been (my life closely bound up with folk called displaced people) I know too well the actual hell of enforced red slavery and what it has done to many fine peoples and countries alike. I know the story of complete Baltic purgatory, all accomplished by a red technicality! I know the agony of crucified Poland, of the silent Czechs and Slovaks, of Hungarians, Serbians and Croatians and many others. And I know (full well) the story of the unconquerable

Ukraine! Of beautiful, fruitful, colourful Ukraine, which for centuries, as well as today has resisted the cruel impositions of would-be dictator-conquerors shedding its red blood in rivers; trying to remain free and a nation!

So then as we in this free hemisphere (from Canada, Lady of the Snows in the Northland to the great United States of America, Atlantic- and Pacific-bound to the Gulf of Mexico) let us also not forget to remember those, who by their acts in travail-torn Europe have said: "They shall not pass! By their sacrifice (some even daily) they have made it possible for us to live — just so much longer in what we like to call Peace".

. . . America has never tolerated slavery! America has meant freedom at its best! America has given promises! I know while slavery of the Iron Curtain-type exists in this world, "they will not sleep in Flanders Fields" — nor will we here at home! Canadians, too, are awakening to the knowledge that while half the world is enslaved, in fear, afraid to worship God, the world we know cannot long remain untouched, unscarred! And they too now gear to do their part, whenever the hour strikes. While we think of all these things, let us remember yet another great force, perhaps the world's last hope as it could be called, — that force composed of the people, who yet

resist behind the Iron Curtains of Europe, especially. They are there—great groups of them, waiting, praying, watching for the first, great chance to strike back! Stalin knows how Ukrainians feel about this, but perhaps he does not quite know the size of a world force which is steadily being organized against his regime and world-plan for domination. This force is known as the Antibolshevik Bloc (A.B.N.). In it are representatives of twenty-four nations, formerly independent (some charter members of the old League of Nations) and their set objective (even if it takes a hundred years) is — freedom for nations, freedom for individuals! This is not a dream, an idea, a small nucleus group, but is a growing reality. And hourly the A.B.N. members become Legion. In Ukraine tens of thousands of Ukrainian partisans fought for freedom against Hitler (who wanted the wealth of Ukraine and the thrift and cleverness of the Ukrainians to add to his Nazi-State) and then they fought Stalin's.

We must remember that Soviet, Marxist Communism is not the belief of the major number of the people in Russia nor in red-subjugated countries. Out of 193,000,000 some 3½% of these are Soviet bureaucrats (the privileged) and the remaining number 96½% are really state slaves or serfs. Some of them know nothing of our kind of world, many do and someday will come the full awakening! When this happens (and we must bring it to pass) Red Oppressors will know the meaning of a liquidation!

As this is a day of remembrance, let us remember (as well as our gallant dead) that there are people within the orbit of Soviet influence, who will help us bring a real and lasting peace to this wartorn old universe, if we awaken to this fact and do something about it. The voice of the people can be heard (in a democracy) and their diplomats act accordingly. We must

Continued from Page 6

Food is very good. Breakfast: half a liter of coffee with milk, bread with cheese or sausage. Midday meal: soup followed by meat and vegetables. Supper: a savoury. Equipment is also excellent. A recruit receives two winter and two summer uniforms, two pairs of boots and underwear and soap, everything brand-new. Weapons, on the other hand, from pistols to big guns, are all of Russian origin and date from the last war. It was only recently that the People's Army got its first unused machine-guns, which were delivered with Russian inscriptions.

Demands on the Purse

The army has to pay the same dues as the civilian population. Methods of systematically relieving people of their wages in People's Democracies are well-known (from loans to "relief for Greek children", from "Korean funds to forced savings"). For a few days before each appeal, the food is better, afterwards quality sinks again.

Leading from Behind

In tactics, the Soviet example is followed, according to which the officers of all units and the political officer pushes on the unit from behind. The theory behind this procedure is: "If any operation demands the sacrifice either of one officer or fifteen men, what should be done? The fifteen men must be sacrificed, as the officer is of more value."

And this theory goes still further. One of the refugees mentioned above related that he had been on duty for a whole night along with a comrade and a military bloodhound; at midday they were ordered to do the same service, and naturally wanted to take the bloodhound with them. Their sergeant, however, remarked: "The dog stays here. He worked all night . . ."

Class Distinctions

Officers are now drawn from the lowest classes of labourers and peasants. No ex-regular officers are employed, even if they are enthusiastic members of the Party. Promotion depends altogether on the Party, or on the

political opinion of the officer whose concern it is. There is, for instance a captain of 19!

Old class distinctions have been reversed. Members of the middle classes may in rare cases become non-commissioned officers, but never anything higher (Our two refugees had to wash out the dormitory and the classroom because they alone had graduated from a secondary school).

Military Music

All old soldiers' songs are forbidden and new ones have been introduced. The melodies are mostly Russian, but one was very popular in Austria after Hitler took over the government.

And the words? A typical chorus begins: "Imperialists would like to destroy us. But Truman, Bevin and Tito will be hanged by us."

. . . These refugees from the Hungarian People's Army are glad to be free men again, and to have work. They are very thankful that the latest order whereby a deserter's family is put into a concentration camp, is not retrospective . . .

The Political Situation in Slovakia

By our own Correspondent

In judging of the political situation in Slovakia, we must bear that small country's geopolitical position in mind. It is wedged between countries that are either soviet territory (Soviet Union) or soviet satellites (Poland, Hungary, Czechia), or under the control of the soviets (Russian zone in Austria), and completely isolated from the West. This explains why so few Slovaks succeed in escaping west.

It is all the more remarkable that the people of Slovakia, after six years, should still persist in rejecting both the communist system and the structure of the Czechoslovak government.

Outwardly Communist

Communist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia has now reached a stage similar to that in other satellite states. Its outward signs are propaganda, political terrorism, collective farming, soviet Russian standards in work and Stakhanow methods in industry, shortage of consumer-goods, forced labour camps, and all the other features of life behind the Iron Curtain.

The Internal Situation

But what distinguishes the internal situation in Slovakia from that in other satellite states is the complicated problem of the independence which the Slovak people claims for its own country. Of the people, 90% are opposed not only to communism in theory and practice, but also to the artificial structure of what is known as Czechoslovakia. The Slovaks desire both a change of regime and liberty and independence for their own state.

After both World Wars the Slovaks were compelled to live in Czechoslovakia, and in both periods Slovakia's economy was exploited and its culture oppressed. We can understand their desire for liberty and independence when we compare the bitter facts of their "cooperation" with the Czechs with their prosperity, their social and cultural progress during the six years of the Slovak Republic. This desire is strengthened by the love of liberty and independence.

slovakia, and in both periods Slovakia's economy was exploited and its culture oppressed. We can understand their desire for liberty and independence when we compare the bitter facts of their "cooperation" with the Czechs with their prosperity, their social and cultural progress during the six years of the Slovak Republic. This desire is strengthened by the love of liberty and independence.

The Church in Slovakia

The strong religious sentiments of the Slovak people is decisive for its rejection of communism. The Catholic Church in Slovakia has put many obstacles in the way of the communist conquest of the people's spirit. The mass of the people reveres the priests who are loyal to the Vatican. The communist party and the state, therefore, make great efforts to degrade the priest's profession, and to bribe its unworthy members to serve the state and, by distributing favours, to set them up against priests who are loyal to Rome. But the people themselves have no respect for priests who have been excommunicated and taken under the protection of the communist regime. Conservative country people, up-to-date town dwellers and workmen disappointed in communism, all show a positive attitude to Christianity.

Activities of Slovaks in Exile

With the exception of a small communist minority, the Slovak people supports the program and the activities of the Slovak Liberation Committee in exile. It expects that the efforts of the Committee under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Durcansky, formerly Foreign

on this continent in the Export Brand of Soviet Socialistic Communism. Export it is, for in Red Russia, what is good for the people is the last consideration.

We have had too little to say about this way of life which has brought us so much. We have lacked courage to talk about the good a decently run democracy can bring to individuals. We do not lack the power to wage war but we have lacked the energy, understanding and wisdom to wage counter-propaganda warfare. And thus it is so many people of the world know little of our truths, and all the untruths about us thro' insidious, overrolling Soviet "anti-democracy" propaganda.

The sword of liberty can be two-edged. One side, to draw blood, the other, to cut thro' red propaganda webs.

If we leave the latter long in its sheath, the cutting edge will have to be used! We need the sympathies, the understanding of enslaved people and to step-up world-wide propaganda, so to get in behind the iron curtains, to inspire and keep the spirit of counter-revolution alive in subjugated nations, that is our job, today!

Minister of Slovakia will save the country and free it from Moscow and Prague.

Underground Movement

The people shows its resistance mainly by sabotaging projects, distributing illegal literature, publishing posters with messages of resistance, helping political persecutees and supporting their families. In addition, the group known as *Slovak White Partisans* has been conducting guerilla warfare in various mountainous and forest areas.

The Slovak Partisan movement has the same political ideas as the Slovak Liberation Committee and fights constantly for a democratic, free Slovak republic. It receives neither material nor moral support from the West and depends entirely on the resources of the Slovak people. Its strength varies, amounting at present to 15,000. It is active chiefly in Central Slovakia.

There are many people who are forced to flee into the forests, form small groups there and fight desperately against bolsheviks. There, for instance, those who have escaped from communist prison and concentration camps, or who are threatened because of their convictions by death, imprisonment, deportation or forced labour.

Indifference of the West

The Slovak people is bitterly disappointed at the indifference of the Western democratic world to its struggle for liberation. They are depressed above all by the broadcasts from the "Free Europa" station; they are in Slovakian and cling to the structure of Czechoslovakia, completely ignoring the Slovak people's right to self-determination. The anti-communist population finds it hard to understand why America pays politicians to broadcast, who collaborated with Benes and his clique and thus helped communism to victory in Slovakia.

The desire for a state of its own is so deeply rooted in Slovakia that it is manifest even among the communist minority, though there different from the aim of the anti-communist populace. Independence was on the official program of Slovak communists at first, but, as Moscow has decided for union with the Czechs, it is now rigorously suppressed as "national communism". The purge, which is still being conducted in the communist party, intended to get rid of "bourgeois nationalists", such as Clementis, Husáks, Novomesky etc. who themselves destroyed hundreds of Slovak anti-communists.

Apology

In the No. 12, 1951, of "A.B.N.-Correspondence", one error unfortunately crept into the text of the article "Alliances Between Russia and the West" which distorted the sense. We apologise to the author and our readers.

Page 9, col. 3, line 16 should read "The age of chivalry is gone", not "The age of children" etc. The Editors.

From behind the Iron Curtain

ALBANIA

"INDUSTRIALIZATION"

According to communications in the Soviet press, a number of industrial concerns have started work in Albania in recent times — a textile combine, called "Stalin", a hydro-electric plant called "Lenin", a sugar combine called "Malik" and others. Soviet machinery is installed in Albanian factories. Moscow is speeding up the process of incorporating the satellite states in the Soviet Union.

BULGARIA

NEW HYDRO-ELECTRIC WORKS

The bolsheviks must industrialize the countries subjugated by them quickly in the interest of their war machine, if they want to carry out their plans of world conquest. In order to increase their economic or war potential, they are industrializing all their satellite states, using the familiar methods of forced labour, concentration camps, etc. New water-power plants are being built in Bulgaria to supply power for plants in that country that are to work for the Soviet Army. Thus, a gigantic dam is being built on the River Isker with a capacity of 670 million cubic meters. The water is to drive the turbines of three hydro-electric works plants that are now being built and produce 56,000 kilowatts. New power plants have already been built in the Danube valley, the Rila Mountains and a new thermal electric plant in Dimitrovgrad.

In 1944 the total electricity produced in the country amounted to 307 million kilowatts, the plant, "Republika", now

The Second Front

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Ukraine, Turkestan, Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, etc. the Allied fleets giving support from the Black Sea.

b) Logical conclusions must be drawn from the fact that the Soviet army is composed of soldiers of different nationalities. Bolshevik armies in the Far East, for instance, are largely composed of members of subjugated nations. We should even now launch an ideological attack by broadcasting, and it should be possible for us to spread messages throughout the Soviet Union and its satellite states by means of pamphlets, thus closing the grip of psychological warfare round the U.S.S.R. In Bolshevik divisions, not far from the Korean theatre of war, there are freedom-loving Turkestanians, Byelo-

in process of construction, will alone produce 450 million kilowatts a year. The "Lenin" Square in Sofia is being widened in order to make room for a statue to Lenin.

BYELORUSSIA

MOSCOW'S PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

The "Pravda" of December 20, 1951 contained a long article dealing with the achievements of the communist party in Byelorussia in the province of propaganda. We reproduce a few extracts:

"The Historical Institute of the party affiliated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Byelorussia and the State Publishing Concern in the Republic have published along with Lenin's work, thirteen volumes by Stalin in Byelorussian." "During the year party organisations have devoted particular attention to raising the niveau of political training in all party agencies . . ."

"An army of agitators, consisting of more than 180,000 people, members and non-members of the party, have accomplished much by way of enlightening the masses and making them familiar with the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin."

"The Institute of Philology is at present finishing preparations for publishing a Russian-Byelorussian and Byelorussian-Russian dictionary with 80—85 thousand words. The Institute of Philology in the Academy of Science of the Byelorussian Soviet Republic organized an extensive discussion of the project of reforming Byelorussian spelling.

There is still much to be desired in the work done by the Academy of Science, the secondary schools and scientific in-

russians, Tartars, Georgians, Ukrainians, Azerbajianians, Cossacks, North Caucasians, men from Idel-Ural, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and other anti-bolsheviks. Secret stations in Japan, Australia, Western Germany, Turkey and elsewhere ought to speak to the subjugated nations in our name. But the speakers must not be "stickit" exiled politicians of the past, who are regarded by our peoples with irony and contempt, but uncompromising anti-bolshevik champions of freedom, who appeal to our peoples in the name of their organizations and movements and from the stronghold of the A.B.N.

Coordination Essential

To sum up, victory over bolshevist world aggression and imperialist Moscow will be assured only if the plans of the free world of the West can be coordinated with the will and political aims of our peoples.

stitutes. The party organizations at the colleges, scientific institutes have not succeeded in bringing subjects forward for systematic discussion at meetings of the party offices and of the communist party dealing with things like the quality of teaching political science, plans for scientific research, etc. In a number of colleges and scientific institutes there is little frank criticism and self-criticism, which is an obstacle to the progress of scientific research and teaching in general. The central committee of the communist party in Byelorussia has disclosed such shortcomings in the work done by the Institute of Philosophy and Law in the Academy of Science of the Byelorussian Republic. In discussing scientific works, there was very little fundamental criticism or constructive discussion and the staff of the Institute praised each other, which resulted in the recommendation of poor works for publication."

"It is essential in the interests of a progressive Byelorussian art that the committee for art questions in the Cabinet should devote more attention to the difficulties of the Republic." (This committee is in Moscow and the "Pravda" here demands that the Russians should interfere more in questions dealing with art in Byelorussia. — Ed.)

In accordance with the historical ordinances of the central committee of the communist party in the Soviet Union and with Comrade Stalin's instructions in the field of propaganda, party organisations are stepping up their program among the working classes of Byelorussia and attacking capitalism as an idea and the revival of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism."

COSSACKIA

FAILURE TO REACH TARGETS

In its leading article on December 25, 1951, the "Izvestiya" complains that for years the plans to train drivers of tractors and other agricultural machinery in the districts round Rostov and Stalingrad have not been fulfilled. Owing to a shortage of trained technicians, machinery centres in these areas have been left standing full, even at seed-time and harvest. As a result, the targets set by the State, have not been reached. Even now, in spite of frequent appeals to the people to support the courses of training drivers of agricultural machines, only 1327 men have reported, although 7605 trainees are required.

Three days previously (December 22) the "Pravda" criticized conditions in machinery centres. It seems that machines are so stupidly set up that they have to be sent back to the centre as soon as they arrive at their destination.

Signals of alarm have already been given in the soviet press lest targets during the seed-time of 1952 should not be reached in consequence of shortcomings in machinery centres.

"A HAPPY LIFE"

The "Pravda" of December 13, 1951 contains an article by I. Boyzov, the secretary of the district committee of the communist party. He tries to prove that the life of workers on colhoses is steadily improving, but his examples must convince readers of the contrary. Boyzov tells about the colhose called Stalin, in the district of Nowo-Alexandrovsk, one of the largest in the country, with 1,540 families and a total of 9,950 persons. According to him, the workers on this kolkhoze received unprecedently high wages in 1951 — 4 kilograms of grain and 3 roubles 25 copecks for every working day. (In the Soviet Union 1 kilo of white bread costs 4 roubles, 25 copecks and the kolkhoze workers get 27 copecks from the state for the 4 kilograms of grain the produce.)

Boyzov gives the following statistics which he presents as proof of great success: at the end of 1951, the kolkhoze in question had 1,930 cows and ocen (1 for every 4 persons), 6,510 sheep (about half a sheep per person) and 2,198 pigs (1 for every four persons).

When we bear in mind that Soviet statistics are very often cooked and that the Stalin kolkhoze is a model collective farm, we can imagine what actual life in the other kolkhozes is like.

CROATIA

PLAYING ON A VULCANO

Dr. A Stepinac, Primate of Croatia and Archbishop of Zagreb is doubtless a very hard nut for the Yugoslav Tito regime and has already damaged its teeth. In company with their flock, the bishops of Croatia have suffered much from the communist regime. Two bishops were murdered, others had to flee for their lives (e. g. D. Ivan Saric, Archbishop of Sarajevo, and Pater Garic, Bishop of Basya, who has since died in exile), while Dr. Cule, Bishop of Mostar, is still languishing in prison. Dr. Yanko Shimrak, the only Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop in Croatia, and Dr. Stepinac's intimate fellow-worker, was poisoned in prison. The Belgrade regime, which is constantly begging the Western Powers for more and more millions, had in the end to release Dr. Stepinac from prison. The Croatian Primate was interned in Krasic, his native place. The authorities are uncertain whether he is more dangerous for their alien, communist system outside of prison or in it. Trouble is so near the surface that it breaks out on the smallest provocation. A Dalmatian football team, for instance, was spat on and assaulted by the public in Belgrade. All kinds of epithets were showered on them, such as "murderers", "nazis", etc. The revenge came when the final was played in Zagreb between the Belgrade team, "Red Star" and the Zagreb "Dynamo" club. The latter won and it was the signal for a spontaneous national demonstration against hated foreign oppressors. The game was followed by an

improvised procession of 50,000 demonstrators who gathered on the playing field and marched through the main streets of the town to the cheering of the public. Communist papers, here at least fulfilling their purpose, served as torches and were thrown in bundles to the demonstrators by the inhabitants from their windows. "Down with the Serbian Communist occupier! Down with communism! Long live independent Croatia!" shouted tens of thousands, in streets and houses. The communist Militia was taken by surprise and powerless to quell this spontaneous demonstration. A few hundreds were indeed arrested, but the crowd did not disperse till late at night when the demonstration ceased of itself.

This small outbreak of the "Yugoslavian" volcano is characteristic of conditions in the state that was artificially formed at St. Germain. It can only last till pressure comes from outside, when it will be blown away like a soap bubble and with it the "national communism" so highly esteemed by some childish minds.

SLOVAKIA

HEADQUARTERS OF COMINFORM ARMIES

On November 16, 1951, the headquarters of the cominform armies was transferred from Karlsbad to Trencin (Waag valley), as Karlsbad was near the western frontier, and the mountainous district of Slovakia seemed a better locality. The High Command has also resolved that, in the event of war, Slovak soldiers will not be used in the first line of defence, because they are likely to desert; they will be used in the third line of defence. Some units of M.V.D. secret police have also arrived in Trencin.

SLOVAK WAGGONS FOR U.S.S.R.

In factories for railway waggons, in Trencin and Vrutky (Northwest Slovakia) special steel waggons for 25 t are now being produced. They are constructed so that they can run both on Russian and European tracks and are specially made for the transportation of heavy arms. The Russians will probably use them to transport their "peace-doves".

PAMPHLETS FOR THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Refugees report that underground organizations in Slovakia are distributing pamphlets announcing the determination of the Slovaks to renew the Slovak Republic and support for Prof. Durcansky's activity abroad. These pamphlets also warn the population not to listen in to the "Free Europe" broadcasts till they make propaganda for a united Czechoslovakia. The people want the separation of Slovakia from Czechia. People are also urged to resist communism with the caution that is necessary to prevent victimization.

TURKESTAN

MOSCOW FINDS FAULT NATIONALISM AGAIN ...

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Union of Young Communists of Kazakhstan in the second half of November 1951 and the fifth congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party both discussed the increasing movement among the people of Kazakhstan for liberation from foreign Russian tyranny. (We remind our readers that this country, situated north-east of the Caspian Sea, is inhabited by the Kasakh, a tribe of the Turkestanian people). We reproduce two extracts from a lengthy article published in the "Pravda" of 21. 12. 51:

"More attention has recently been devoted to propaganda. Ideological problems have been more frequently and thoroughly discussed in the meetings of the Central Committee, the various district committees, town and country, of the party, and at meetings of local organizations and intellectual circles. Measures have been taken to

RUMANIA

MORE OIL FOR THE WAR MACHINE

According to reports in the Soviet press, oil production in Rumania has increased 22.9% last year and wells have been widened by 31% in comparison with 1950. All work in connection with increasing the production of oil has been stepped up and much machinery and technical equipment has been imported to Rumania from the Soviet Union. Soviet methods of work have also been introduced in Rumanian oil-fields.

Obviously Rumanian oil production is being harnessed to the Soviet war-machine.

eliminate serious errors and distortions in the presentation of Kazakhstan history, literature, and art, and mistakes in schoolbooks."

"Comrade Moysseyev, secretary in the Communist Party of Kazakhstan pointed out mistakes that had been made in selecting personnel for educational institutions throughout the country. He said that his colleagues in the central committee, Comrade Schaykhmetov and Comrade Kruglov had not always paid sufficient or timely attention to signals directing activity in this important section.

Errors of major importance were revealed a year ago in the publicity services of the Republic. It was disclosed that bourgeois nationalists had long been active in the domain of history, art and literature. Recently the central committee of the communist party of Kazakhstan took several steps to strengthen the party agencies responsible for propaganda and to rectify the errors that had been made here.

Comrade Khramkov, chief of the department for propaganda and publicity in the central committee of the communist party of Kazakhstan, admitted that his department had made many mistakes and that it had not properly supervised the work of publicity institutions, for instance the work of lecturers in social economy in the universities, or the work of the union of writers, or of the Kazakhstan Academy of Science which, up to quite recently, was under Satpayev, who became the leader of the nationalists. When the party press disclosed these errors, some of the members of the office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan did not pursue a positive and consistent policy in the campaign to rectify them. The speaker thought that these erring members included Comrade Kruglov, secretary of the central committee and Comrad Kanapin, an official in the committee. "The office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan", Comrade Pasikov, secretary of the party organization for the eastern districts of Kazakhstan, declared, "has not taken the steps necessary to promote criticism and self-criticism among workers on the ideological front. Omarov, formerly secretary of the central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, hindered the disclosure of bourgeois nationalism."

UKRAINE

RUSSIFICATION AND EXPLOITATION

The end of 1951 saw Ukraine living and slaving under the increasing pressure of Russian imperialism. We do not need to seek proof of this in reports from underground channels; it is obvious from authentic and official Soviet publications.

In No. 330 of the "Pravda", for instance, (Nov. 26, 1951) there is an interesting account of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine. The

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Opposes Russian Imperialism

A.B.N. Demonstration in Wolverhampton

Editorial Note: On December 29, 1951 a General Meeting of a Section of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was held at Wolverhampton (Great Britain), and passed a number of resolutions protesting against the Russian and Bolshevik totalitarian regime and tyranny. We print below the summary of these resolutions. Their full text has been sent to the President of U.S.A., Harry S. Truman; General of the U.S. Army Dwight D. Eisenhower; Shape Hq., Monsieur R. Pleven, Minister President of France; Mr. John F. Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom; the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Yaroslav Stetzko.

Resolutions

of the mass meeting of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians and other nationalities assembled at Wolverhampton on 29th December, 1951, to protest against Russian imperialist policy.

We, the inhabitants of the City of Wolverhampton, originating from the countries now occupied by Russia i. e. Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine etc. submit the following resolutions to the public opinion of the free world.

Our aim is a free and independent Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine living in peace and on terms of equality and goodwill with all other nations.

The present world crisis is a consequence of the expansion of historical and traditional Russian imperialism which in bolshevism has reached its most perfect an effective form of totalitarian aggression.

The direct aims of the imperialism of Moscow today — and it has not altered in its 500 years history — is to destroy the national substance of the oppressed nations and to undermine the rest of the world.

At the same time, Moscow's Fifth Columns recruited from the ranks of duped or bribed adherents are working fast in all countries of the world to make them ripe for Russian conquest.

The struggle of the oppressed peoples in the U.S.S.R. is not carried on solely with a view to changing the Government. It is not only directed against communism. It is sustained to destroy Russian imperialism as such, to break the shackles of Russian domination under any regime and in any form, to ensure freedom for the peoples which Russia has subjugated.

The Russian people are the principal basis and human material of Russo-bolshevist Imperialism and are the only ruling nation in the U.S.S.R.

The oppressed peoples of the Imperialist Soviet Russian colossus by no means deny the right of the Russians to have their own sovereign state

within their ethnographic boundaries, but definitely oppose any desires and reject any proposals put forward by Russian emigrants to preserve the integrity of the Russian imperium under any alternative form of government with the inclusion of any other nationality than the Russian themselves.

We Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and all other nations united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations advocate the liberation of all subject peoples of the tsarist Imperium and of the U.S.S.R., enabling them to form independent national states in accordance with their national aspirations.

We condemn and protest against the continuation of the Russian Imperialist policy in Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Byelorussia, Ukraine and other subjugated nations with its persecutions, artificially created hunger, mass deportations, concentration camps and slave labour.

We ask the United Nations to inquire into these crimes deliberately committed by the Soviet Russian government in our and other countries and to exclude Russia from the United Nations as guilty of aggression against countries.

We in exile are determined to subordinate our activities and interests to the interests and needs of our peoples fighting at home for their national rights and for the ultimate liberation of our countries from the Russians, regardless whether Red or White.

We have been shown much generous hospitality in these British Isles and we express our deep gratitude to His Majesty's Government and the British People.

We take this opportunity to send our warm and heartfelt good wishes to our long-suffering people and all the steadfast and heroic fighters in our Homelands and scattered throughout the whole world.

Liberty for all peoples — Freedom for the individual!

In Defence of the Subjugated Nations

Memoranda submitted by the A.B.N. and the Scottish League for European Freedom to the Plenary Session of the United Nations

To the United Nations

The Central Committee of the Anti-bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) sent a memorandum to the VI. Plenary Session of the United Nations demanding the immediate formation of a common front of freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The aim of such a front was stated to be the defence of the national independence of peoples subjugated and threatened by Russian bolshevism and the protection of religion and culture from bolshevist aggression. The attention of Western Powers was drawn to the necessity of supporting the national movements of liberation among non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states. The Memorandum stresses that permanent peace in the world will not be achieved till the Soviet Union is disintegrated into independent states of all the nations at present subjugated by Moscow.

To Member-states of U.N.

In the memorandum sent to the representatives of 50 memberstates of the United Nations, the Scottish League for European Freedom directed attention to the occupation by Moscow of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, all formerly full members of the League of Nations. The Memorandum pointed out how Moscow is destroying all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, among them Byelorussians and Ukrainians who are members of the United Nations.

It goes on to point out that Russian imperialism is the only threat to world peace and that its destruction is essential for the freedom, prosperity and peace of humanity.

agenda contained only two points, viz. 1. The unsatisfactory condition of party propaganda in Ukraine, and measures for its improvement, and 2. The preparation of the kolkhoze, the M.T.S. and the sovkhoze in Ukraine in order to achieve maximum production in all branches of agriculture in 1952.

To put it shortly, the communist party in Ukraine was concerned mainly with the fact 1) that Ukraine is not sufficiently Russian and bolshevist, and 2) that it should produce more deliveries for Moscow.

The whip of Moscow's criticism, terrorism and dissatisfaction was in the hands of the secretary of the Central Committee, L. O. Melnikov, a Russian, who has been the representative of the regime in Ukraine for the last 3 years. His severe, sometimes devastating, criticism revealed all the problems, difficulties and the more or less open resistance which Moscow had to meet in Ukraine even in 1951.

Now, as before, Enemy Nr. 1 was "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". The following central organizations of cultural life in Soviet Ukraine were sub-

jected in turn to such censure: 1. The Union of Soviet writers in Ukraine; 2. The Union of Soviet composers in Ukraine; 3. The Union of Soviet artists in Ukraine; 4. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Science; 5. The Committee for art in the cabinet of Ukraine and, in addition, a number of leading Soviet Ukrainian newspapers.

Moscow's representative in Ukraine was particularly incensed by the tardy progress in the integration of the language of Soviet Ukraine with Russian. The following is an extract:

"Even today words are still being deliberately used in papers, magazines and conversation which Ukrainian nationalists have introduced because they do not resemble the corresponding Russian expressions; nationalists wish to keep the two languages separate. The Ukrainian Academy of Science, the literary institutes and some writers are not sufficiently energetic in freeing the Ukrainian language from the rubbish introduced by bourgeois nationalists."

When Melnikov finished, reports were given by practically all the im-

portant functionaries of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine; there was an orgy of self-criticism and all promised to mend their ways. It was once more decided to fight "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" to the death. All, one after another, promised to "consolidate the unbreakable bonds between the Ukrainian people and its elder brother, the Russian people". All resolved to draw more freely on "the inexhaustible stores of Russian culture and make them more accessible to Ukraine."

Criticism and resolutions of the central committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine in connection with Ukraine's position as regards Soviet imperialism, ran along the same lines. Here, too, faults and sins of omission were confessed and improvement was repently promised. Here, too, promises were made of more work, greater pains, bigger harvests, and still greater exploitation of the country in order to "provide the soviet fatherland, the beloved soviet state, with the necessary produce it demanded".

The meeting of the communist Central Committee is a kind of preview of the soviet programme for Ukraine in 1952. This programme contains only 2 points for the subjugated territory, namely, russification and exploitation.

Meeting of Cossackian Parliament

We have received the following communiqué from the Cossackian Information Office:

The Supreme Cossackian Council (Cossackian Parliament in Exile) met in Munich from December 23-27.

The Supreme Cossackian Council consists of 57 delegates who were elected last autumn in general and secret elections by all Cossacks living in the free countries of the world. These delegates came to Munich from different countries, such as Austria, Italy, France, England, Belgium, Germany and those who are at present living overseas sent powers of attorney to various members of the meeting.

By secret vote, the Council elected General Serge Makeev to be supreme Ataman (president) and re-elected the well-known Cossackian politician and champion of the liberation movement, Ing. Vasil Glaskov, to be president of the supreme Cossack representation (Cossack government in exile), and Ivan Bezuglov, editor of the "Kasakia" review, and Col. Michael Kolessov, president of the union of Cossackian veterans to be vice-presidents.

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Vote of Thanks

We gladly inform our Readers that this issue of "A.B.N.-Correspondence" has been financed by Mr. Vassyl Ko, of New York, U.S.A., who gave \$ 150 for this purpose.

Mr. Vassyl Ko is a Ukrainian worker who recently resettled in U.S.A. as a D.P. Mr. Vassyl Ko is known among the Ukrainian exiles in Europe as a very generous contributor to the Ukrainian liberation cause. He spends almost all of his earnings on the support of Ukrainian political and cultural institutions, newspapers and on fugitives from behind the Iron Curtain. By his unprecedented generosity he gives an example of a model social behaviour for all his Ukrainian countrymen.

We feel obliged to express publicly to Mr. Vassyl Ko our most deeply felt gratitude. We are sure that his contribution will greatly help materially and still more morally the cause of our liberation.

Publisher & Editors.

Editorial

How to Localize and Win the War Against Russia

As long as the bolsheviks parade the power of their countless divisions before the eyes of the Western World, and as long as the press in the West continues to alarm the peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain by reports about the divisions, the West will be too overwhelmed by the Russian "superiority" to produce any satisfactory program to meet it. Nor can Europe's efforts to put up 30 divisions against the advancing massed armies of the Soviet Union be of much value in strengthening the West's self-confidence and hope of victory.

A comparison of the two sides from the numerical standpoint reminds us of the meeting between David and Goliath. Russia has always depended on the uses of masses. The problem, therefore, is to find the proper method of destroying the numerical superiority of the U.S.S.R. and to apply it with due skill at the right time and place. The only weapon capable of blowing the Russian prison of nations up from within is not the atomic bomb but the idea of the national liberation of the peoples oppressed by Russia. And the support of the liberation movements of these peoples and the satellite states is the weapon the West must seize, if it would be victorious against Moscow at minimum cost. Cooperation with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), the common front of these peoples, is the interest of the West.

The Peoples Behind The A.B.N.

There may at present be gaps in the organization and structure of the A.B.N., but that is unimportant. The decisive point is that it represents fighting organizations and liberation movements in various peoples that are

already operating. It is of little account which nations are represented by a definite organization in the A.B.N. and which are not. The main thing is that all the non-Russian peoples in the Bolshevik imperium are behind the A.B.N. as a factor of great potential power, since no nation has ever abandoned, can never abandon, its rights of sovereignty and claim to freedom. Even if recreant representatives of these nations in exile have deserted the banner of independence for their nation, this banner will be held aloft by the A.B.N. and the nation in question will throng to support it in the decisive hour. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast the slogan of independence for every people within its ethnic borders, no matter whether emigrés of one or the other people may support federation with Russia,

thus betraying their people's cause. The A.B.N., for instance, is firmly convinced that neither Azerbaijanians, the Byelorussians or any other of the subjugated nations will consent to federation with Russia, but will continue the fight for complete separation from Moscow and thus realize the sacred right every independent state has of deciding its own affairs.

Unauthorized Dabblers In Politics

We know very well that these peoples would never approve a resurrection either of the "Vlassov Movement" (K.O.N.R.) or of the "Kerensky Movement". Dabblers in politics in exile who accept as representatives of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet

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The First Essential Equality of Rights for Every Nation

By Dr. Stephan Buc, former Croatian M.P.

Taking the whole breadth of Europe, from the Urals to the Atlantic into consideration, there never was in all its history greater and more unjust differences between the communities living there as nations than there is today. We can get a better grasp of the tragedy if we compare the psyche of modern man with that of his forbears. When Ivan the Terrible or Peter I was in power, their subjects were different from those under Josef Dzhugashvili-Stalin, just as the subjects of the "roi de soleil" in the Paris of the 17th century differed considerably from modern Frenchmen. It is true that then there were individuals who suffered under despotism and rebelled against slavery, but the masses cannot have been so unhappy because their consciousness was still sleeping. They were not awakened till the slogans of "equality" and "liberty" resounded in America and the extreme west of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Modern Man and the State

The great political, economic and mental revolutions that have taken place since then have completely changed the world, humanity and the individual. The individual is now

awake; he is conscious of his own rights, has been transformed from an "object" to a "subject". Changes had to be made in every department of life to suit man's altered needs. States that had grown obsolete were broken up and their political structure changed by force, if necessary. Thus the American people, awakened, took up arms to rid itself of English rule, and erected its own state; the French people sent their divinely appointed kings packing and established a republic, etc. We quote only the best known examples, but they will suffice, for we who are surrounded by the results of this modern development have no need of further proof. Thus, the ethnic-historical communities of Europe became nations, and "subjects", whereas they had been merely physical formations, as it were. "A nation is a soul", said Ernst Renan, thus characterizing the most significant factor in modern development.

Size is not the Criterion of a Nation

We must admit that this development came from the West where it began about a century earlier, a fact which does not demand any further comment. To define it more exactly, a nation is a community of feeling which should

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Union the ideas of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", automatically forfeit all authority to represent their peoples. Should the West attempt to introduce by bayonets the idea of an indivisible Russian imperium into the Soviet Union, and should the S.O.N.R. with some non-Russian dabblers in politics appear in their native countries, they will be received as traitors in the service of the enemy, and treated accordingly. Fresh blood will then be shed against new occupiers and traitors.

These traitors among non-Russian emigrés are being paid with American dollars today. But we warn the Western World against cultivating treason in these circles. That Russian imperialists are ready to play the part of Judas is no reason why Americans should do so. Sooner or later these traitors will appear before the court of their own peoples and they cannot escape punishment. Their doings in exile are not fundamentally different from the practices of the N.K.V.D. and the M.V.D. at home. Should they appear one day in their native countries in the ranks of the Russian "liberator", they will be confronted by the national divisions of their own people who will sweep them and their protectors out of existence.

The Oath Will Be Kept

At the foundation of the A.B.N. in 1943 in Ukraine in a meeting at a place that was occupied by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) the latter and the insurgent troops of other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union swore an oath of mutual loyalty and help, an oath sealed by blood. This oath will be kept, till the hour of freedom strikes, not only in Kyiv, but also in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, and in Baku, the capital of Aserbaishan, and their national flags fly as a symbol of liberty in all the capitals of the non-Russian peoples. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast to the device that alone represents the inflexible will of all peoples subjugated by Moscow, namely, "Our own life in our own country free of federal interference from Russia! Our own life in our own state, with an army, a parliament, a government of our own, independent of Moscow or any other alien power!" And that is what will come!

Just as the giant Goliath was brought low by the boy David, "Great Russia", a colossus on feet of clay, will one day be conquered by the united strength of our peoples — of 3 million Aserbaijanians, 15 million Byelorussian, 45 million Ukrainians and all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. Our idea of national liberation is so powerfully explosive that it will inevitably bring about the fall of the Russian imperium. It is the guarantee of victory over the giant Goliath. The intrigues of certain Western circles who try to purchase the services of instruments among non-Russian exiles for a new Russian imperialism and tyranny put obstacles in our way, thus undermining the West's chances of victory from the outset. Such attempts will not help to localize the conflict between the East

and the West. On the contrary. They will expand it all over the world.

A Tragic Paradox

It is a tragic paradox that the Western World should make every effort to avoid war while the attitude of its politicians towards the decisive problem of the non-Russian peoples must inevitably lead to a worldwide expansion of the war.

All who are serious about avoiding war keep their eyes on the Achilles heel of the Russian dungeon of nations, i. e. on the possibility of utilizing the explosive power of the idea of national liberation among subjugated non-Russian peoples. For this would, if not avoid war, at least localize it. It is therefore in the interest of the the West itself to support these peoples in their fight against Russian imperialism, to attract them from the Russian front into their own. It is here that a blockade of the enemy can be successful by a concentric attack.

The West should not leave the entire burden to us, while it stands aside and watches us bleed to death. Russia today is not only our enemy, but the enemy of the whole world. We don't want to be made a cat's paw of and the West itself must take part in the fight and make sacrifices which can be reduced to a minimum only if the struggle is coordinated with the strength behind our liberation movements. The foundations of the Russian imperium are by no means firm and it would not be difficult to shake them if this was gone about in the right way.

The West must do something to give the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union some concrete hope and destroy their feeling of isolation from the Western world.

A Voice In Support Of Our Ideas

General Fuller, the English military writer, launched, the following proposal in his article, "What the Kremlin Fears Most":

Lastly, I will end with a concrete proposal. Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change of regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western powers should coincide with the aim of the A.B.N. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish — that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step towards achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common Anti-Bolshevik front. The duties of this front should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in bolshevizing the world."

The ideas for which we have been fighting for years are evidently grain-

ing ground in competent Western circles. The sooner the West takes practical steps, the surer the localization of the war. If the biggest stations in the world begin to broadcast not only in the language but also in the spirit of the A.B.N., if our fighters behind the Iron Curtain feel that they are being supported everywhere, and if all these programs are coordinated with our centre of planning and we are recognized as an ally of the West with equal rights, then cracks in the structure of the Soviet Union will begin to appear. Even if the U.S.S.R. should reply to such measures by a declaration of war, it would not be able to conduct a war of aggression because the Soviet army would begin to disintegrate in the first weeks of the war just as it did when Germany invaded the country.

Instead, therefore, of puzzling about how to avoid the war that the Soviet Union is systematically preparing for, the West ought to be planning how to win it with the minimum of casualties. But if the West, for instance, approves a new edition of the "Council for the Liberation of Russia" (S.O.N.R.) and supports a policy of Russian imperialism it will play into Moscow's hand just as surely as Hitler did when he refused to recognize the independence of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, thus paving the way for Stalin's "Patriotic War".

The Duty of the West

General Fuller shows great wisdom and far-sightedness when he writes:

"If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic, to think in terms of liberation is democratic."

The limitation of the war in time and place lies, therefore, in the hands of Western politicians if they will appropriate the ideas of the A.B.N. General Fuller expressed this clearly when he said:

"Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the A.B.N. — however lacking in organization it still is — to be found the only potential second front... Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

In conclusion let us repeat: the realization of democracy in the East is unthinkable without the disintegration of the Russian dungeon of nations into the national independent states within their ethnic frontiers of the subjugated peoples, the first condition for the complete development of the character of the individual. For us, the democratic idea cannot be separated from the idea of national liberty, a principle that is expressed by the slogans:

Away from Russia!

Freedom for peoples!

Freedom for the individual!

Side-lights:

The „Eastern Europe“ Conference

A conference was arranged by the Council of Europe for representatives now in exile of satellite states of the Soviet Union; it took place in London on January 21—22, 1952 and was attended by such prominent leaders of Western Europe as Henry Spaak, ex-Prime Minister of Belgium, General de Gaulle's collaborator, Gaston Palevski, C. Davis, Chairman of the British Liberal Party, Arthur Greenwood, formerly a Minister in England and some German politicians.

The conference was intended only for representatives of states outside the Soviet Union in 1939. Representatives of nations incorporated at that time in the U.S.S.R. were allowed to attend only as observers.

In view of the attitude expressed during the conference towards the S.R., it could not well have been otherwise. The speakers assumed that a revolution in the Soviet Union was neither possible nor feasible. The Soviets, it was stated, would voluntarily abandon their satellites under pressure. The claims of nations that have been oppressed for more than 30 years were not mentioned at the conference.

Time was spent discussing the purely academic plan of a new economic and philosophical order, once the Soviets had voluntarily vacated their satellite states.

In the discussions, the concept "Europe" suffered considerably, for the area on which Christian and Western traditions have built up a way of life for its peoples, was reduced to the periphery on the West, a blow to the resistance of the free world to bolshevism, and to the vital force of Europe itself. There are no deadline dates, no provisions for superannuation when it comes to restoring freedom to peoples who have been deprived of it by force.

The weakness of this conference was that it was attended almost exclusively by politicians who had emigrated from the satellite states, after they had collaborated for years after the war with communists, and are therefore also to blame for the present unhappy state of their peoples. The Slovak Liberation Committee, the Czech National Committee in London, and representatives of Sudeten Germans protested against the presence of politicians with compromising records.

Millions That Haunt Their Dreams

Many rumours and intrigues have appeared in connection with the 100 million dollars fund that is said to have been earmarked in the American budget for foreign aid, in order to support the fight against bolshevism. It would appear that American funds are to be allocated only to schemes of resistance actually in existence. This decision

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Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

Continued from the last issue

II.

Conditions in Ukraine

In Ukraine, Russian terror continues ceaselessly, unhesitatingly. Its mechanism has improved with years. Its current phase is being experienced by thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians now. With rigid consistency and unparalleled ruthlessness, the Soviet regime is trying to subdue the Ukrainian people by turning them into obedient slaves of their superior Russian brother. It is nothing but conscious and deliberate physical extermination of a race, a horrible vivisection on the living organism of a people, which makes the blood in one's veins grow cold and one's hair grow grey. The very fact that the Soviet hangmen are able to perform such a genocide on an old, civilized and Christian people in the middle of the 20th century and in a corner of old Europe is the shame of this century and the shame of all mankind.

The methods by which the Soviets perform genocide on the Ukrainian people are still more shameful. These methods are nothing but the negation of all human progress and civilization. They are a cynical and degenerate mockery of the achievements of all mankind, an unprecedented crime against humanity.

The methods of Soviet terror in Ukraine are fully described in a unique and curious document which reached the West in the fall of 1947 when armed groups of the Ukrainian insurgents succeeded in penetrating Poland and Czechoslovakia and surrendered to the American authorities in the US Zone in Germany. The insurgents brought a copy of a Ukrainian underground magazine "The Independent" published somewhere in Ukraine in the first half of 1947. The magazine contained an article entitled "The Shame of the 20th century" which is not only a detailed but a horrible account of Soviet atrocities in Ukraine.

The U.P.A.

When the Soviet armies began launching their offensives against the Germans and the Soviet war-machine began to roll back over Ukraine, the Soviets met there a vast underground army of some 200,000 armed Ukrainian men, called the Ukrainska Povstancha Armiya (U.P.A.). It was an independent "third force" both anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet, aiming at the establishment of a Sovereign Ukrainian State and, therefore, opposed to both kinds of imperialisms striving at enslaving Ukraine. The U.P.A. started its activities in 1942, at the peak of German military power, grew strong in the struggle against the Nazis and contributed considerably to their defeat in Eastern Europe.

The Soviets knew of the existence of the U.P.A., but underestimated its force. The death of Soviet Marshal Valutin who fell in a battle against a

U.P.A. detachment forced them to reckon with its existence. Yet they were not prepared to deal with it. Their frontal attacks against the U.P.A. in 1944 and 1945, were not successful. The terror campaign against the masses of the Ukrainian people only resulted in making many Ukrainians join the U.P.A. The Soviets were forced, therefore, to change their tactics and to adapt a more elaborate and detailed campaign of destruction. This was the beginning of a hard struggle of the Soviet occupational administration and N.K.V.D. forces against the U.P.A. which is still being waged to day.

In Soviet terrorist measures against the Ukrainian liberation movement and its striking force, the U.P.A., we must distinguish two factors: (a) ideological-political means of fighting the Ukrainian "nationalism" which gave birth to the Ukrainian liberation movements; (b) an armed terrorist fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement and its supporters — the Ukrainian people.

The fight against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" is as old as Soviet dominance over Ukraine. The constant complaints of Soviet leaders of Ukrainian "nationalism" and "separatism" called the attention of the entire world and convinced it that Ukraine was anything but a "soft belly" of the Soviet Union. But behind these complaints a more serious thing hides — a terrorist ideological fight against the very spirit of the Ukrainian people. It is attacking the very soul of Ukraine trying to eradicate all those principles, on which the Ukrainians, like other Christian peoples, have lived for nearly one thousand years. It is attacking the Ukrainian Churches, both the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Church, aiming at supplanting them by Stalin's Russian Orthodox Church. Yet this attack too, is failing for, apart from physical extermination, the spirit of the Ukrainians is unquenchable. It could not be corrupted either by the martyrdom of Ukrainian churches and of free Ukrainian science, or by the shameless rewriting of Ukrainian history, the mutilation of Ukrainian literature or the slandering of great Ukrainian men of the past and present.

The Ukrainian experience of Soviet tyranny tells the world that the Soviets often use slander, lies, deceit, breach of faith, bribery, provocation, gross abuse, wilful distortion of truth to further their political ambitions. Lenin himself stated that "we have to use any ruse, dodge, tricks, unlawful methods, concealment, veiling of truth" in daily political manipulation. By this weapon of bolshevik strategy, the Ukrainian patriots were denounced as "fascists" by the genuine scarlet fascists from Moscow. By means of this weapon, any group in the world courageous enough to raise its voice against the savagery of Soviet dictatorship is conveniently dubbed "fascist" by the Soviet political opium dealers. Such

are the weapons of Bolshevik ideological strategy, emanating from Muscovite megalomania based on grossest immorality sanctioning as morally good every lie, falsehood, or crime against any non-Communist person, nation, or state.

The Kremlin and Nationalism

In the all-embracing campaign now sweeping the entire U.S.S.R. and the satellites, the blade of hatred and vituperation is directed against particular non-Russian "nationalism". Since last July, at which time "Pravda" registered the new upsurge of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" in the arts and literature, the soviet masters have known no rest in their concern at this "invisible enemy". Ostensibly, the attack is confined to Ukrainian literature, but the Kremlin is really attacking every aspect of Ukrainian life and in unusually menacing terms. Despite the fact that "an eternal friendship between the Russian and Ukrainian people exists, and is "indestructible", Soviet propagandists are forced to beat drums of alarm for the enemy who lurks in every collective farm, plant, factory and school. Those im-

placable enemies of "the Ukrainian people" are the "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" who "have degenerated into a pitiful group of spies and disrupters in the service of crusty American war-mongers". "The Ukrainian nationalists today serve the Anglo-American imperialists, who are endeavoring by all means, including ideological diversions, to damage Communist construction. The struggle against nationalist ideology, profoundly inimical to Marxist-Leninist ideology, must go on and "it must be one of our prime tasks", say Soviet propagandists. Of course, their assertions that the Ukrainian nationalists became "lackeys" of American imperialism are not only untrue, but blatantly false. The Russian totalitarian masters know that the United States does not want to dismember Russia and that it does not aid the non-Russian peoples in their struggle for liberation. It becomes clear, however, that the Politburo is gravely concerned about the future policy of the United States and fears that the U.S.A. will throw its vast power behind the non-Russian peoples in their struggle against Russian imperialism.

To be continued in the next issue

The First Essential

Continued from Page 1

find expression in an independent state. It is not confined to one "class" only, but is common to all; it is the most elementary phenomenon of social life. It is of no account whether the nation be "big" or "small", whether it counts 3 or 150 million souls, the impulse to form an independent state is everywhere the same. This is quite natural. Whether a man be six feet high, or only five, they are still both men with similar characteristics. We consider them both as men, the tall one and the short one.

The Blindness of Western Politicians

Our present generation, especially those of us whose countries are behind the iron curtain, are experiencing a drama which is repeated daily: many Western politicians, especially the leaders, are blind to modern developments; they hide their heads in the sand like ostriches, though the truth is as plain as day. And it is still more astonishing that these should be men - for instance in America and France - whose forefathers experienced that development and won their independence and democratic rights at the cost of great sacrifice and as the result of unceasing energy. The same men (we see it very day), who are justly proud of a past stained with the blood of their fathers, of events and battles which have become their most glorious traditions, refuse to have any sympathy for other peoples who are now in a position similar to theirs almost 200 years ago.

Men still cherish the inhuman aim of sparing and preserving states that were artificially formed, that are nothing but the prisons of nations and the instruments of an obsolete imperialism. (U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia.) So the "state" is upheld, and not the people. The international organi-

zation of the United Nations — *lucus a non lucendo* — is only a union of states or rather of governments, some of them with bloodstained hands. Was this principle not obstinately preserved in I.R.O., right to the very end? Does it not inspire a number of well-known institutions which talk of a "free Europe", though it makes a really free Europe an illusion? It was one of the fundamental principles of a recent conference on the "European Movement" which was held in London. The nations in the U.S.S.R., the greatest dungeon of peoples, were ignored, while the two others "Yugoslavia" and "Czechoslovakia" (note their artificial names!) were also subjected to characteristic treatment. The names, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes are acknowledged, not as nations, but as "nationalities", a procedure that was familiar in the Austrian empire 50 years ago. The enormous revolution that took place, not 50 but 1000 years before 1900, has been completely ignored. Nothing at all has been learnt from history.

A House Built on Sand

Instead of liberating Europe first and then uniting it, they are trying to build the house from the roof down. They have not even agreed on the material the house is to be built of. Of slaves? That is what will happen if the "state" comes first. Almost the whole of Europe, at least the greater part behind the iron curtain is forced to live enslaved in unnatural states, which must disappear before these peoples can be free. This is the material the house must be built of, unless the aim is to build castles in the air. The right to equality of all the nations in Europe, the realization of their right of self-determination is the first essential condition for their reconstruction and unity. This will put an end to every kind of communism, whether Tito's or Stalin's, and not only to communism, but also to all imperialism.

Continued from Page 3

causes new difficulties for exiled Russians, now that their "Council of Liberation" has collapsed. It is a well-known fact that antibolshevist resistance in the Soviet Union is confined to the territory of non-Russian peoples, where it is in the hands of their organizations for liberation; Russians in exile are therefore compelled to invent a Russian movement of resistance in Russia proper. The role of active resistance will probably be assumed by the N.T.S. (Russian Solidarity Exile Party), an organization which has behaved in Western Europe for years as if it were the only Russian resistance movement with an underground in Russia, and which has published articles to that effect in the Western press.

These considerations were probably the reason for the secret conference in Hamburg in the middle of January, which was attended by Kerensky, the unhappy initiator of the Wiesbaden "Council of Liberation", and Baydakov, the president of the N.T.S., and their closest confederates. It is rumored that Kerensky is going to utilize his powerful connections to launch Baydakov in the United States as the "strong man" of the Russian underground. Exiled Russians hope in this way to divert some of the fabulous millions to their pockets.

Flag For Byelorussian S.S.R.

By order of the "Presidency of the Supreme Council of the Byelorussian S.S.R.", the Soviet Republic of Byelorussia received on 25. 12. 1951 the right to hoist a flag of its own instead of the red banner of the Soviet Union, a right that the Ukrainian Republic alone has possessed up till now; the Byelorussian flag is red and green with the national symbol (belt embroidered parallel to the flag-staff) and in the left field, the hammer and sickle under a five-point star.

A leader in the "Svyasda", Minsk, 28. 12. 51, celebrates the order as "clear proof of the victory of Lenin's and Stalin's national policy"; the following is significant:

"For centuries the Byelorussian people has been conducting a courageous fight for social and national liberation. For centuries it has dreamed of sovereignty."

The article goes on to say that the country has received the latter for the first time in its history from the hands of "the Soviet Power". Moscow's gift is quite in keeping with the present policy of Soviet Russia, which, by way of relieving domestic tension, is willing to make formal, national concessions to the non-Russian republics while at the same time increasing oppression of the individual. "Danaos timeo et dona ferentes" . . .

The sentence quoted from the "Svyasda" may interest Russian politicians in exile for whom Byelorussian desires for independence are merely an artificial product.

Dr. Dimitar Balkansky

„Bloody Thursday“

The Anniversary of the National Tragedy of Bulgaria

On February 1, 1945, at an icy midnight hour, representatives of the Third Bulgarian Kingdom were stripped naked and shot in the cemetery in Sofia. When the bells tolled the hour of midnight, the headlights of the trucks that had brought members of the Bulgarian government, condemned by order from Moscow, to their place of execution the same day, threw an eery light over big, freshly dug graves. They covered the bodies of a Bulgarian prince, two regents, 22 ministers and 65 representatives, flung into their graves before they were cold. Thus the shameful deed, planned by the Third International and prepared for twenty years earlier by the "United Front" of communists and leftist Agrarians in the Cathedral of "Sankta Nedelya" was now carried out by the hand of the "Fatherland Front" which had seized power. In these strange weeks and months these martyrs were joined in death by tens of thousands of known and unknown Bulgarian patriots who had remained faithful to their duty. During all this time, the government of Bulgaria was in the hands of a coalition under the blasphemous name of "People's Government" which was made up of communists and the other leftist groups in the conspiratorial "Fatherland Front" — Left Agrarians, Sevno Adherents, Socialists and Radicals.

Hundreds of thousands of victims were put to death in consequence of Moscow's treacherous slogan of "Down with fascism! Freedom for the people!" This wicked command which rode roughshod over all our laws, human and Divine, was meant to be opium for the people and dust in foreigners' eyes. The world, at that time still struggling in the confusion of the aftermath of war, had no time to be interested in the tragedy of Bulgaria. It woke up to reality when the situation could no longer be saved, when the communists, having swept away the foundation of constitutional government in Bulgaria in that orgy of looting, found no difficulty in getting rid next of their coalition partners, their unwitting instruments, and in opening the way for Soviet supremacy in the heart of the Balkans. Shocked by this national disgrace and groaning under the new tyranny, our people buried deep in its soul the memory of their murdered representatives, of the tens of thousands of other victims, and began to whisper in awe of "bloody Thursday". Millions of Bulgarian men and women throughout the country join the countless mourning mothers, families, widows and orphans in remembering the murdered; they condemn the murderers and their lackeys and swear anew to establish justice, freedom and human dignity in our country.

When and where, Bulgarians ask today, was Bulgaria ever guilty of fascism? If "fascism" means lack of freedom and tyranny at home, when was King Boris's regime fascist? When seriously incriminated communists and other conspirators and assassins in the service of Moscow who have been brought to justice were pardoned again and again, or perhaps when the almost public conspiracy of the "Fatherland Front" was indulgently tolerated? Where was there any

lack of freedom? Was liberty less evident in constitutional Bulgaria than in the despotic People's Republic of today? If, moreover "fascism" means chauvinism, aggression and imperialism, when and how was Bulgarian ever guilty of such crimes? Surely not because not a single Bulgarian bullet was fired in the war and because Bulgaria remained neutral, above all towards the Soviet Union, until the end of the war. And surely still less because it ordered its troops to protect its own people in liberated districts that were traditionally Bulgarian? If this was "monarchic fascism" or "Great Bulgarian Chauvinism" then why is the present communist government protesting against Tito's policy of assimilation in Jugoslavian Macedonia where he manifests lively interest for the Bulgarian population in Greek Macedonia, claiming access to the Aegean Sea? Or must all that is allowed Stalin's creatures in Sofia in favour of the

Soviet Union be declared a mortal sin whenever it is claimed for Bulgaria by a Bulgarian government?

There is little left today of the mask of "Death to Facism" which helped to destroy the elite of the Bulgarian nation and demobilize the democratic constitution. It took the execution of a man like Nikola Petkoff as a facist to bring the world to its senses and realize at long last what had actually happened viz, that the mass murders in Bulgaria, perpetrated at a time of confusion, with the cooperation of so-called "democratic" coalition partners, had nothing to do with an alleged Bulgarian facism; their sole purpose was to burst the dams protecting the land from bolshevism, so that, in a short time, the short-sighted "democrats" who had lent countenance to the deeds of violence after the revolution of September 9, 1944 by their presence in the government, were themselves drowned in the Red flood.

Let us bend our heads in reverence before the victims of "Bloody Thursday". The ever-green memory of this national crime, of tens of thousands of innocent martyrs and patriots will one day make Bulgaria rise again, stronger and finer than ever.

A.B.N. Conference in Paris

Big Meeting Attended by Delegates to the U.N., Representatives of the Movement for a United Europe and the Organization "Peace and Freedom". Address by Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

A big conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was held in Paris on February 2, 1952. The Central Committee of the A.B.N. was represented by its president, Yaroslav Stetzko, and its secretary-general, Dr. Ctibor Pokorný. Prince Tokarevsky, Chairman of the branch of the A.B.N. in Great Britain, took the chair. After hearing the report of the Statutes Committee, the statutes of the branch of the A.B.N. in France were adopted and the executive committee elected.

A big meeting was held in the hall of the Geographical Society on February 3, 1952. The delegates mentioned above were present, as were also many French and foreign journalists.

In his opening address, Prince Tokarevsky, chairman, expressed the hope that France, in particular, with its glorious traditions of freedom would understand and support the aims of the A.B.N. When counting the nations that fought against the Soviet regime the chairman forgot to mention Albania, whereupon Albanians present protested loudly and demanded that that country should also be included in the list of honour of those fighting for freedom. The following resolution was passed at this meeting:

This meeting is of opinion that it is impossible to secure peace and freedom in the world until Soviet Russia is divided up into national, sovereign states and bolshevist dictatorship destroyed throughout the world. The ideas of the A.B.N. are constantly gaining in importance and must receive the ut-

most support of free nations. The free world must make up its mind to support as their own the liberation movements of all peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

North Caucasian Commemoration

A Demonstration against Genocide

On February 23, 1952, on the day the Bolsheviks in Moscow and in the whole world celebrate the Red Army, the emigrants from the Caucasus in Munich commemorate the victims of bolshevist atrocities.

By the decree of February 11, 1943, in which Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich and Mikoyan themselves had a hand, the Checheno-Ingushi autonomous Republic was exterminated on February 23, 1944. Part of the inhabitants were killed on the spot by police and Red Army soldiers while the survivors were banished to Siberia within 24 hours. In this way about 800,000 people were mown down or carried off. The property of these people was confiscated by the Soviets and the land settled with peasants from central Russia. In November and December of the previous year the same fate was meted out to the inhabitants of the districts Karachai and Balkar. The total number of people thus exterminated or banished amounts to over one million.

At the commemoration in Munich representatives of all non-Russian peoples from behind the Iron Curtain and the German and foreign press took part. In the numerous addresses, the close ties between all non-Russian peoples in their fight against Russian imperialism were stressed, making it clear that the only nation in the Soviet Union which enjoys the confidence of the Kremlin is the Russian. The A.B.N. also took part in arranging this commemoration and issued a leaflet upon it.

From behind the Iron Curtain

BULGARIA

A SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF WAGES

In imitation of the Soviet Russian model, Bulgaria has now, too, introduced a new system of wages, based on the kind of article produced and with penalties for workers who do not reach the target set by the government. The new system relies above all on piece-work, which is common in "capitalist" countries but always disapproved of by trade unions. In Bulgaria, on the other hand it is officially enforced by the trades unions.

Quite irrespective of his own desire, every worker is classified according to a particular grade of production and receives the corresponding wage. Weaving, for instance, is divided into seven classes, with a basic wage of 270 to 375 lewa, a mechanic's work is classified in 8 categories with a basic wage of 300—640 lewa. Each of these classes has its prescribed norm according to a textbook that determines the work for each class. As the basic wage is also calculated on piece-work, it is reduced when the requisite target is not reached. In this way, reduced production, in consequence of bad material and waste, is penalised by deductions from the worker's wage, which entails reduced social contributions from the state. The Bulgarian state hopes thus both to increase quantity and improve quality, to prevent delay and carelessness and at the same time to determine who is responsible for the faulty material, as the worker whose work suffers is supposed to report.

COSSACKIA

"IDEOLOGICAL SHORTCOMINGS"

In consequence of inadequate "political training", weak "ideological work" in Komsomol organizations, the administration of the Party is constantly passing resolutions on the "necessity for improvement and for rectifying mistakes", insisting on "fundamental changes in the work done". In reality, however, if we are to believe the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of 2. 2. 1952, these resolutions are all merely on paper. It seems that the training given by Party organizations has deteriorated in comparison with last year, and the attendance at lectures has decreased.

In the field of economy, particularly in the reconstruction of towns, conditions appear to be chaotic. In Rostow on the Don, ten years after "liberation", many official buildings are still in ruins.

A Cossackian publishing firm published a book to which contributions were made by Cossack poets like V. Bakaldin, V. Petrichenko, I. Varava, V. Goncharov, and others. But the

"Pravda" immediately discovered "ideological shortcomings" in it and criticized the writers severely.

Only three of the ten large towns in the Cossackian area have entrusted their town-planning to architects, while the others are building without any expert advice. That is what soviet planning looks like.

The "Don", a new literary and historical almanach, was criticized by the critic, Olenich-Gnenenko, as "Cossackian, bourgeois and nationalistic".

CROATIA

TITO'S PRISONS OPEN AGAIN

Communist power in Croatia continues its destructive policy. Sabotage has assumed such proportions, as boycotting kolkhozes, failure to fulfil deliveries to the state or to cultivate the fields, that all foreign correspondents comment on it in their reports. It was stated at the last meeting of the communist party centre in Croatia that nothing can prevent the kolkhozes from disappearing except "administrative" measures, i. e. police action.

At the turn of the year Tito's regime, acting probably under pressure from U.S.A., proclaimed an amnesty. The Minister of Police estimated that about 50,000 emigrés returned, who had fled after 1945, and are, indeed, still fleeing. "War criminals", of course, and "traitors" cannot return, i. e. all who have fought against the regime. Communist consulates have been instructed to issue official invitations to emigrés to return, although their right of citizenship was taken away from them two years ago. The consul for Yugoslavia in Munich, too, is trying to persuade emigrés to return as "the life of the working man is far better at home than here". And the answers he receives everywhere? "We have waited so long, we can wait longer", or "Open the frontiers and you will see how the people cling to your paradise". Everybody is assured that his pass is valid for entering and leaving Yugoslavia, but everybody knows how much that is worth once he is in Tito's prison. The communists are meantime endeavouring to strengthen the army, now called the "Yugoslavian People's Army". Many new generals have been appointed, mostly men who saw service in the Spanish Civil War. Many "proletarian" units have been formed and new flags given them.

CZECHIA

THE MONOPOLY OF SOVIET SCIENCE

For some months all the scientific institutes of the C.S.R. have been being coordinated systematically in the

"Czechoslovakian - Soviet Institute". Scientific journals have ceased publication and have been replaced by new Soviet scientific publications of the new institute. The institute is divided into 15 sections: mathematics and physics, chemistry, biology and medicine, philosophy, history, the state and law, education and psychology, philology, political economy, engineering, agriculture, forestry, theatre and music.

BISHOPS CANNOT GO TO CONFESSION

All bishops in the C.S.R. are either imprisoned or so isolated that they cannot have intercourse either with colleagues or their flocks. They are under police supervision day and night. The Bishop of Olomouc, Msgr. Josef Matokha must even put up with having a policeman in his bedroom at nights. Nor are the bishops allowed to receive a confessor, so that they have not been able to confess for some time. The only exception is Msgr. Stephan Trokhta, Bishop of Litomerice, who was allowed to make confession in public and alone in the presence of a policeman.

EASTERN GERMANY

"PEACE LAWS"

(I.W.E.) During the second half of 1951, about 450 persons were condemned under the Law for the Protection of Peace, actual sentences being kept secret. Except in a few cases, trials were held in camera. The prisoners were accused of instigating boycotts, spreading subversive propaganda, ridiculing the fight for peace, and agitation against institutions of the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the People's Republics. In almost all trials the reports of the state security service and its evidence were accepted as "adequate proof". In only a few cases did denouncers give evidence at the trial.

NO COOPERATION

(I.W.E.) As the people refuse to cooperate, burgomeisters are overburdened with political tasks. The first Land secretary of the S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party -Germany) declared at a meeting of the communist national front in Weimar (Thuringia) that many burgomeisters in the Land have to discharge ten or more functions in consequence of the indifference of the population.

He mentioned as an example the S.E.D. Burgomeister of the community of Fischbach who, besides being president of the local organization of the S.E.D., is also president of the following organizations: local Peace Committee, local Committee of the National Front, Society for Mutual Aid on Farms, Society for German-Soviet Friendship, M.A.S.-Committee, Correspondent of the S.E.D. paper President of the local F.D.J. group.

HUNGARY**NEW BATTALIONS OF CONVICT LABOURERS**

Reports from Hungary state that new battalions of convict labourers have been formed for hard physical work. They are composed in the main of men who are politically unreliable.

There are said to be 15 of these battalions with a total strength of 8,000 to 10,000 men. They are collected in concentration camps under military supervision in the following places: Hódmezővásárhely, Mezőtúr, Kecskemét Zahony, Abasar, Szolónok and Székesfehérvár.

The inmates of these camps wear old uniforms and the standard of food is not too low; they are not paid wages according to tariff, but receive army pay (19 cents per day), something being deducted for national defence funds. Their families are not allowed either to visit them or to send them parcels. Correspondence is allowed as a favour, to be withdrawn as a punitive measure. They work for 9 hours every weekday, it must "offer" to do unpaid honorary work on Sundays. These battalions also include many members of the communist party who have been "purged", and former political officers in the Hungarian People's army.

LATVIA**RESISTANCE STILL ACTIVE**

American papers report an increase of illegal antibolshevist propaganda that is being spread in pamphlet form by the Latvian National Underground. In the Riga Institute for History, for instance, pamphlets were found disclosing communist distortions of Latvian history. The M.V.D. also discovered anti-communist pamphlets in various Riga factories, even in the hands of members of the communist youth organization in schools in Liepaya and Talsi. The pamphlets bore the heading: "Stalin is Hitler's Ally and Heir."

LITHUANIA**NEWS FROM LITHUANIA**

Communists are preparing a "Catholic" congress for 1952 in support of the plan to found a national church.

Rector Bucas of Vilna University, a member of the Academy of Science, expressed his satisfaction at the news that Lithuanian scientists are to be given an opportunity to work in Kazakhstan and to improve the Lithuanian language by applying Stalin's methods.

Grand celebrations were arranged in Lithuania as elsewhere to mark the centenary of the birth of Gogol, the Ukrainian poet. The official announcement runs: "Gogol was a Russian, a bolshevist writer and a warm friend of Lithuania."

More and more timber is being taken from Lithuanian forests and sent to Russia.

RUMANIA**"INCREASED STABILITY AND DISCIPLINE ON THE LABOUR MARKET"**

The People's Democracies are now, too, gradually encroaching on the liberty of the "free" labourer — in contrast to those confined in labour camps. This process has advanced most rapidly in Rumania where there are no powerful traditions of independent trade unions to overcome.

The new order issued by the Rumanian government to "increase stability and discipline in work and ensure an adequate supply of labour for production" in reality reduces the workers who were still free to the status of convict labourers: it prohibits labourers, employees, engineers and technicians in state or cooperative enterprises from leaving their place of work unless their contract has terminated or unless they produce a medical certificate that their health does not permit them to continue at their job. They cannot leave without the approval of the manager. If a worker goes away without permission, he will not be employed in any other state or cooperative enterprise — and there are no others except in the country.

Identity papers have been introduced to perfect the system of control. Thus no worker may choose his place of work.

According to the same Order, the State has the right to transfer workers by force from one place to another. Infringement of these measures is subject to heavy fines which may be imposed even on doctors who give certificates of illness without "due reason".

SLOVAKIA**CLEMENTIS' SHOW TRIAL**

Dr. Rais, Minister of Justice in the Prague Government, declared to a conference of "People's Judges" that the "bourgeois nationalist", Clementis, formerly Foreign Minister of the C.S.R. had schemed to separate Slovakia from the C.S. Republic. He had been influenced by conditions at the time when Slovakia was an independent republic; and his "friendly relations with treacherous exiles had forced him to adopt a nationalistic policy".

Clementis surely never dreamt that he would one day be liquidated by the communist regime for having taken certain of their phrases, such as "the right of self-determination" too literally. His awakening has come too late.

INCREASING PROLETARISATION

Since 1945 Slovakia has been in the throes of one economic crisis after another, though, in its spell of independence, its citizens were not only free, but enjoyed a standard of living that was high in contrast to the war-conditioned standard of other European peoples. The Red Army forced Slovakia to become part of Czechoslovakia

and to accept a communist regime. Its gold reserves were taken to Prague as the sole basis for the currency of Czechoslovakia. These reserves, valued at three and a half milliard Slovak crowns, were voluntarily formed after the foundation of the independent Republic of Slovakia, having been contributed by the people with enthusiasm. This transfer of gold was the first "act of liberation" in the province of economics after 1945. Since then the country has been plundered in a similar fashion repeatedly, but the communist dictators are not yet satisfied with the forced sovietization of Slovakia; its currency is to be devalued as from April 1, which will deprive the people of their last savings from better times.

RESISTANCE AGAINST COMMUNISM STILL STRONG

The communists have set up a high wooden pole with a red star at Malacky (South-West Slovakia). This, of course, was the occasion of the usual festival. After a few days, however, the soviet star was removed and has not yet been replaced. In spite of their efforts, the police have not been able to discover the miscreants.

SLOVENIA**PRIESTS BURNED AND MURDERED**

On January 20, 1952 Dr. Vovk, Bishop of Lyublyana, was attacked at the station of Novo Mesto by a mob under the influence of communist agents. They poured petrol on him and set him on fire. He was severely burnt before being taken to a hospital. He had been condemned previously to a fine of 50,000 dinar for having spread religious literature. About the same time, another priest was murdered and a third maltreated.

Such events prove that the release of Archbishop Stepinac was merely a manoeuvre to trick the West. In reality, communists still persecute the church.

TURKISTAN**OSMAN BATUR'S HEROIC DEATH**

According to reports from refugees who had fled to Pakistan and India during recent months, Osman Batur, along with some thousands of his soldiers, was killed fighting against soviet troops for the freedom of Turkistan in the summer of 1951. Since 1959 he, with about 12,000 Turkistani, had been cut off in the south of the province of Sinkiang where he had been putting up heroic resistance to the suppression of national and religious liberty in Turkistan. Fugitives report that only 700—800 members of Batur's forces succeeded in escaping over snow-covered passes on the Pamir plateau of Eastern Afghanistan; they are reorganizing their forces and will continue the struggle.

A report recently published by the "Milij Türkistan" (National Turkistan), the organ of the National Turkistan Unity Committee, mentions the severe resistance put up by Osman Batur's partisans and the counter-measures taken by Soviet Russian troops:

"There were 120 fights this year, 227 assassinations were carried out — 29 by order of the government, 275 acts of sabotage, such as cutting telephone connections, etc. were committed. During the same time 530 firearms and 84 radio sets were seized by government troops."

The paper says that Osman Batur's death does not mean the end of resistance.

UKRAINE

APPEAL TO THE FREE WORLD

The headquarters of the U.P.A. (Ukrainiae Insurgent Army) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) have issued the following declaration:

"The leaders of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement once more point out that the entire Ukrainian people is fighting for the realization of its main aim, viz., the restoration of an independent, sovereign Ukraine; they believe that Ukraine, in its lonely battle will meet with the sympathy and political support of the free Western World. They hope, above all, that this support will be forthcoming for the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.)."

MAJOR POLTAVA'S NEW POST

P. Poltava, Major of the U.P.A. and chief of the education section in the General Staff of the U.P.A., and Chief editor of the "Information Bureau of the U.V.H.R.", its official underground organ, has been appointed second president in the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.V.H.R.).

Well-known as a Ukrainian underground journalist, Major Poltava is the writer of the letter to the State Department about the atcivity of the "Voice of America" (published in the A.B.N. Correspondence No. 4, 1951) and the author of the important publication "The Conception of an Independent Ukraine and Modern Trends in the World Today".

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An Appeal to Freedom-Loving Americans

Americans!

You are now faced with the greatest and most dangerous task that history has ever set before your people. Having become a leading power in the world, it is now your destiny to be confronted by an opponent who has at his disposal 200 million men and immeasurably wealthy territory extending for 11 million square miles. His man-power is still greater — 700 million men — as it includes the population of the states in his sphere of influence.

How are you going to master this task? We representatives of nations on the other side of the Iron Curtain, inspired by love of our people and friendship for yours, regard it as our solemn duty to proffer you this advice in your decisive hour:

You will be able to maintain your present position in the world only if God helps you to realize that there are hundreds of millions in the enemy camp who might become your most reliable allies.

Of the 700 million men in your enemy's camp, about 500 million belong to so-called satellite nations. They have been forced into the Soviet sphere by violence and deception.

Of the remaining 200 millions living in the Soviet Union itself, erroneously designated "Russians" by you, about 125 millions belong to non-Russian peoples. The Russians proper do not number more than 75 millions.

These 125 millions wish to escape from the enemy camp; they want to leave the Russian Imperium.

Under what conditions can those 625 million men become your friends? From our sincere conviction and knowledge of the situation, these conditions are:

- 1) The government of the American people must give the world a binding declaration that they —
 - a) recognize and aim at the restoration of the independence of all satellite peoples as states, in their ethnographic boundaries;
 - b) promote the restoration of political sovereignty to the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., i. e. to the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, the peoples of the Baltic States and the Caucasians, the Cossackians, Siberians and people of Idel-Ural.

Should your government pursue such a policy, we can assure you that the potential of your enemy will be reduced by hundreds of millions, and yours increased by as many.

There are American politicians who see that it is necessary to gain friends in the camp of the enemy, but they argue from the false assumption that the entire Russian imperium is inhabited by Russians only. They wish to win a following in the U.S.S.R. by abolishing communism while preserving the Russian imperium under democratic leadership. This is in the main the result of ignorance of the real situation in the Soviet Union: such politicians are unaware that they are thereby antagonizing 125 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R.

This policy has unfortunately been gaining ground recently; it is powerfully supported by the formation of a "Fund for the Liberation of the Russian People"

Americans!

Do not let yourselves be led astray! Do not court the favour of Russian imperialist at the cost of non-Russian nations! The Russian people has, of course, the right to be freed from Communism and to its own sovereignty, but only on its ethnic territory. The non-Russian areas of the U.S.S.R. must be restored to their lawful owners.

Americans!

You created the Marshall Plan, you took the initiative in the Four Point Program, you organized the Crusade for Freedom. We appeal to you to accomplish the greatest task of your generation, to win for the American people hundreds of millions of friends in the camp of your present enemy. Stand up for freedom in the satellite states for the sovereignty of all peoples within the U.S.S.R.

Support the Liberation Fund of the A.B.N.

March, 1952.

Central Committee of the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

Donations should be sent to:

Bayerische Creditbank, Account No. 10,707, Munich, Germany.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

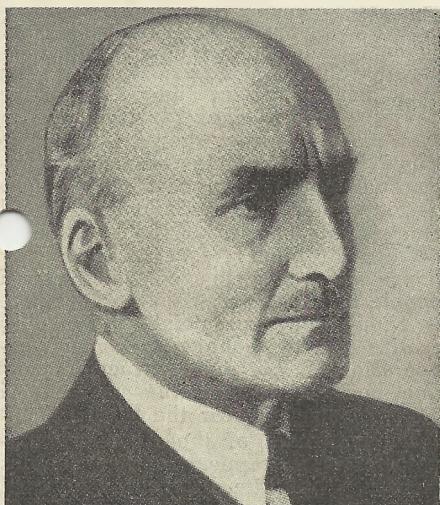
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NATO is Not Enough:

Gen. Fuller Comments on the Present Situation



Special Interview for A.B.N. 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 problem of cooperation between democratic nations on either side of the Iron Curtain, questions which were not settled at the recent NATO conference in Lisbon. For us who represent the revolutionary, democratic liberation movements of our peoples in the Soviet sphere of influence, it is peculiarly gratifying that an expert of General Fuller's calibre should have repeatedly stressed the importance of the A.B.N. in the world-wide struggle against communism and Russian imperialism. We appreciate his valuable support with gratitude.

We give General Fuller's answers to our questions:

Question:

The Lisbon Conference has without doubt contributed to the removal of many of the difficulties hitherto standing in the way of a European-Atlantic defence system. Do you consider such a defence belt sufficient in itself in view of the expansionist policy of Soviet Russia,

Answer:

No! *Vis-à-vis* Russia's expansionist policy, a defensive belt of nations is no more than a shield. What is still lacking is a sword, which under cover of the shield can attack his policy by fostering counter-revolution within the

U.S.S.R. The shield is military, the sword political.

Question:

Some American circles, especially that of the "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" now under the leadership of Admiral Kirk, are suggesting that the Russian imperium should be kept within the frontiers of 1939 and that the communist regime should merely be replaced by a "democratic" one. Do you, General Fuller, believe that it would suffice to set up a democratic government in the place of a communist regime in the Soviet Union, in order to guarantee the security of the still free world and create a state of political peace in the Soviet Union itself?

Answer:

No! because Russian communism is but a means to an end — Russian Imperialism. No change in means will alter the end. Peace is only attainable by fractionizing the U.S.S.R. and thereby destroying the Russian Imperium.

Question:

Do you see, considering the growing chauvinism of the bolshevist Moscow

government, any possibility of psychological warfare against the communist plans for world dominion?

Answer:

Because the growing chauvinism of the Kremlin is no more than propaganda to obscure the fact that the U.S.S.R. is a mosaic of subjugated peoples, it is a sure sign that what is dreaded most is a psychological attack aimed at liberating them. Therefore the possibilities of psychological war are immense.

Question:

How do you explain the fact that in World War II the Ukrainian people, with a population of 45 millions, organized an underground army of 200,000 and the other less populous non-Russian nations also carried on organized resistance against Stalin and Hitler, while the 80 million Russian nation did not raise a single partisan against Stalin?

Answer:

My explanation is that, after 1000 years of despotic government, the Muscovite Russians have become so inured to serfdom that all desire for a more

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liberal rule has been squeezed out of them. It has made them slave-minded and utterly subservient to authority.

Question:

Do you share the opinion which the A.B.N. has always held, that only through the combination of the West's need of security and the longing for independence that is so strong in the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, can the real strength of the western world be mobilized against communist aggression?

Answer:

Yes! The Western need of security is the shield, the need of the non-Russian peoples for independence is the sword. Only when both have been forged can the strength of the Western World be mobilized against Muscovite aggression.

Question:

Do you regard the use of the A.B.N. slogans i. e. the independence of the non-Russian peoples, as suitable now, or even possible in the psychological warfare being waged by the western world?

Answer:

The slogan of "Liberation and Self-Determination" should be the hub of all Western and A.B.N. propaganda and psychological warfare from this moment and until these aims have been attained.

Question:

In the last three years a large number of leading politicians have fled from the Satellite States to the west, who, in the years between 1944—1948, actively supported the communist governments of their countries behind the Iron Curtain or belonged to them. These people are now enjoying the moral, political and financial support of the West and are regarded as the real representatives of the political opinions of their people. Do you not see that by these benefits there is great danger of the western world losing the confidence and sympathy of the anti-communist populations in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.?

Answer:

Emigrés, turn-coats and traitors are never to be trusted. Those who run fastest shout loudest, and though it is true that many of these creatures are welcomed and listened to in the West, and more particularly so in the U.S., the anti-Bolshevik peoples must remember that in a revolutionary age knaves win over fools, but in the end both perish.

Question:

Do you, General Fuller, believe, as we do, that the only way to obviate the danger to neighbouring States and the rest of the world, both from a political as well as a military point of view, is to restrict Russia to her own ethnological borders?

Answer:

Yes! When once again Russia becomes Muscovy — that is, restricted to her ethnological frontiers — the spell of the Third Rome will be broken, and the West liberated from the threat of subversion and war.

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Contest Between two Oppinions

Comments on General Fuller's Pamphlet and the Appeal by American Politicians to the "Peoples of Russia"

By Roman Ilnytsky

The post brought us two important documents on the same day, viz., "Russia is not Invincible", a pamphlet by the British General J. F. C. Fuller, and an appeal by 72 prominent American politicians to the "peoples of Russia" on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the February Revolution of 1917. Both deal with the same problem and both are most important for the psychological war against the Soviet Union. But their authors come to radically opposed conclusions which make them representatives of two ideas that divide the world into two camps.

General Fuller's pamphlet, published by Eyre & Spottiswoode, is practically a reprint of the article by this well-known British political and military strategist in the "Saturday Evening Post" two months ago.

What makes the pamphlet fascinating is its bold, revolutionary method of tackling the problem. Fuller has cast off the fetters of the traditional policy towards the Russian imperium pursued by Britain and the world both in the past and the present. He sees the whole problem in a new light, namely as it strikes an objective student. This gives his presentation of the "East-West" conflict a power and originality lacking in that of other Western politicians. He has recognized that the Soviet Union is not a national state but a state of nationalities, more than half the population of which is non-Russian. All non-Russians wish to leave the imperium and take their destinies into their own hands. In his study of the Russian problem, Fuller regards this as the weakest point in the defence of the present opponent of the West. He sees that attack must set in here in order to upset the balance of the imperium and destroy it.

His political and strategical ideas are very clear: for him bolshevism is but an instrument of Russian imperialism. The problem of the present regime, therefore, in no way differs from that of tsarist Russia. The real enemy of the West and the whole world is not only bolshevism, but Russian imperialism which has been threatening the world for 500 years. General Fuller is of opinion that the Russian danger can be met only by dissolving the Imperium, e. v. by liberating the non-Russian peoples and making them independent. These non-Russian nations

are therefore the natural allies of the West in its present fight against the Soviet Union. General Fuller argues that more attention should be paid to this idea even now in the war of propaganda against the Soviet Union, so as to provide the psychological, moral and political basis for the solution "World Problem No. 1". He neither hopes nor tries to get the Russian people to cooperate with the West. He is enough of a practical politician to realize that the conditions for such co-operation do not exist, a fact he pays due heed to in drawing up general plans of strategy for the West.

The approach of the American signatories of the appeal to the "Peoples of Russia" is quite different. They still cling to the ideas of last century. For them, Russia is a unit, composed of different peoples who combine to form an organic state. For them, bolshevism alone is the enemy and the danger of Russian imperialism is non-existent. They do not wish to recognize it as a factor in the past, so they do not see it in the present. They aim only at changing the system of government.

General Fuller is firmly convinced that both the soviet regime and Russian imperialism can be destroyed only with the help of the non-Russian peoples. The signatories of the appeal are convinced of the contrary: they hope that the Russian people itself, will revolt, throw off its tyrants and replace dictatorship by a state of law and order. We do not assume that this view of American politicians means that the help of the non-Russian peoples in bringing about the revolution they hope for, is of little or no account. We hope that is was above all the desire for all the peoples in the Soviet Union to share in the revolution that gave them the idea of appealing to the "peoples of Russia" and not to the Russian people. It might have been the same idea that led them in their appeal to present the provisional Petersburg government of 1917 as expressing the will of all the peoples in tsarist Russia.

But we must point out here that ignorance of actual conditions in the East has always been and still is the worst enemy of the just cause of the non-Russian peoples and the strongest ally of Russian imperialism.

Continued on Page 5

President Truman's Message:

We Know the Truth

You Should Guarantee Freedom

A short time ago the "Courier", an American wireless ship with a powerful transmitter (150 kilowatts) was launched. It is to spread the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" round the world, and thus supply information above all to peoples who are cut off from the free world by the bolshevist regime. President Truman, himself, came on board to give the ship a send-off that was broadcast in 45 languages, in order to let all nations realize the importance and aim of this modern American enterprise.

In these uneasy days speeches by great statesmen are listened to with interest, especially when it is the President of the United States who comments on the burning questions of the day and the heavy cares of the future. It is our oppressed peoples who listen most carefully, weighing the President's words and trying to interpret them as an oracle of their future.

This new American enterprise, to which President Truman stood god-father, is intended, as he said, to be "a message of hope and friendship to all who suffer tyranny." We, therefore, feel justified in speaking frankly and in explaining in all sincerity whether, and in how far, this well-meant message can find an echo in the hearts of our peoples.

There were some excellent ideas in President Truman's speech, far-sighted and expressed with genuine feeling. For instance his statement that "armies, navies and airplanes alone can never overcome the evil that has befallen the world." In the same way, he defined in striking words the significance of the enterprise: "The "Courier" is a huge ship, not to be compared in size to a destroyer, and yet of enormous importance in continuing the fight for freedom in a field where alone final victory can be won." And words like the following would certainly win him the hearts of our peoples: "We are your friends! Between us and you there are no differences that could not be settled if your rulers would abandon their policy of hatred and oppression and recognize the principles of peace."

But the President omitted to say who, in his opinion, our "rulers" are, and what exactly our peoples may expect from their hoped-for conversion to "peace". On the contrary, he exercised the usual reserve and did not mention the problems on which the life and death of our nations depend. He carefully avoided the slightest concrete assurance that might have encouraged our people and strengthened their hope. Rather did he look to the "spreading of truth" as the sole means of final victory; he was content to proclaim that peace was the greatest aim of American policy: "As President of

the United States, I confirm with all my heart that we long for peace and wish to work for peace in cooperation with other nations." But the President does not say what this "peace" means for our peoples. So his assurances concerning the "light of peace and justice" that will one day shine for all nations, were purely academic, with little warmth for the hearts of our peoples.

"This ship will bring a message of truth and light to those who have been led astray by the flood of untruth let loose by communists," such were the President's parting words as the "Courier of Truth" left the stocks, in order to inform the peoples of the earth about the aims and arguments of American policy. No one will deny the importance of truth as a weapon in the fight against Soviet tyranny and its falsehoods; nor will any one deny the fact that there are still millions in the Western World who are dazzled by bolshevist propaganda and who need the light of truth. But our peoples behind the Iron Curtain have known truth to safety for long years, have had it drummed into them by bitter experience. What our peoples need, therefore, is not couriers of truth, but heralds of freedom who will promise them salvation in words that give them a concrete and encouraging picture of their future. Then alone will their

hearts be won and their enthusiasm inspired. Otherwise, peace seems scarcely worth while, and expressions of friendship are unconvincing.

It is not that our peoples are not informed about the aims of American policy; but they are proclaimed in formulas that do not go beyond academic abstractions and catchwords like liberty, peace and democracy. But of what good are these fine words if the messages sent to us are couched in terms that ignore our peoples' most sacred cause, in terms that must arouse our suspicions? In President Truman's speech, for instance, the oppressed nations of the U.S.S.R. are lumped together as the "population of the Soviet Union", although their independence as states are officially recognized even by bolshevist Moscow, at least on paper. What are these peoples to think of the American attitude to the burning problem of nationalities in the U.S.S.R. when their very existence as independent peoples is thus deliberately ignored?

The timidity of responsible American politicians as regards this decisive factor in the psychological war against Moscow's tyranny is, and must remain incomprehensible. No "crusade for Freedom", no "Courier of Truth", no platonic expressions of friendship for "the population of the Soviet Union", be they ever so warm, can have any effect, unless Washington decides to appeal to the only thing that can stir those peoples, arouse their hopes, win their confidence, inspire them to be efficient vanguards in the crusade for freedom, — to their inalienable right to liberation from Moscow and independence.

It is high time to call a spade a spade! It is not only the bolshevist regime that keeps freedom from our peoples and peace from the world, but also the ancient model of this tyranny — eternally brutal, Russian imperialism! It is Moscow's policy of russification that oppresses and decimates the soviet vasall nations behind the Iron Curtain as well as the nations in the U.S.S.R. formerly subjugated by the Russians. Our "rulers" unnamed in President Truman's message, are not only the handful of bolshevist tyrants in the Kremlin but also the Russians as the supporters and instruments of the entire bolshevist system. Why then delay recognizing our peoples' elementary right to freedom and independence from Moscow? That is the motto Western policy ought to inscribe on its banners if they are to serve the cause of truth and victory over Moscow's tyranny.

If the President of the United States would only speak once to our peoples

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Communists Show a Film About U.P.A.

A new film, called "Action B" is running in the cinemas in Prague and throughout Czechia and Slovakia. It is the most recent production of 1952. The manuscript is by F. Fíker, the producer is Jos Mach, the music is by J. Srnka while J. Wegricht is in charge of the cameras. The main parts are played by celebrated bolshevist actors.

Politically it is a most important film. Our readers will remember the commands issued in 1947 by the headquarters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) to make propaganda raids in Slovakia and Czechia in order to establish close contact with the liberation movements of these two peoples and to make the mottoes of the Ukrainian champions of liberty as widely known as possible. These raids were carried out under one of the U.P.A.'s most eminent military leaders, Burlaka. There were violent clashes on the frontier between Ukraine and Slovakia in the Carpathians between Czech communist divisions and U.P.A. And it is this fighting that is portrayed in the film. It is significant that the film should have been shot and shown to the public 5 years after the fighting ceased. This can only mean that the Ukrainian patriots' struggle for liberty and underground activity has still a great influence on the population, not only in Ukraine, but in neighbouring countries, compelling the bolshevist regime to have recourse to such a film.

Side Lights:

Mr. Kennan Goes to Moscow...

George F. Kennan, the new ambassador of the United States to the Soviet Union has been accepted surprisingly quickly by Moscow, and will leave for that city presently. It was surprising that he should have been approved without demur, as he had the reputation of having influenced American foreign policy in the direction of blocking Soviet expansion by pressing for a strong rearment programme, thus promoting a "strong hand" policy.

There must, therefore, be something about the political views of this man that makes him acceptable even to the Soviets for an ambassadorial post in Moscow. Kennan published his views on Russia and the Soviet Union in a series of articles that aroused considerable interest not only throughout the Western world but also, no doubt, in the Politbureau in Moscow. In them Kennan denied the existence of a problem of nationalities, comparing, for instance the relationship of Ukraine to Moscow with the position of Pennsylvania in the United States.

It would seem logical to assume that it is this denial of the nationality problem, i.e. the view of a united and indivisible Russia, that fully balances in the eyes of the Soviets the appeal for rearment in the United States. The new ambassador assumes office at a time when the government of the Soviet Union is fully occupied in combating the increasing national consciousness of the peoples within its borders, which is a threat to its existence. Since Stalin was compelled to appeal to these peoples for support in launching and carrying out the great patriotic war, they have snatched one political concession after the other. He has granted them, though for publicity purposes he pretended that in doing so he was merely realizing the right of self-determination promised in the Constitution. What was granted on the one hand was more than balanced by the increased terrorism of the individual on the other. What remains, however, is the ideal of independence, now cherished by the non-Russian peoples, which is attacked every day by the Soviet press as a relapse into "bourgeois nationalism".

It is at this moment that Kennan assumes office as American ambassador, the man who cannot see any problem of nationalities. Whose interests will be best served by such a view? There are signs that the Kremlin is already forcing the United States into the position of a defender of reactionary views, so that it can appear itself as the progressive champion of the idea of national independence". Preparations are being made in Moscow for such a campaign. Its politicians are proclaiming themselves to the world as the defenders of the complete liberty and independence of nations, and even within the Soviet Union they are trying to convince non-Russian peoples that they have practically acquired independence. We may assume that, as the conflict between East and West

increases in severity, Stalin will pursue this aim with greater determination than ever.

We will not even find it particularly hard to justify his policy of oppression to the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; he will allege that the isolationist policy of capitalist countries has compelled him to concentrate the power of all peoples in the Soviet Union against it and that complete independence could therefore not be realized. He will put the blame on "American imperialists and capitalists".

It is clear, therefore, that Stalin wishes to fight over political issues with the United States on a plane that must seem antiquated even to reactionary Russian imperialists. How will the American ambassador in Moscow who has no sympathy with the national claims of the non-Russian peoples reply to the chief of the government which has accepted him and which pretends to be constantly granting those claims? We speak surely not only in the interest of our peoples when we express the opinion that Mr. Kennan's views must be completely overhauled.

U.S.A.'s New Initiative in the Cold War

February 22, there was a conference at Hotel Washington in Washington, convened by two Congress men, O. K. Armstrong and Charles Kersten, to discuss the questions of "psychological strategy in the cold war" and the co-ordination of the interests of the various organisations. About 500 persons attended, diplomats, senators, members of Congress, as well as the delegates from the organisations of the peoples of eastern Europe and Soviet Union, in the United States.

The date was chosen with a purpose, for it was George Washington's birthday and in harmony with that the preamble to the resolution of the conference states: "the oppressed victims of communist tyranny so that they, at the proper time, overthrow the communist regimes and be liberated to establish in the universal spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, free and independent democratic governments based on the right of self-determination."

Besides a number of proposals to the American Congress to support the interests of the conference, its practical result was the forming of a permanent committee to co-ordinate and strengthen the efforts of all the organisations working against bolshevism in the cold war. For this purpose Congress has been requested to vote a 100 million dollar fund.

The participation of so many groups of the eastern emigrés and important representatives of American political life underlines the importance this conference may gain. The anti-communist forces among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, as is recognized now, are a political potential in the conflict with the Kremlin expansionist plans. The effects of Hitler's refusal to take this into consideration have been of the utmost use for the Western World. The intermediary part

played by the emigrés as spokesmen for their silenced peoples cannot be underestimated. Their readiness to take part at this conference, in spite of previous disappointment experienced through similar efforts made by the American Kerensky action can only be interpreted as their conviction that the integration of their struggle for freedom in the psychological strategy of the West is also an asset for the free world. In this the responsibility for such conferences begins to be more than a weapon in the cold war.

The Russian emigrés represented by the N.T.S. unfortunately failed to pass the responsibility test, in this conference too. They did not refrain from unfair means in order to set their stamp upon the meeting and its resolutions. Once more their behaviour shows how little the Russian emigrés are really interested in the actual realisation of the liberation of the peoples within the Soviet sphere.

Admiral Kirk's Difficult Task

The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (A.C.L.P.R.), founded in New York about two years ago and bearing a more or less private character, was at first welcomed by the legitimate representatives in exile of the said peoples, and great expectations were cherished. These expectations became more and more subdued when it was realised that the organisation under Mr. Eugene Lyons, was intended as a one-sided institution for the preservation of the unity of the Russian imperium. This fact became especially apparent at Munich and Stuttgart where the non-American Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia was convened and at which, thanks to the initiative of Eugene Lyons and Isaak Don Levine, the Russians took the leading part. The Council broke up because the representatives of the non-Russian peoples refused to co-operate on that basis.

In February 1952 Admiral Kirk accepted his election as president of the A.C.L.P.R.; the former president, Eugene Lyons, remaining as business director. The election of Admiral Kirk and his acceptance of the post are all the more remarkable as up to the beginning of the year he had been American ambassador in Moscow. It may be supposed that his two and a half years' experience of Soviet reality decided him to take over this post, a supposition that is corroborated by his first public utterance ("New York Times", February 11, 1952): "I had the opportunity to take a few journeys in the Soviet Union. What I saw, made me admire the peoples there and sympathise deeply with their ordeal of terrorism and suffering. It is my firm conviction that they are opposed to the Kremlin regime, hate its aggressive policy and yearn to be freed from the bolshevist yoke."

These words are made even more significant in that the existence of many peoples in the Soviet Union is clearly acknowledged. Thus there is every reason to support Admiral Kirk in his new work, in the hope that the

A.C.L.P.R. under his leadership will draw the natural sequence from this realisation and recognize the fundamental right of these peoples to full political self-determination. His words, however, are weakened, for us, by the fact that he only speaks of the yearning of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for liberation from the yoke of bolshevism, for that is only a half truth. There can be no freedom for the Soviet peoples without their national liberation.

Seen from the view point of the emigrés there are other items which Admiral Kirk might be expected to alter, in a fundamental reorganisation of the A.C.L.P.R.

That Eugene Lyons remains with the organisation arouses misgivings. As an American, he has not shown the freedom from bias and the neutrality that one would except of him, but has yielded entirely to Russian interests.

The wish for absolute equal rights for all the peoples in the Soviet Union must be expressed, too, in the name of the Committee, i.e. by changing its name from "Peoples of Russia" to "Peoples of the Soviet Union".

The recognition of the right of self-determination for these nations must not in any way be restricted and must include, in consequence, the secession from Russia. The political side must of necessity be taken into consideration in the work of the A.C.L.P.R. Until now those who demanded self-determination have been stamped and discredited as fascists, anti-democrats or collaborators.

The methods hitherto applied, especially by the Munich representative of the A.C.L.P.R. resp. the non-American Council, in order to demonstrate before the world the attendance of delegates from the non-Russian peoples, by creating sham delegations having no authorisation from their own people, must be abolished.

This only goes to prove how difficult the task is which Admiral Kirk faces. Still, these difficulties must never be

Contest Between two Opinions

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The appeal has much to say about the liberal and democratic traditions of the Russian people, or the "Peoples of Russia" (the same thing, as far as the authors are concerned). The American politicians wish in this way to impress on the Russian people that it (the latter) has never in all its history had anything in common with dictatorship and totalitarianism, but that it has always striven to be free and has always hated its oppressors. Although this is not at all in accordance with historical facts, we have no doubt that such propaganda is very useful when dealing with the masses; we go even so far as to say that it provides a very clever and practical approach to the Russian people. If any success at all is achieved, then it will be by such tactics. But one fundamental principle is lacking: if American politicians appeal to the democratic and liberal traditions of the Russian people, they must also have the courage to recognize as

made an excuse for wrong solutions. The A.C.L.P.R. has it in its hands to become an instrument of importance in American foreign policy, if it really appeals to the subjected peoples and refuses to allow itself to become a tool for Russian reactionaries and imperialist tendencies.

"Stop Thief"

You know the picture. The thief runs in front of the crowd pursuing him, crying louder than all the others, "stop thief". If you are not familiar with this picture read the Moscow newspapers of the first week in March and you will see what I mean.

The investigations into the mass murder of Polish officers in the woods of Katyn, carried on by a committee of the American House of Representatives, the result of which, up to now shows without doubt that the Poles were murdered by order of Moscow, has aroused some confusion there. That may be seen from the fact that Moscow is now forced to justify itself before the peoples of its imperium and to such an extent that it will make a sensation. In similar cases it has always been Moscow's method to remain silent.

The reason is not far to seek, for the structure of this empire is still loose and each of the nations within it has had its own Katyn. The appearance of this Polish Katyn on the scene might awaken undesirable and dangerous memories in them, especially as many of these common graves are still comparatively new. It is thus easy to understand that the Soviet press pays a good deal of attention to the Katyn subject. In some newspapers descriptions occupy 40% of the whole paper. In general, the old assertion that the Polish officers were shot by German troops is repeated, and that the object of the Americans in carrying on their investigations is to create a gulf between the Polish and Russian peoples. The text of the declaration which was

a basic condition of democracy that other peoples have the right to live in their own national states and to govern them as they think fit.

It is, of course, merely an accident that we should have mentioned Fuller, an Englishman, as the representative of the first, and American politicians as the representatives of the second idea. It does not mean that Great Britain acknowledges the right of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union to self-determination and that the U.S.A. supports the indivisibility of the Russian imperium. At present there are adherents of both ideas in all countries — they are not separated by political frontiers.

Differences are rapidly disappearing. We are of opinion that many of the signatories of the appeal will finally agree with General Fuller. We consider that such a development is nothing short of a historical necessity, because the second idea represents the genuine political interest of the free world and stands for the bloody and heroic fight of the non-Russian peoples

issued by the investigating committee set up by the Soviet Government is published once more.

At that time the investigations were carried on entirely by Russians, it must be remembered. In view of the results achieved by a commission set up by the German Government, co-operating with an international commission in 1943, the Soviet Government dare not call upon impartial foreign observers. Its present attitude confirms this fear and is probably the best proof for its consciousness of guilt.

A Stolen Ukrainian Author

From early times Ukrainian culture and literature has been on a higher level than the Russian. No sooner had Russian domination begun in the 17th century than the gagging of Ukrainian literature set in. In the 19th century even to print in Ukrainian was prohibited, all Ukrainian schools were closed and all authors forced to write in Russian, under the supervision of Russian censorship. Russia expected Ukraine to regard itself as part of Russia.

It was under such circumstances that the great Ukrainian, Mykola Hohol (Gogol) wrote, but his love for his native country could not be crushed. His books have not only strengthened the patriotism of his fellow-countrymen, but have also contributed to increasing their antipathy for Russia. Despite that fact, the Russians have no scruple in passing the great author off in other countries as a Russian.

The centenary of his death was celebrated all over Russia. In Moscow a monument was unveiled bearing the words, "In memory of the great master of words, Nikolay Vassilyevich Gogol, from the Government of the Soviet Union, March 2, 1952".

The Moscow "Izvestiya" of March 4, 1952 writes, "the Ukrainian people will ever be grateful to the great Russian

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in the U.S.S.R. Sooner or later the world will be convinced that our theses are not only true, but also politically practical, and that the Kremlin can be overcome only by disintegrating the Soviet Union into its natural components, i.e. into national states.

Sooner or later, too, the world will realize that a general rising of all classes against the Kremlin can and will be enthusiastically received only by non-Russians, for the simple reason that the non-Russian peoples will welcome such a rising, not only as rebellion against oppression by the political and social regime, but also as a means of attaining liberation as states from the yoke of Russia. One thing is needful if the Russian people is to support the fight of the West against Moscow, and that is the national motive. If war should break out, the Russians' first aim will be to win it and only then to replace the present regime by another. Such is the fundamental difference between the present attitude of the non-Russian and the Russian to the Kremlin.

Dostoyevsky's Prophecy of Bolshevism

By Dr. D. Donzow

The bolsheviks like Dostoyevsky, but detest his "Devils". In that novel one can see the brilliant picture of future bolshevism, taken by the "photographer" removed from the subject by 80 years. Bolshevism could be born only among a messianic people. "Every People", — says one of the "Devils", Shatov, — "is only a people so long as it has its own god and excludes all other gods, . . . so long as it believes that by its gods it will conquer and drive out of the world all other gods . . . Only one nation is "god-bearing", that is the Russian people". The nihilists of Dostoyevsky (the Shigalov's men) have assumed the role of the prophets of this "god-bearing people", the precursors of modern communists.

What system will the "Devils" build? Exactly that which exists now in U.S.S.R. "I am perplexed, said Shigalov, why my own data and my conclusion are a direct contradiction of the original idea with which I start. Starting from unlimited freedom I arrive at

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writer, Gogol for his delicate, fervent love of Ukraine, her sagas, songs and the enchantment of her scenery".

This quotation will find a permanent place in the records of commemorations and obituaries of famous artists, as it desguises the political motive at the back of the robbery of alien and national property in such a particularly arrogant and transparent way.

A Norm too for Literature

Articles are constantly appearing in the Russian papers accusing the non-Russian authors in the Soviet Union of neglecting to write on the life of the proletariat and of resorting to historical themes or village life instead. Their Russian opposites are then held up to the Estonian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Georgian and others, as models for they devote themselves in the main to the life of the proletariat.

The "Russian working classes, carried through the great Socialist October Revolution and they are the pillars of the State" is a stereotype saying in the Soviet press, and Soviet authors are supposed to glorify them in literature. Is there no proletariat in Ukraine Aserbaijan and other non-Russian lands in the Soviet Union?

There are industries in those countries, of course, even heavy industry but the writers among these peoples carefully avoid glorifying the way of life of that class of society which has, to a great extent, lost the peculiar stamp of its people and become russified like villagers.

That no writer can openly describe the anti-Russian feelings of his fellow-countrymen is clearly shown by the refusal of the intellectual classes among the non-Russian nations to depict the stage reached in the russifying process in order to please Moscow.

unlimited despotism". Dostoyevsky foresaw that logical accomplishment of every totalitarian revolution. Shigalov "suggests as a final solution of the (social) question, the division of mankind into two unequal parts. One tenth enjoys absolute liberty and unbounded power over the other nine-tenths. The others have to give up all individuality and become, so to speak, a herd and through boundless submission, will by a series of regenerations, attain primeval innocence, something like the Garden of Eden." They'll have to work, however, in this "earthly paradise" . . .

Is that not an exact photograph of the U.S.S.R.? Absolutism in political life. Equality — in social life. "In the herd there is bound to be equality . . . The one thing wanting in the world is discipline . . . We'll reduce all to a common denominator! Complete equality! Absolute loss of individuality. Nobody dares have more intellect than another! The "Devils" want technique, technicians and slaves in their state of the "earthly paradise", they do not want culture, they hate highly developed intellects. That is why they proclaim: — we'll stifle every genius in its infancy . . . The great intellects have always done more harm than good. They will be banished or put to death. Cicero will have his tongue cut out, Copernicus, will have his eyes put out, Shakespeare will be . . . The thirst for culture is an aristocratic thirst". "Slaves are bound to be equal!"

No one dares have more property than his neighbour. The desire of property the desire for family or love are noble, aristocratic desires. "We will destroy these desires! Do away with marriage, destroy the the right of inheritance!"

If nobody among the slaves dares have either more intellect than another, or more property, nobody dares surpass his neighbour by his moral standard. Therefore, "the whole essence of the Russian Revolution idea lies in the negation of honour. For a Russian a sense of honour is only a superfluous burden and it always has been a burden through all his history. The open right to dishonour will attract him more than anything", — says Dostoyevsky. "The essence of our creed" — says one of the "Devils" — "is the negation of honour. . . By the open advocacy of a right to be dishonourable, a Russian can be won more easily than by anything" . . . Therefore the "Devils" demand: "Abolish God! Lock the churches!" we will make use of drunkenness, slander, spying, we will make use of incredible corruption!"

The same are the principles of modern communist morality!

The "Devils", like modern communists, hate our spiritual, social and moral culture. They idolize materialism and hate also our notion of beauty. "The enthusiasm of the youth of to-day is a bright as in our age, — says old Verkovenky in the novel, "all that has happened is a change of aim, the replacing of one beauty by another.

The whole difficulty lies in the question which is more beautiful, Shakespeare or boots, Raphael or petroleum?" The "Devils" prefer boots and petroleum, the "earthly paradise", "the Sixtine Madonna is to their thinking inferior to a glass or a pencil". Pure materialism—that is their ideal, as that is the ideal of modern communists. Therefore Dostoyevsky imagines the coming communist Revolution as a revolution of "contemptible slaves, of the stinking depraved flunkies who will first climb a ladder with scissors in his hands, and slash to pieces the divine image of the great ideal in the name of equality, envy and digestion".

Vision! How many great ideals, which enlightened our Christian civilization for centuries have been annihilated by the bolshevik devils in the souls of the peoples."

Dostoyevsky foretold also the methods of bolshevik Revolution. "Shigalov is fanatical in his love for humanity but remember that Fournier, Cabet and Proudhon advocated a number of the most despotic measures", necessary to achieve socialism. Under these measures he suggests "slander and murder". "There will be an upheaval, there is going to be such an upset as the world has never seen before. . . Russia will be overwhelmed with darkness, the earth will weep for its old gods. . . That is what we need. Yes, it is a new religion coming to take the place of the old one".

Another measure for depriving nine-tenths of mankind of their freedom and transforming them into a herd — is "the education of whole generations": "one or two generations of vice are essential now; monstrous abject vice by which a man is transformed into a loathsome, cruel, egoistic reptile. That is what we need! And what's more, a little "fresh blood" that we may get accustomed to it" . . . And that is not all. The "Devils" suggest a new system of education, — "a system of spying; every member of society spies on the others and it's his duty to inform against them. All are slaves and equal in their slavery".

But Dostoyevsky foresaw more. He foresaw not only the slavery of the people under a regime of the "Devils", not only the dictatorship of a new caste, but that of one tyrant. He speaks in his novel about a time, when the new red aristocrats "would all suddenly begin eating one another"; foresaw the inevitable "purge" in the communist Party and the accession of the red Emperor. Not even a red aristocracy can be sufficiently despotic, but society, where equality rules, must have a despotic government. "What we want is one magnificent despotic will, like an idol, resting on something fundamental and external". This something fundamental, Shigalov's men found in the absolute power of one single dictator, a "pretender", a new red tsar, who "will appear" and whom they gave the name of "Dimitry Tsarevich", the name of one of the false tsars, "the peoples' Tsars", frequent in Russian history; the replacing of one tyrant by another is the sense of all Russian Revolutions. Now, this red tsar is ruler and despot of Russia.

One of Dostoyevsky's heroes says: "they, the communists, will devide his-

From behind the Iron Curtain

COSSACKIA

NEWS ITEMS

In the by-elections for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Victor Suslov was "elected" for the Cossack area. Suslov is the son of M. Suslov, a member of the Politbureau of the Communist Party (b) of S.S.S.R. It has become a tradition, this choosing of the sons of the great ones for Soviet offices; Stalin's son is an example.

Victor Suslov has never been in the land of the Cossacks, so could have no idea of the distress in the populations of the 2 Cossack places under his "charge". The son of another Soviet dignitary, V. Kusnezov, has been "elected" as delegate for the Stalingrad district.

The secretary of the Strawropol district, A. Vasiliyev, announced that during the past year 67 chairmen and 122 secretaries of the local Soviets had been relieved of their posts. At the same time, he said that the cattle breeding target had not been reached.

"Pravda" reports March 6, that owing to bad organization in cattle breeding, lack of fodder, as well as of competent persons, the stock of cattle in Cossackia has decreased considerably.

The Rostov paper, "Bolshevitzkaya Smyena", speaks of badly organized work among the Komsomols in the Rostov district. The Komsomols are not growing as they should, political education is almost nil, clubs and other political and cultural associations in more than one case are not functioning and no mass work has been undertaken.

"Literaturnaya Gazeta" reports "very serious misrepresentation of Soviet life" in recent books by Cossack writers such as A. Kolomyets "Odnoklassniki" and P. Voronko, "The Fairy ale of Sukhovoy".

EASTERN GERMANY

NEW FORCED LABOUR CAMPS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

(I.W.E.) Work has been completed at Neschwitz, near Bautzen, for the erection of a new forced labour camp for political prisoners. Originally the camp, with a capacity for 250 inmates,

tory into two parts: from the gorilla to the annihilation of God and from the annihilation of God."

— "To the gorilla?" — asks another.

It is a pity that these phenomena, the age of a red tsar and of gorillas, the age of Devils, which in his vision Dostoevsky saw 50 years before their birth, cannot be seen by many politicians of our time, when the Devils are now descending from the lucid phantasy of the writer to cover the earth with blood and shame.

was intended for criminals from the convict prison at Bautzen who belong to working squads.

A threefold barbed-wire fence encloses the camp at Neschwitz; Inside this, a yard from the last barbed-wire entanglement, is the "firing zone", so called because a prisoner putting foot on this strip of ground is shot without warning by the sentinels on the watch towers.

ARRESTS AND EXPROPRIATION

(I.W.E.) The Soviet Security Service (M.G.B.), and the People's Police have recently made numerous arrests. In many cases confiscation of property followed immediately after the arrests.

At Ludwigslust the proprietor of a sausage factory, Ernst Schulze, and his chief clerk, Grünwald, were arrested and taken to the Ludwigslust prison. The plant which employs 200 hands and clerks was expropriated for alleged mismanagement.

Accused of allowing "fascist doings" in their public house, the innkeepers, Heinrich Schwenke and Valter Gorka were arrested. 17-year-old Horst Wenk and 18-year-old Siegfried Betko of Dresden were taken into custody for being in possession of western newspapers.

Accused of connections with the West, a 32-year-old clerk in the secretariat of the Chamber of Technics, in East Berlin, Werner Buchert, was arrested on February 21st.

According to the People's Police station at Pardum, 11 persons from the town and its environs have been sent to prison for political reasons, among them the district secretary, Karl Sielov (S.E.D.), Günther Schibern and Georg Lenz.

HUNGARY

A MOSCOW COLONY?

"Pravda" published an article, March 1, 1952, by the secretary of the "Hungarian Workers' Party" who, in somewhat veiled language, reveals that Hungary is in a fair way to becoming a colony of Moscow's.

A few years ago Hungary was essentially an agrarian country. In 1938 agriculture took first place before industry in the revenue. Today industry's share is 10% higher than that of agriculture and is on the increase. In 1951 the total increased plan for industrial production was fulfilled with 103.4%, an increase in industrial production in one year of 30.1% compared with the previous year, the share of heavy industry being 37.7%.

Four times as many machines are now produced in Hungary as in 1938.

Decisive changes in the economy of the country are reflected in the complete revolution in foreign trade. In 1938 most of Hungary's exports consisted of raw materials and agricultural

produce, whereas in 1951 raw materials only amounted to 29%, while the export of half-finished and manufactured products accounted for 71%.

If we compare this active trade balance with the low living standard of the population, the growing shortage of foodstuffs and the lack of commodities, it is easy to see where the intensified production is going to. By the "complete revolution in foreign trade" what the population produces, as a result of "the most recent achievements of the stakanov worker and by the approved methods of economic directives as practised in the Soviet Union", flows into the Soviet Union.

Such methods call for no comment: workers denied the right of changing their place of work; ever-higher norms; severe punishment for the least negligence in the case of "free workers", faced with the rising number of convict labourers. Under this alien system the colonial character of the state administration is confirmed.

LITHUANIA

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS LIVES ON

"Pravda" of March 11, 1952 is concerned with the Lithuanian Academy of Science. The party organisation in the Academy is reproached with slackness in carrying out party directives in all branches of learning. "Party organisations do not adequately equip instructors for the fight against bourgeois nationalism: the connection between ideological work and the practical problems that face instructors is too vague. The party has not noticed cases of the gross distortion of the history of national liberation in Lithuania, appearing in some works by Professor V. Mikolayis, nor the admiration of Western science expressed by Y. Yurginis, of the Historical Institute.

The weaknesses in political training might have been overcome long ago, but neither the party bureau, nor the party committee in the Dzerzhinsky district, nor the municipal party bureau in Wilna have paid any attention to them."

In the seven years of occupation, the Soviets have seemingly failed to find suitable means of stamping out Lithuanian resistance to oppression.

SLOVAKIA

A SIGN OF RESISTANCE

SMRŤ KOMUNIZMU! SMRŤ ČSR!

SLÁVA SLOVENSKÉJ REPUBLIKE!

SLÁVA DR. ĎURČANSKÉMU!

SLOVENSKÁ PODZEMNÁ ARMADA!

Slovak refugees have brought to Austria a leaflets, the text of which in translations reads as follows:

"Death to Communism! Down with the C.S.R.! Hurrah for the Slovak Republic! Long live Dr. Duncansky!—Slovak Underground Army."

These leaflets were pasted up, chiefly on Communist party buildings, in many places in West and South Slovakia, in February this year. They were even to be found in trains and railway station waiting-rooms

NEW SYSTEM OF DISTRIBUTING RATIONS

A new system of distributing ration cards was introduced in Slovakia last December. Laborers now receive higher rations, pensioners and non-laborers get half their former rations while these are unchanged for employees in public service. These measures are intended to encourage people to work in mines and factories, so that the target for exports to the U.S.S.R. may be reached. When we bear in mind that there was no rationing at all in the Slovak Republic even in war-time, we can easily imagine the reception the new measures are enjoying, the increased irritation against the regime.

TELEPHONES TAPPED

Detectors have been installed in the central telephone office in Bratislava for the purpose of tapping the telephones of about 250 subscribers. Four members of the communist party have charge of this supervision which is extended to all conversation with people abroad, including communists.

TURKISTAN

RUSSIA'S ALIEN DOMINATION

While Russia on the one hand does all in her power to conceal from the outside world the fact that the non-Russians of the Soviet Union are still resisting what they feel is alien domination, on the other hand these forces of resistance are so powerful and general that the Soviet press is obliged to mention their existence.

On February 2, 1952 "Pravda" reported from Tashkent, the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan — one of the five Soviet republics into which Turkistan was cut up — at a plenary meeting of the communist party of the Uzbekistanian S.S.R. at which the speech of the secretary of the central committee, Niyazov, as well as the debate thereupon, were chiefly concerned with the backwardness of the work on the history of the Republic. "In the study and elucidation of the history of Uzbekistan serious errors and distortions have been tolerated. Instead of making a serious study of the historical problems of the day, a number of Uzbek historians devote themselves too much to the study of ancient history and culture, and allow the feudal past of Uzbekistan to be idealized."

"Fundamental errors crop up in the second volume of 'The History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan'. Historians have not given a scientific, marxist explanation of the reactionary monarchist

movements at the close of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, but present these movements as national liberation movements, which is contrary to historical fact."

So it would seem that the Usbek historians had the courage to present the struggle of their people against Russian domination as a positive fact and that the publishers were ready to print it.

The second reproach was directed against the interpretation given by historians of Russia's importance for the country in the second half of the 19th century, including the October Revolution, 1917. They neglect to stress that the "Anschluss" with Russia was an indication of progress, in contrast to England's policy which was to settle in this area and oppress the people, at the same time underestimating "the extreme importance of the socialist October Revolution and the part played by the Bolshevik party in founding, developing and strengthening the Usbekistanian S.S.R."

This blame is significant, for it hits not only the Usbek historian but also the ideological, political sinner, and the communist functionaries as well, and points to their having preserved some national consciousness even in face of Russian oppression.

Just before this the same reproaches had been put forward by the official Soviet press against the Kazakhstanian S.S.R.

U K R A I N E

THE RICH "HAVE NOTS"

A conference of the heads of the collective farms in the Kyiv district, which took place in February 1952 at Kyiv, and at which the district secretaries of the C.P., the chairmen of the executive committees and press men took part, deserves more publicity as it is a very significant mark of Soviet Russian kolkhoze policy. S. Hryza, chairman of the district executive committee, stated in his lecture that:

"The incomes of the collective farms have increased considerably in the year under review, making it possible to lace no less than 129 million roubles to the reserves. At the present time every seventh kolkhoze in the area is a millionaire. The average milk output per cow in our area was 2413 litres..."

Soviet economy calls the clear profit of the kolkhoze, which has been gained in the course of the business year but not distributed among the members, a "reserve". This capitalist "reserve" is used for state loans, investments and similar transactions.

Although comrade Hryza was in a position to give the exact quantity of milk per cow he could not state to what measure the kolkhoze worker was, on average, a participant in the yield of his work. Only such a comparison would give a clear picture. The kolkhoze itself, as owner of the reserve, is a millionaire, its individual members, however, have so little share

in the social products that they are forced to go about in ragged trousers. Their pride is supposed to be that their kolkhoze has swallowed so much of the output of their work that it has become a millionaire.

Herein lies the explanation of a typical Soviet paradox: the poorer the kolkhoze the better their workers live, the richer the coldhouse, the more the living standard of their labourers sinks.

It is a curse to be a Soviet collective millionaire.

CAPITALIST MANOEUVRES

In a recent article, the "Isvestiya" complained that many businesses in Ukraine were going their own "capitalist" ways, paying more attention to amassing profits than to fulfilling their duty to the State.

The volunteer fire-brigade in Lutsk, for instance, is less concerned with extinguishing fires than with making money by taking over repairs as a side-line. The beekeepers' association in Kherson has only 11 hives and its deliveries in 1951 did not exceed 60 cwt. of honey; but it managed to make a net profit of about 100,000 roubles on trade with honey, apples, potatoes, etc. It bought its goods from the local kolkhozes and sold them on free markets. The fishers' collective at Odessa prefers to make iron chains. A union in Voroshilovgrad, whose duty it is to equip special workers in municipal offices, has two retail shops. A bakers' union in Kovel devotes most of its time to repairing shoes. The fishers' union in Chernyiv, instead of catching fish, conducts a lively trade in postcards.

The "Isvestiya" does not say why these state concerns are driven to earn extra money.

MORE CENSURE FOR ARTISTS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Ukraine has launched a new storm of criticism against "bourgeois nationalism" in modern Ukrainian art and literature. The Moscow press paid great attention to speech by L. Melnikov, the secretary of the committee, in which Ukrainian writers, artists and composers were reproached with "serious faults and errors" in their work. He said:

"Our task now is to repair the damage before it goes any further, to wage constant war against every sign of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism, to educate our working people in the spirit of soviet patriotism and internationalism, in the spirit of indestructible friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union."

U K R A I N E

PAST AND PRESENT
(in German)

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Men of Liberation Movements:**Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky**

President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, was born at Rajec, North-West Slovakia, on December 18, 1906. He studied law and state administration at the Universities of Bratislava and Paris, after that he practised as a lawyer. Professor Durcansky was also a political writer. In the independent Slovak Republic he became professor of international law at the Slovak University in Bratislava and Minister for Foreign Affairs. At Ribbentrop's insistence he was obliged to resign in 1940. After the war he founded abroad the Slovak Action Committee which was renamed in 1949 Slovak Liberation Committee. At a staged trial in Bratislava he was condemned to death, in absentia, at the same time as Dr. Tiso, the President of the Slovak Republic. Dr. Durcansky has, with the dead President, Dr. Tiso, become symbolic for Slovak resistance against communist tyranny.

Official Announcements:**A Universal Declaration of Human Rights****Statement of the Slovak Liberation Committee**

The Communist regime in Slovakia has violated systematically and in a brutal way the stipulations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNO — 1948) during the year 1951, — says the Slovak Liberation Committee in its letter of the 28th January, 1952, sent to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

1. In contradiction to Article 9 of the Declaration, thousands of people more were deprived of their liberty and sent to concentration camps set up by the law of 25th October, 1948, concerning forced labour camps.

These concentrations camps have the character of slave labour and represent a kind of slavery, which contradicts Article 4 of the Declaration. People are sent there arbitrarily by decisions of the security or administrative authorities, even without court proceedings. They are being brutally maltreated there and tortured, in violation of Article 5 of the Declaration.

2. In violation of Article 10 of the Declaration all the correspondence reaching Slovakia from abroad, or sent from Slovakia abroad is subject to control, the people concerned are registered, exposed to persecution and even arrest.

4. Tens of thousands of people have been forced to abandon their homes in Slovak towns by the organs of the National security. At the end of June, 1951, over 11,000 people were deported from Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. They were given only a few hours to pack, having to leave their furniture behind, which was put at the disposal of arriving Czech Communists. This is another violation of Article 12 of the Declaration.

5. In violation of Article 15, the freedom of movement of the citizens is prohibited and punished in Slovakia. People are not allowed to change their occupation or place of domicile.

6. Non-Communists in Slovakia cannot obtain passports and exit visa. This is another violation of Article 13.

To leave Slovakia illegally is impossible, many barriers were introduced along the borders, especially at the border between Slovakia and Austria. The frontier guards apply barbed wire barriers and trained dogs against the Slovaks and are allowed to use their fire-arms at will. In consequence, hundreds of persons lost their lives in 1951 and thousands were sent to concentration camps. In fact Slovakia is a huge concentration camp today.

7. Special measures issued by the Communist regime aim at the dissolution of families. Children are being taken away from their parents. This is a violation of Article 16, Para 5 of the Declaration.

8. Property is being confiscated without compensation. In 1951, hundreds of thousands of peasants were brutally forced to join agricultural co-operatives, which were set up in order to create kolkhozes. Confiscation of property is a violation of Article 17 of the Declaration.

9. Freedom of worship is being prevented by force. Churches are being confiscated. With the use of force the Greek-Catholic Church was liquidated in Slovakia, the regime arbitrarily dismisses and installs Catholic dignitaries, im-

ABN-CORRESPONDENCE**A Red-Letter Day for Slovakia**

(March 14, 1959)

The 13th anniversary of the declaration of Slovakia's independence, March 14th, was celebrated by Slovakian exiles all over the free world. The Slovak Liberation Committees everywhere instituted commemoration ceremonies. To mention only a few: in London there was an imposing gathering at Caxton Hall on March 15th, where the chief speaker was the Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Igor Bazovsky. In Munich on March 13th at the Regina Palast Hotel, the commemoration festivity was addressed by representatives of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain. There, the chief speaker was Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, the Secretary General of the Central Committee of A.B.N. and Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee. Besides this meeting there were three others in Germany, arranged by the Slovak Liberation Committee. The Austrian celebrations took place at six different owns, the largest being the one in Salzburg. As a rule the chief speaker was the chairman of the regional groups of the Slovak Liberation Committee in Austria, Anton Maly.

Americans of Slovak descent held meetings in U.S.A. to demonstrate that the bond with Slovakian exiles and the homeland was unbroken. The day was also commemorated in Canada, South America and Australia.

In subjugated Slovakia itself the people were only able to remember in silence the happy days of their freedom and prosperity when Slovakia was an independent state.

**A Moscow Collaborator
Unmasked**

The Slovak Liberation Committee has issued a document in English and French, unmasking Hubert Ripka as a deserving Moscow collaborator. This Czech emigré politician is one of the chief promoters of the Czechoslovakian conception abroad and has great influence in the Czechoslovakian department of the radio station "Free Europe".

The different chapters of this publication are headed as follows: A Czech Representative; A Model Quisling; The Goebbel's of the Comintern; In Favour of Moscow's Imperialism; Opponent of Anti-Soviet Resistance; A Creature of the Red Protectorate Prague; Ripka against Marshall Plan; "We live and die with the U.S.S.R."; Communists worship the Collaborator.

**Slovak View of the Free Europe
Broadcasting Station**

A short time ago the views of the Slovak Liberation Committee on the "Free Europe" broadcasting station were published in English in London. A German version of this document has now appeared in Munich, entitled "Die Masken weg!" (Away with masks!) This publication voicing the views of the Slovak Liberation Committee has been long awaited with great interest.

"We are sure that this would alleviate the sufferings of these modern slaves and the United Nations would make a decisive step towards achieving their aims," the letter ends.

Russian Terror in Ukraine

By Ol Mart

Continued from the last issue

III

Russian Methods of Suppressing Ukrainian Insurgents

In their armed terrorist fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement and the Ukrainian people supporting it the Bolsheviks applied various means of terrorisation ranging from broad actions of a military character carried out by the army and police troops, to public murdering and torturing of Ukrainian insurgents and their relatives. At the times of their big operations against the U.P.A., the Bolsheviks did not cease systematically harassing and blockading Ukrainian villages and woods throughout the entire country. The Soviets gave this assignment to special M.G.B.-M.V.D. troops with full powers to murder any Ukrainian they pleased, rape the women and pillage the houses. The Ukrainians could write a big "Black Book" about despicable maltreatment, atrocious crimes, tortures and murders committed by these gangs of Soviet hangmen, a book no less terrifying than the accusations drawn up by the peoples of Europe against the German Nazis. They ravaged like ferocious beasts. It is impossible to speak without a feeling of boundless anger and indignation at their deeds. All their methods are a living mockery of "freedom from fear". And to instil this fear among the Ukrainian people it was necessary to apply "tested" sadistic methods. It was necessary to cut off hands with axes, to saw the bodies of captured insurgents in two, to strangle them with ropes and to burn them in locked houses, to bury them alive, and to slaughter whole families including women and small children. It was necessary to execute all this torturing in public and not to limit it to the torture-chambers of M.G.B. with its experienced "body-mechanics". In the village squares of Ukraine, captured Ukrainian insurgents were boiled and roasted alive, girls were violated in public, the wounded were summarily executed and the whole population of the "insurgent villages" were slaughtered systematically, until but a few were left in the ruins. Even the corpses and graves of the dead insurgents were dishonored by the Bolshevik beast in uniform. All this in order to "edify" the citizens of Soviet Ukraine and to compel them to obey the Soviet criminals.

Such was the Soviet terror in Ukraine at the time of big Soviet actions against the U.P.A. in 1945 and 1946 as described in the document mentioned above. But alarming news is now coming from Ukraine, that the Soviets have not ceased terrorising the Ukrainian people. Despite the fact that bacteriological warfare is forbidden by international law, it has constantly been used by the Bolsheviks in their warfare against the U.P.A. The Bolsheviks know that the Ukrainian underground is buying antitoxins on the black market; so the

Soviet agents began to sell poisoned injections in large quantities. The victims of these "injections" died in torture. Another method was spreading typhoid fever in the territory of the activities of the U.P.A. Still another method was infection with Siberian syphilis brought in by special units of Siberian N.K.V.D. The systematic pillaging and blockading of Ukrainian villages, especially in the Carpathian mountains was intended to cause large-scale hunger and starvation in order to force Ukrainian peasants into the much-hated collective farms. The Soviet-sponsored famine is not a new instrument of attaining economic and political ends. May we recall that, in the years 1932/33, some five million Ukrainians died of starvation? Apparently Moscow is now using the same device again in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, with the aim of collectivizing this territory, but also of exterminating the recalcitrant Ukrainians who support their U.P.A.

No Methods Too Foul

The methods of Soviet provocation used in the fight against the Ukrainian people surpass all description. The Bolsheviks have always laid special stress on placing their agent-provocateurs among the Ukrainian underground, aiming at its infiltration and disorganization from within. To dispel any possible doubts on the part of the U.P.A. counter-intelligence, the Bolsheviks organized "breakouts" from prison, "flights" from detention camps, etc. Another method was to send "rats" to the U.P.A. who claimed to be anti-Bolsheviks and who offered their services. They tried to gain the confidence of the U.P.A. by fair means and foul. A major of N.K.V.D. was admitted to the U.P.A. Trying to get the full confidence of the U.P.A. command, he "discovered" the network of minor Bolshevik agents within the ranks of the U.P.A., put them before the U.P.A. court-material and himself executed the death-sentence, hanging the condemned with his own hands. Of course, he was allowed to do so by the all-powerful N.K.V.D. which used him as its big "rat" in the ranks of the U.P.A. It revealed minor or ineffective "agents" in order to let its "rat" get a higher position in the ranks of the U.P.A. and its full confidence in his loyalty.

In 1947, another representative of the all-powerful N.K.V.D. ordered an agent-provocateur to kill M.V.D. major Anosov, a former Red partisan with many Soviet war decorations and chief of the M.V.D. department in the district administration, in order to secure him admittance to the dangerous insurgent group which was active in this district. Something similar took place in a village near Lviv, in 1946. One day, a "political prisoner" was brought into the building of the local Soviet and the village populace was asked to "recognize" the man. Nobody knew him. Asked about his name, the "pri-

soner" did not answer the questions at all. He was severely beaten by his guards two M.V.D. officers and four men, and the blood flowed from his many wounds. During the questioning, one of the officers put his pistol on the table. Suddenly, the "prisoner" seized the pistol from the table, shot down another officer and ran from the room. The ordered "chase" brought no results. The "prisoner" could not be found because the local populace gave him protection. He told the man who gave him shelter that he was an officer of the U.P.A. and asked him to contact the next group of the U.P.A. "Incidentally", the man who gave the "prisoner" shelter was a supporter of the U.P.A. and could manage the contact. But, despite all this performance in shooting down the M.V.D. officer, the new arrival was suspected and soon was revealed as an officer of M.V.D. sent to the U.P.A. with a special job. The whole performance with the shooting was organized by the M.V.D. in order to gain the necessary confidence of the local populace and to contact the U.P.A. group. But the captured agent-provocateur could not disclose whether the shot "officer" was really an M.V.D. officer who had to be shot for some higher reasons, or a political prisoner dressed up as an officer of the M.V.D.

The list of such provocations is endless. In 1947, at the time when the kolkhozniks of Eastern Ukraine paid mass visits to Western Ukraine to get some grain, potatoes, or vegetables the M.V.D. organized a gang in a Western-Ukrainian district. Disguised as Ukrainian insurgents, the members of this gang murdered the Eastern-Ukrainian "kolkhozniks" visiting Western Ukraine, but always saw that one, or two men from the kolkhoznik group escaped and told others about the dangers incurred by Ukrainian Insurgents. Disguised as kolkhozniks from Eastern-Ukraine, the members of the gang murdered Ukrainian peasants from Western Ukraine in order to implant hatred against the numerous visitors from the East. Thus, this agency of the Soviet power — the M.V.D., in its own double way tried to solve the perplexed Ukrainian question.

The Policy of Deportation

Soon the Bolsheviks realized that all tested Muscovite methods of terror had not been able to break Ukrainian resistance. They had only caused boundless hatred of the Soviet regime. The Ukrainian people continued to give their full support to the U.P.A. and affiliated organizations. Therefore, the Bolsheviks started their famous deportations of the Ukrainian population to the tundras of Siberia and wastes of Central Asia. Deportations are also an old Muscovite specialty often used by Russian rulers, to muzzle their opponents. Today Russia's deportation policy is guided by a consideration even more potent than the victim's political unreliability. A new great industrialization drive with the help of the vast quantities of factory equipment looted from Germany, Manchuria, etc. has greatly increased Russia's need of labor. To solve this problem, Russia is resorting to deportation on a scale hitherto un-

Open Letter

Editorial Notice: General Lev Prchala and Karel Locher, in the name of The Czech National Committee in London (a Czech organization which has been fighting the bolshevisation of Czechia ever since 1945), have published an open letter addressed to Major E. Beddington Behrens M.C., Chairman of the Central and Eastern European Movement, which deserves notice and should be brought to the knowledge of the general public.

The most striking thing about it is that these two prominent Czechs and their whole organization are contending so courageously against the imperialism of their own countrymen.

This is their letter verbatim.

Sir,

In your pamphlet "Basis for An Eastern European Policy" you stated rightly that: "European Union cannot be complete without the inclusion of the European countries behind the Iron Curtain". In paragraph one, page seven of your pamphlet, you declare that: "Europe cannot survive unless it is united. It can only be united on the basis of the moral and political principles which have made European civilisation. That means that every nation has the right to choose its own government and determine its own social structure without any outside interference".

We agree wholeheartedly with this principle which, in similar wording was already formulated in the Atlantic Charter and, as you certainly know accepted by the Western democracies and their great Eastern ally, Soviet Russia, in their common struggle for freedom and democracy in the Second World War. Unfortunately the powers which accepted this principle at the conference at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam (where the nations, whose fate was determined, were not represented) interfered with the social structure and right to choose their own govern-

ment of many Central and Eastern European nations.

Being firmly convinced that your intentions are absolutely honest, we take the liberty of asking you to bring into effect the strictly moral and political principles for which you are trying to fight, in order to avoid any confusion as to your real meaning and intentions in the minds of those to whom you are speaking.

In the foreword of your pamphlet you speak about countries behind the Iron Curtain, while in the first paragraph of the same pamphlet you speak about nations. To mix these two terms, without expressly stating that a nation has its national rights within its ethnographical boundaries, might be confusing.

According to your statement there are representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia in the European Movement. You rightly state that "European union cannot be complete without the inclusion of the European countries behind the Iron Curtain." We take the liberty of calling your attention to the fact that the following peoples are also living in their own countries behind the Iron Curtain: Estonians, Latvians,

known in the annals of history. It becomes an established adjunct of Russian police rule and is widely known under the name of "exile by administrative order". There is no legal procedure of any kind, no possibility of appeal. If the Soviet Police decided that you should be deported, you were roused from your bed in the night, and off you went to join an echelon of other such unfortunates, who, as in the times of Ivan the Terrible or Peter the "great", had "to repent their sins" as slave laborers working at gigantic projects of the Kremlin maniacs.

Resistance Still Strong

Soviet terror has not succeeded in breaking Ukrainian resistance. The U.P.A. has not ceased fighting to this very day and its final chapter is not yet written. This fight is a source of continuous comment by foreign observers. The Soviet authorities themselves have been repeatedly forced to admit the existence of the U.P.A. In a recent report by L.G. Melnikov, Stalin's "gauleiter" in Ukraine, it was stated that "socialist transformation of agriculture in Western Ukraine has been taking place amid a bitter struggle against the

"kulaks" and their agents, the remnants of Ukrainian nationalists". The Russian rulers could hardly, officially, be franker.

Today, when the world has a glimpse of Russian terrorist methods in Korea and when it begins to see the bolsheviks in their true colors, when it recognizes them as a clique of conspirators planning to overthrow world order and peace and to destroy the very foundations of ancient Christian civilization, there are still a great many people in the West who do not realize how much heroism, patriotism, self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of liberty is required to successfully wage a struggle, already in its sixth year since the end of the war, against the barbarism, which today has its breeding ground in the Kremlin and which plots the total destruction of the Western world.

But Ukraine, and other Central and Eastern European countries subjected and terrorised, are a warning to the West and a forecast of what is in store for it. Once the menace of Russian imperialism becomes a reality. It is a nightmare, but a nightmare which is to be taken with grim seriousness.

Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, etc.

According to the "moral and political principles which have made European civilisation", do these nations not have the right to choose their own government and to determine their own social structure? If not, of what sort then are the moral principles of which you are speaking? If they have the right, why then are they not represented in the European Movement? If the communists have the right to agitate in Western democratic countries for the overthrow of democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, why have not the nations enslaved by communism in Eastern Europe the right to agitate for their national freedom?

The representatives of Czechoslovakia in the European Movement, for which nation are they trying to obtain freedom? Do they speak for the Slovakian nation which, in 1939, took the very first opportunity to be liberated from Czechoslovakia? Or do they speak for the Hungarians who in 1919 were forcibly incorporated into Czechoslovakia, only for the bulk of them to be forcibly expelled from their native land in 1945? Or do they speak for the Carpathian Ukrainians to whom in 1919 Czech imperialists gave a solemn promise of autonomy which has never been kept, but instead found themselves seduced to Russia in 1945 without being asked whether they agreed to this bargain? Or do they perhaps speak for the Sudeten Germans who were forcibly incorporated into Czechoslovakia in 1919, and barbarously expelled from their native land by those very people from Czechoslovakia who are today speaking for the freedom and "right of every nation to choose its own government". There never has been a Czechoslovakian nation, and, consequently, nobody can speak on behalf of the Czechoslovakian nation.

One of the "Czechoslovak" delegates of your Conference, Mr. H. Ripka, broadcast from the London B.B.C. on November 7th, 1942, that: "The Russian Soviet State raised to greater heights than ever before the standard of civilisation, culture and living of the wide masses of the Soviet people." Is it now Mr. Ripka's intention to liberate the nations of Czechoslovakia from the high standards of civilisation introduced there with his assistance, by Soviet Russia?

For whom do the representatives of Poland speak? Which Poland do they represent? Do they represent the Poland which originated in 1918, and into which, against their will and by military force, were incorporated the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, do they represent these two nations? Or do they represent the Poland which was established — with the assistance of Generalissimo Stalin — in Potsdam in 1945, and, in consequence, do they also represent the eight million Germans who were expelled from this Poland?

For what do the representatives of Yugoslavia speak, and whom do they represent? The present Yugoslavia is a federal state of Slovenians, Croats, Montenegrans, Serbians and Macedonians.

Continued on Page 12

We Know the Truth, You Should Guarantee Freedom

Continued from Page 3

in this spirit, his voice would spread among our peoples like fire, without the aid of any floating transmitter. It would be heard in Minsk, Kyiv and Tashkent, and would shake the foundations of Muscovite despotism, and no Iron Curtain would avail to cut it off. But because our peoples are always referred to in the discriminating terms of "population of the U.S.S.R." or worse still, "Russian people", we grow suspicious and feel compelled to ask: Why do you hesitate to recognize our claim to freedom and to promise its realization? Is the reason really consideration for Kerensky and his like, whose favour you wish to preserve, even at the risk of embittering more than 100 millions of tortured men athirst for freedom? Are you actually planning once more to set the fox to guard the geese in Russia? Do you really mean to push our peoples back into brutal Russian tyranny after they practically won their liberty and independence in battle after the end of the First World War? We refuse to believe it, but your attitude puts our confidence in you to a severe test.

Allow us to put the matter plainly to responsible statesmen in the West. If you want to give us proof of friendship, show us clear and concrete plans

Open letter

Continued from Page 11

ians. Should this federation be abolished and the pre-war regime — which was neither democratic, nor nationally just — be re-established? Or should the present federal form of Yugoslavia be preserved and only its social structure changed? If the Yugoslavian representatives in your Conference are for national justice, why are there no Montenegrins or Macedonians among them? Are they perhaps not recognised as nations? It is up to the Montenegrins and Macedonians themselves to decide whether they are nations and whether they wish to be Serbians or not, but not for the Serbians to do so.

As you can see from this brief statement, your solemn proclamation of "the right of each nation to choose its own government", is in practice denied by the procedure of your organisation.

By the appointment of representatives of the various European states "although they are representatives without their states", you inevitably create in the minds of the oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain the impression that you do not struggle for the freedom of the enslaved nations, but for the freedom of the various Central and Eastern European imperialists to oppress other nations.

The only moral and political basis in the struggle for the freedom of European nations and the Union, is the unconditional recognition of the right of each nation to self-determination in its ethnographical boundaries.

This is the basic political principle for which we have been fighting. As you may observe, we have not the honour of being represented in your European Movement.

for the future. What Ukrainians, Turkestani, Georgians and all the other peoples in the U.S.S.R. desire to hear from you is not general phrases about justice and peace, still less about an illusory democratization of the Russian imperium, but above all the assurance that you are decided not to leave these peoples any longer in humiliating Russian slavery, no matter its colour. What a Slovakian or Croatian people hopes from you is not help in shaking off the bolshevist regime but the prospect of liberation from the national oppression to which they have been subject in states that were constructed on the basis of caprice and force. And every other people behind the Iron Curtain hopes to find your sympathy and support for its just national claims and elementary vital interests, so that the promise of the peaceful and happy cooperation of all peoples may be fulfilled.

Tell the Ukrainians, therefore, that you agree to their being no longer the booty of Moscow, but to their living their own lives in their own state; say the same to all other peoples in the U.S.S.R. who have proved for centuries and sealed with their blood their right to national independence. Assure Croats that their representatives will no longer be shot down in their "own" parliament and Slovaks that they need no longer live as fair game in their own state, but that these peoples will enjoy sovereignty. Promise all people on both sides of the Iron Curtain that they need have no fear for their natural and ethnically determined claims and that they will enjoy a life in freedom without having to sacrifice their na-

tional substance to favoured neighbours or without being treated badly in the interest of an antiquated power-policy.

This alone would provide a healthy foundation for European cooperation in future, in which all nations would share willingly and without suspicion. Let the dead past bury its dead. Break off unworthy connections with notorious traitors of their own peoples and secure the cooperation of their true representatives. Proclaim a concrete policy and no power in the world will prevent you from carrying it out. As long as you cannot decide to do so, your efforts will be barren and the success of your crusade doubtful.

Dr. D. B.

Churches Used as Storehouses

Communistic every day life in Lithuania — once called the Land of our Lady — is characterised by the following events which need no comment.

In Kaunas the tower of the 15th century church of Vytautas the Great was torn down. This Jesuit church being used as a storehouse in which belongings of the people exiled to Siberia are kept. The Pater Marjonas Church has been closed. The Church of the Ascension has been turned into a library, in fact only two of the twenty-one churches in Kaunas have been left.

Some girl students who tore down the proclamation of the closing of the churches and a few others who were onlookers of this scene, were condemned to six years' hard labour and sent to Siberia. A number of valuable monuments in the cemetery have been destroyed, while among those preserved, busts of Stalin and other leading communists have been set up. Religious liberty exists only on paper.

The 34th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Byelorussian National Republic

After the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution in the Russian Empire, the Byelorussians continued their struggle for the restoration of their independent State. The first all-Byelorussian Congress was convened in the capital city, Minsk, on December 18, 1917, at which 1872 delegates were present, representing the whole ethnic Byelorussian territory and also every class of the population. The Congress elected a Council of Elders, numbering 71 persons.

The bolshevists, displeased with the resolutions passed, sought to break up the meeting by every means; not succeeding in their purpose, they resorted to arms in order to scatter the delegates, December 30th 1917.

The Congress came together again, however, the next day and placed all authority in the hands of the Council of Elders, till the next general election. The Council at once appointed an executive committee which, on March 23, 1918, proclaimed the independence of the Byelorussian National Republic.

That driving out and scattering of the first all-Byelorussian Congress was significant for the bolshevist policy of

the future, for by means of unheard of terrorism they scattered and drove this people into the marshes of northern Europe and Asia and into the deserts of Central Asia. But this action was soon to turn back on its perpetrators. Armed revolts arose aiming at the liberation of Byelorussia from the bolshevist yoke.

The people yearn for the day when the defected occupation will end and the bolshevist hangmen and torturers will be hounded out, so that the proclamation of March 23, 1917 will come true.

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