

The West Steering a Fatal Course?

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moral support whatever . . . so as not to offend the hangmen of the Kremlin or to arouse the latter's suspicion that the freedom-loving West might really have some objection to the cruel tyranny of the Russians over these peoples.

I know that in this respect there are some laudable exceptions, which will always be gratefully remembered by the peoples enslaved by Russia. But the Western press and Western political circles as a whole uphold the attitude that actually the entire forcibly assimilated medley of peoples of the U.S.S.R. is populated by one people alone, the Russians, from the Elbe as far as Alaska and from the White Sea as far as Persia or Syria.

Does not this attitude remind one of Hitler's attitude towards Russia, both during his alliance with that country and also in his war against it? It is an established fact that, during Germany's war against Russia, Hitler refused to allow the nations in the East who, until a short time previously, had been independent to set up their independent states. And similarly, most of the politicians of the West refuse to allow any independent national states, such as Poland, Ukraine, etc., to be established, — not even on the ruins of Bolshevism. They even want to force the non-Russian emigrants to submit to Russian — "white" or national-socialist — rule. What is more, we know exactly what reasons prompt such an attitude towards the Russian problem on the part of certain leading circles. These circles prefer to see the decapitated peoples in the East, who have been robbed of their national elite and enslaved by Russia and whose national consciousness and patriotism have been crushed, — rather than free, nationally conscious nations, who remain loyal to the spirit of their culture and their political and national traditions.

Because such a national-socialist or some other kind of international medley of peoples, that is to say an unnational medley, would represent a heterogeneous mass incapable of putting up any resistance, — the desired booty under the guardianship of some international society or other . . . (sapienti sat!). For this reason, the above-mentioned circles decry every traditional national movement there as "Fascism", as "Falangism" and as a return to "Feudalism" . . . We know all this! And even so, we are convinced that this attitude on the part of certain circles in the West towards the problem of the inevitably approaching disintegration of the predatory Russian imperium would harm them more than us, both during the so-called peace and during the imminent war of the West with Russia.

It is stated in various memoirs of the last war that whilst the German troops in 1941 defeated the Russians and advanced into Ukraine, the Bolsheviks waited in fear for the restoration of the Ukrainian state to be proclaimed . . . When, after the capture of Lwiw, this proclamation however was not made, but, on the contrary, the proclamation of the Ukrainian State by the Ukrainian Nationalists was declared null and void by the Germans, the Bolsheviks shook their heads in surprise. "Yes, — they said — the Poles who in 1920 recognized the independence of Ukraine, have now claimed Galicia again for themselves. Or perhaps Hitler claims it as a legacy of the Habsburg monarchy. The proclamation of the Ukrainian State will no doubt take place after the capture of Kyiv" . . . But when this did not happen, either, and Hitler adopted a definitely anti-Ukrainian policy, the Bolsheviks were overjoyed. "It is now plain that Hitler has lost!" — they affirmed.

The American journalist, Lyons, when

asked, in the course of a conversation with an important German staff officer shortly after World War II, where in his opinion the defeat of Hitler was decided, replied "in Stalingrad". The German, however, retorted, "wrong, — in Kyiv, when the Germans hoisted the German Swastika there instead of the Ukrainian flag."

And, indeed, from then onwards Hitler's star began to wane. The revolt in Ukraine flared up and to a considerable extent helped to bring about the defeat of the German forces.

With or without a war, the collapse of the Russian imperium is as inevitable as the restoration of the completely independent states of Ukraine, Poland, Caucasia, Turkestan and Byelorussia, etc., — independent states and not "states" of the Gomulka, Kadar, Rakodiy, Anna Pauker or Tito type, namely satellites of the "new democratic Russia". And whether these national states are decried by pro-Rus-

sian circles in the West as "fascist" or "feudal", will be immaterial in this case. These nations will refuse to recognize the rule of any international mafia or of any red or white "democratic" Russia over their countries. The world and the West have entered the era of civil wars. The Occident, too, will not be spared this fate. If the Western powers wish to emerge from the third world war as the victor, they must seek the friendship not of the red or "democratic" Russians, but of the enslaved nations of the U.S.S.R. and must help them, at least morally, to overthrow and disintegrate the monstrous Russian imperium. In addition, the West must definitely rid itself of the influence of persons of the Fuchs' and Rosenbergs' types, if it does not want the latter, as future Western Lenins, Trotskys, Khrushchevs and Kaganovichs, to destroy its Christian culture and civilization.

For a Spiritual Renaissance of Europe

Marquis Valdeiglesias the guest of ABN in Munich

In October, 1957, Marquis Valdeiglesias, the Secretary-General of the European Centre for Documentation and Information, with its seat in Escorial, Spain, visited Germany for the purpose of preparing a conference, to take place in June, 1958. The Marquis also visited the headquarters of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) in Munich and had talks with the members of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. In addition, he granted an interview to the correspondent of "A.B.N. Correspondence", which took place on October 23, 1957, in the "Vier Jahreszeiten" Hotel in Munich.

In the course of this interview the following topics were discussed: 1) The purpose of the Marquis' visit to Germany; 2) The structure, aims, achievements and plans of the European Centre for Documentation and Information; 3) The agenda of the forthcoming conference in Escorial; 4) The possible convocation of a world congress of all anti-Bolshevik organizations for the purpose of adopting a common programme and coordinating their efforts to combat Muscovite (Russian) imperialism; 5) The policy of the governments of the Western world in view of the Red Russian Communist danger, and support for the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples; 6) The imperative need for a disintegration of the Soviet Union and the formation of national states on its ruins as a means of liquidating the Russian Bolshevik danger; 7) The importance of the A.B.N. activity in conjunction with the anti-Bolshevik world front; 8) The impression and opinion of Marquis Valdeiglesias of the role and achievements of A.B.N., as a result of the talks he had with the various representatives of the A.B.N.; 9) The imperative need for closer contact between the European Centre for Documentation and Information and the A.B.N.

We should, above all, like to stress the Marquis' opinion and conception of the present world situation and his concrete support of the aspirations of the subjugated peoples to establish their independence.

The idea of establishing a European Centre of Documentation and Information originated in Spain, as the result of the general conviction that the steady moral and ideological decline of Europe is already clearly evident. For this reason the primary aim of the European Centre is to rally all sound and effective forces for the purpose of accelerating the spiritual renaissance of Europe and unite them for the continuation of the uncompromising fight against Russian Bolshevik aggression. The Marquis explained that by a union of Europe he meant not only the West European countries but also the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain, including peoples within the borders of the present Soviet Union, that is to say all those countries which form a spiritual oneness with the Western world. He stressed the fact that the problem of Soviet Russian imperialism had been the subject of all the conferences of the

European Centre so far and ought to be discussed at all its conferences in the future, too.

At present, the Marquis sees the primary danger on the part of Moscow in its imperialism, which is based on the long-standing self-imagined mission of the "Third Rome", irrespective of whether this imperialism be "red" or "white". Marquis Valdeiglesias is convinced that the Western anti-Russian policy would be far more successful if the states of the Western world give unconditional moral support to the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples, instead of confining themselves to combatting the Communist ideology as such, since this Communist ideology is nothing but a camouflage for the Communist ultimate goal, the final conquest of the world.

The Marquis expressed his great admiration for the energy, perseverance and achievements of the A.B.N. He stressed, above all, the great significance of the steady expansion of its activity and of its achievements in the Far East and of its cooperation with the Latin-American bloc of nations.

On the Anniversary of Vietnam's Heroic Struggle

From a letter to the Central Committee of A.B.N.

On behalf of the APACL Vietnam Chapter and of the Quynh-Luu Day Organizing Committee, we wish to extend to you our heartfelt thanks for your message of support on the last Nov. 14 anniversary of the Quynh-Luu uprisings.

Your message is certainly of great encouragement to our freedom fighters both on this side and behind the bamboo curtain. It furthermore bears witness to the cooperation existing between anti-Communist organizations in the world. Such cooperation is essential to our common fight against the same enemy; we have to unite together against a united world-wide Communist front.

We hope that our cooperation will increase and last until final victory is achieved.

*Sincerely yours,
Trần-Tâm*

Serbs now Members of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) has admitted the Organization of the Serbian Nationalists (named after General Michailovic) as a member. The representative of this organization is General Vito, formerly the organized representative of General Michailovic in charge of the activity of the organization abroad.

Huge A.B.N. Demonstration in New York

On November 6, 1957, the "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)" held an impressive demonstration in New York. The American papers published detailed reports of this demonstration. The "New York Journal" of November 7, 1957, in an article entitled "Cops Twice Balk Anti-Red Pickets", wrote as follows:

"Some 80 police, mounted and afoot, twice turned back an unruly mob of anti-Russian pickets last night as they charged barricades outside the Soviet UN headquarters at Park Ave. and 68th st.

Hundreds showed up and paraded in the street as a reception was being held inside to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Some of the pickets wore what they termed uniforms of labor camp prisoners. They carried anti-Russian placards and hurled epithets at persons entering and leaving the building.

Carried Black Flag

At least seven times they surged through the lines, shouting angrily and throwing punches.

The first flare-up occurred when detectives forced their way into the line of march to take away a black flag, the carrying of which is a violation of the Administrative Code.

A spokesman for "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.", official sponsor of the demonstration, described the black flags as symbols of the starvation visited upon the Ukraine in 1932 when the Red government confiscated food supplies there.

Before the evening was over, five demonstrators were arrested and five policemen and another demonstrator slightly injured.

Another paper, the "Daily News", published a big three-column picture of this demonstration on the front page of its edition of November 7th. The picture shows policemen trying to push back the demonstrators, some of whom, as already mentioned above, are wearing the uniforms of concentration camp prisoners. Numerous banners are also to be seen, bearing English and Hungarian inscriptions and demanding the release of all political prisoners and support for the freedom of Ukraine, Hungary, Slovakia, the Baltic States and other countries. They exhort the citizens of America to draw a lesson from our experience and to beware of the Bolshevik world menace.

The paper writes as follows on its front page:

"The reaction of certain men on the street in New York to the Commie hoopla in Moscow was violent. The men — and women, too — were an unruly and noisy band of anti-Reds who picketed the Soviets' gala birthday party at their consulate on Park Ave. at 68th St. The police struggle to keep them behind barriers, but it is something of a losing battle. Three cops were slightly injured and nine persons were taken into custody, but only four of these were booked. Most of the 600 guests at the party are connected with the United Nations."

An Eyewitness Account

A representative of the "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Inc." has sent us the following account:

"On November 6th this year the Soviet delegation in the UN held a gala reception for guests at the Soviet Consulate at Park Avenue and 68th Street. The representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow on this occasion held a huge demonstration at which the demonstrators carried the national flags, the American flag and various

banners. The organizations of the Ukrainian liberation movement, together with the Committee of the United American-Ukrainian organizations and the branch-organization of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, were strongly represented at the demonstration. Next to the Ukrainian organization, the largest groups were the Hungarian and Kalmuck groups. A number of anti-Russian banners with anti-Communist slogans inscribed on them were carried by the demonstrators. The young people who are members of the Ukrainian Youth Organization SUMA played a very active part in the demonstration and had

taken photographs of the demonstration and got into conversation with the demonstrators. The number of active demonstrators amounted to about 700 persons, apart from the crowd which joined the demonstration. A Ukrainian women's choir sang patriotic songs during the demonstration and a large group of Hungarian men shouted in unison 'Freedom for Hungary, Freedom for Ukraine, Freedom for all the Subjugated Peoples!' This greatly impressed the radio reporters, in particular.

A big clash with the police occurred when the latter tried to remove the band of mourning fastened to the Hungarian flag. The American police



taken on the task of distributing leaflets. These leaflets were published by the "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.", and we are enclosing one of them. All the delegates of the UN who attended the Bolshevik reception were given leaflets, as were numerous passers-by, too. The young people who are members of the SUM all speak English very well and, together with students of the subjugated peoples, they explained the purpose of the demonstration and the leaflets to the public.

Various appeals and shouts of protest against the subjugation of the peoples were voiced by the demonstrators. A number of press-men and repor-

called for the mounted police to intervene, but women blocked the street with banners and a number of them lay down on the street.

The demonstrators hurled rotten eggs, tomatoes and bottles of ink at the Soviet Consulate. To the strains of the Kossuth March, which was sung by the Hungarian group, the demonstrators then moved away from the Soviet headquarters, which by this time was already protected by a strong cordon of police. The front of the consulate, adorned with rotten eggs, tomatoes and broken windows, was, indeed, an elevating sight.

Below we publish the text of the leaflets which were distributed during the demonstration.

The Struggle Goes On

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!

FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!

Today, the tyrants and despots in Moscow are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the crimes and murders they have committed and the enslavement they have enforced on nations and individuals. The date of November 7, 1917, is remembered as a sad, ominous and disastrous day. It was the day of evil's triumph! The demonic forces of destruction cultivated throughout centuries by the Russian empire on that day seized the power.

In forty years the forces of dictators, ruthless commissars and power-thirsty Communists have expanded tremendously. They have subjugated the peoples of Ukraine, Caucasia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Siberia, of the Baltic States, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia and Czechia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Albania, Croatia and Slovenia, and have enslaved the peoples of China, Mongolia, Tibet, North Korea and North Vietnam and of other countries, too.

The Communist criminals have murdered thousands of clergy of various Churches, have killed millions of farmers and workers, have starved and tortured them, and have liquidated hundreds of thousands of prisoners in the concentration camps. The record of these forty years is, in reality, so great that it does not need to be boasted! Thousands of men of learning of the non-Russian nations have been liquidated! Thousands of churches have been razed to the ground or desecrated! Great historical monuments of cultural value have been ransacked! Genocide (the extermination of whole nations) continues unabated. And now the master-criminals are preparing the conquest of the rest of the free world.

Freedom-loving peoples still exist inside the great prison of nations and struggle for their own national and individual liberation. They are active on both sides of the prison border; outside through their sovereign national governments, and inside through underground liberation movements and

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Forty Years of Slavery

On November 7th the U.S.S.R. celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik regime. The following figures represent the balance-sheet of Bolshevik achievements and profits:

There are 20 to 25 million slaves, most of whom are Ukrainians, incarcerated in the concentration camps of the U.S.S.R.;

during the forty years of Bolshevik rule 80 to 100 million persons have been arrested;

during these forty years 60 to 75 million persons have died in the U.S.S.R.

"La Nation Géorgienne", No. 18., Octobre 1957.

More detailed statistics from Ukrainian weekly "Shlach Peremohy", No. 44., November 1957.

From the 1917 revolution until April, 1956, about 88.22 million persons in the U.S.S.R. died an unnatural death (war, shot, starvation, deportation).

This fact can be ascertained on the strength of the following statistics:

1) In 1926 (according to the census of December 17, 1926) the population of the U.S.S.R., within the frontiers fixed on September 17, 1939, numbered 147 million.

2) Average annual increase in population for the years 1913, 1926, 1940, 1950 and 1955, per thousand persons, equals 17.6 million (1.76 per cent).

3) On the strength of these figures, the figure for the period of 29 years and 4 months, i. e. from December 17, 1926, to April 17, 1956, should be 98.86 million.

4) The increase in population during the 8 preceding years, i. e. from 1918 to 1926, at the rate of two million a year (in 1913 the population of Russia numbered 139.3 million) = 16 million.

5) Population figures for the occupied territories after World War II: West Ukraine approximately 8 million; Bessarabia and North Bukovina 1,565 thousand; Carpatho-Ukraine 752 thousand; Lithuania 2.9 million; Latvia 2 million; Esthonia 1.2 million; West Byelorussian territories 3.4 million; without East Prussia with Königsberg 26.56 million.

6) On the strength of these figures, the population of the Soviet Union on April 17, 1956, should have numbered: 147 million, according to the census of December 17, 1956, + 98.86 million, the increase from 1926 to 1956, + 16 million, the increase for 1918 to 1926, + 26.56 million, population figure for occupied territories, = a total of 288.42 million.

7) According to official statistics, the population of the Soviet Union in April 1956 numbered 200.2 million.

8) Thus, 88.22 million persons must have died an unnatural death in the U.S.S.R.

L. Lysenko

List of books used for this article:

- 1) "National Economy of the U.S.S.R. in 1956. Statistical Yearbook." Political State Edition, 1957, p. 17.
- 2) Ibid., p. 69.
- 3) Ibid., p. 17.
- 4) Great Soviet Encyclopedia, Moscow, 1947, p. 1810.
- 5) T. Cherdantsev, "Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R." Moscow, 1954, pp. 140, 150, 162.
- 6) Andrzej Marjanski, "Ludnosć swiata w liczbach" (World Population Statistics), Warsaw, 1955, p. 91.
- 7) "National Economy of the U.S.S.R. in 1956," loc. cit., p. 17.

The Dutch Support A.B.N.

The President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, and the President of the Peoples' Council of the same organization, Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, together with the A.B.N. representative for Holland, recently arranged a series of meetings with the representatives of the Dutch anti-Bolshevik organization, "Stichting Aktivering Geestelijke Weerbaarheid — A.G.W." ("The Activity of Spiritual Resistance Forces"), Mr. Y. Fonteyn, Secretary-General of the organization, its President, Mr. Reyer, Mr. Visser a member of the executive committee of the organization, and various other members. The purpose of these meetings, which were held at The Hague from October 27 to 30th, 1957, was to discuss the question of future membership of the anti-Communist world organization.

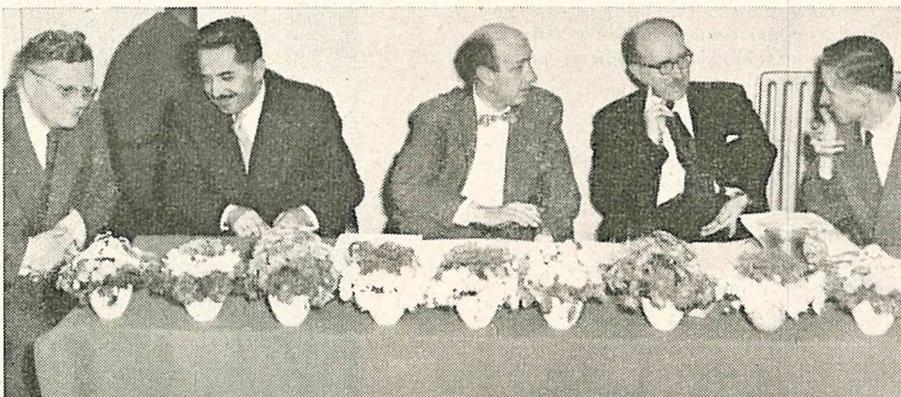
During the meetings, which were organized by the A.G.W. together with various prominent Dutch-

the present policy of containment with regard to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain must be replaced completely by an active liberation policy; for this reason the cooperation between the A.B.N. and the A.G.W. organizations is indispensable as a contribution to the formation of an anti-Communist front of the whole world.

On the basis of the above conclusions, the A.B.N. and the A.G.W. have decided that from now onwards they will fight shoulder to shoulder against the Russian imperialism that now appears under the guise of Communism.

A joint appeal to the United Nations

On October 31, 1957, M. J. Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., and Mr. Y. Fonteyn, Secretary-General of the A.G.W., sent the following telegram to the United Nations from The Hague:



The Presidium of the "Stichting Aktivering Geestelijke Weerbaarheid" with the A.B.N. Delegation at The Hague.

men of The Hague, Mr. Stetzko, on October 30th, 1957, submitted a report on "The political situation in the world and the national liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Moscow." On this occasion Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky also held a speech on the cultural and economic situation. Amongst those who attended the meetings were the chairman of the "Ukrainian Association" in Holland, Colonel Semyrozum, and also Esthonian, Latvian, Hungarian and other representatives.

A press conference gave the Dutch journalists an opportunity to get information on various problems from the representatives of the A.B.N.

On October 31, 1957, the Dutch press published the following report:

"The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) and the Stichting Aktivering Geestelijke Weerbaarheid (A.G.W.), after having discussed the general political situation in the world which has been caused by the Russian imperialistic longing for domination and the attitude of the free world towards the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, issued the following statement:

The formation of one united front between the peoples of the free world and the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow is absolutely imperative, since otherwise no effective resistance is possible against Moscow's plot to destroy completely the spiritual values and achievements of freedom-loving mankind;

the historical development of Russian imperialism is the cause of the Communist endeavour to rule the whole world;

the anti-Communist world front will be successful if

a) spiritual values become of more decisive importance for the peaceful living together of the peoples of the world;

b) the disintegration of the Russian empire and the restoration of the national independence of all peoples within their ethnographical areas become the principle aim;

c) the free world morally and materially supports the national liberation movements of all the peoples behind the Iron Curtain;

it is not right to try to combat Communism by recognizing and supporting the so-called national Communist regimes:

"The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Organization for the Activity of Spiritual Resistance Forces, gathered at a meeting at The Hague, urgently request that the necessary steps be taken for the purpose of liberating the peoples subjugated by Moscow."

The Struggle Goes On

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passive resistance. The struggle goes on for the freedom of man's mind, for religious beliefs, for individual dignity and national well-being. Amongst the liberation movements of the enslaved nations the strongest is undoubtedly the ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS, which comprises the national forces of most of the countries of the Russian empire.

The time is now ripe for the free world to unite in a common front against Communist tyranny and Russian imperialism! The United States should again take the lead in starting this great world-crucade against the forces of evil! This movement has already begun to advance. Asian nations, Latin American nations, West European nations, all are uniting in alliances! Now is the time for the free nations to give effective support to the liberation forces behind the Iron Curtain: to all the nations fighting for independence and freedom from the Russian Communist yoke!

It is time to show the Kremlin masters that their unchecked expansion aims are coming to an end!

Freedom for All! Justice for All! Death to Tyrants!

Freedom-loving Peoples and Individuals of the Whole World Unite in the Struggle Against Russian Imperialism for the Freedom of Nations and Humanity!

Let us organize one strong united anti-Communist front of all freedom-loving peoples! Let us restore and re-establish the free and independent nations on the ruins of the Russian Communist empire!

American Friends of the
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.
Ukrainian Branch of N.Y.C.

November, 1957.

The Omnipotence of the Party Dictatorship

The Reasons behind the Latest Developments in the Kremlin

The Soviet satellite "Sputnik" has seriously alarmed the free world, inasmuch as it has shown that the U.S.S.R. has nearly attained equality with the free world in the technical field.

There can be no doubt about the fact that the further development of the "Sputnik" will have a certain military significance. In view of this equality in armament, which makes itself felt in particular as regards the so-called modern weapons, the free world is faced by the acute alternative of either leaving the already actual superiority as regards classical weapons to Russia as well as the superiority in long-distance rocket weapons, which is likely to be attained by that country in the near future, and of continuing to spurn the invincible national revolutionary forces of the peoples subjugated by Russia, or of setting its hopes precisely on these anti-Bolshevist independence aims and thus winning over to its own side the most important factor in the future final fight against Russia. There can be no denying the fact that the attention of the whole world centres round the problem of the subjugated nations and that this is, in the first place, the question at issue in the competition between the Major Powers. Does not the problem of the so-called "German Democratic Republic" also come under this heading?

Khrushchev endeavours to act according to these facts by resorting to cunning tactics. He understands the present political situation only too well and is trying to counteract the pressure of the national freedom aims of the non-Russian peoples and of their social fight against unnatural Communism by a fictitious "de-Stalinisation," in order to postpone the final settlement by illusory concessions. Stalin, and not his associates, is to bear the whole blame for the crimes committed.

The Hungarian revolution, however, was not a result of new "liberal" tactics on the part of Moscow; on the contrary, the recent tactics adopted by the Kremlin were occasioned by the growing danger of a revolt in various countries. In any case it is certain that the invincible fight of the peoples enslaved by Russia for their national liberation undoubtedly plays an important part amongst the various reasons for Khrushchev's zigzag policy. So-called National Communism was to become a means to preserving Soviet Russia's undermined supremacy in Poland or Yugoslavia or in Hungary, too, with Nagy's help (if it had not already been too late).

Ukraine (and other countries previously occupied by Russia) already experienced this phase of National Communism in the 1920's; the end of this phase consisted in the physical extermination of all the Ukrainian Communists who had regarded Communism not as a Russian imperialistic disguise, but as a system for the good of the working masses, and were disappointed in this respect. There is no international Communism in the true sense; all the Communist parties are agencies of Russia, and the alleged international Communism is nothing but a Russian National Communism, which fosters the expansion of the Russian imperium so as to include the whole world.

Nor is this fact in any way altered by the present struggle for supremacy in the Kremlin, for it is not a question of some new ideology or of the "de-Stalinisation" of political life, but, among other things, of thrusting the entire blame for the genocides committed together with Stalin onto Stalin, Molotov or Malenkov personally, in order to pave the way for a new idol, — namely for Khrushchev, who apparently had the courage to deprive Stalin of his godhood. Incidentally, the overthrow of the Molotov-Malenkov-Zhukov cliques means the exclusion from the Praesidium of a few thinking men who seemed a menace to the consolidation of Khrushchev's absolute rule.

Futile Hopes

It would be a grave mistake to imagine that the dismissal of these men from office might strengthen the peace course externally and make a "democratization" internally possible. Why? — The question at issue in this case was the central-

ization of the Communist Party, the absolute rule of one of two of the most powerful tyrants — either Khrushchev or, as seemed the case until a short time ago, Zhukov. Why should the Communist Party of the Soviet Union become weaker if its internal party differences for the time being cease? Why should it be more favourable for the West if Khrushchev no longer has any rivals in the Politbureau?

There are no ideological differences between Khrushchev and the opponents he has overcome — Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, etc., nor between Khrushchev and Marshal Zhukov. In principle they are all Russian Communists. Indeed, is there a single one amongst them who would like to liquidate the Bolshevik system or who has not aimed to start or helped to prepare a Communist world revolution or an aggressive war of conquest? It is certainly true that the influence of the secret state police has decreased since Beria's downfall, whilst the influence of the generals has increased. But this fact is not of any fundamental importance.

"We are all Stalinists"

was what Khrushchev himself affirmed on January 18, 1957, at a reception in the Chinese Embassy. The differences in the struggle for power in the Kremlin were and are of a purely tactical, for the most part personal, but never of an ideological character. The question at issue is how the Russian imperium is to be preserved and how the national resistance movements are to be liquidated, — whether by a frontal attack (according to Molotov and Kaganovich) or by a roundabout method involving fictitious concessions (according to Khrushchev and Mikoyan). In principle they all revert to Lenin's so-called "New Economic Policy", for all his successors and imitators have learnt from him for all time that there are situations in which one should temporarily retreat in order to be able to deal a harder blow later on, — "one step backwards and then two steps forwards."

Furthermore, to return to Zhukov, the Soviet general officers are by no means synonymous with the Soviet Army; the former are merely prominent Party men in uniform, who have their own special claims to power, but it is immaterial in this respect whether a marshal is by profession a regimental commander, as was Zhukov until recently, or a disguised civilian like Bulganin. The entire leading class of the Soviet Army consists exclusively of Communist Party members and almost exclusively of Russians or of renegades who actually consider themselves to be Russians, as for instance Timochenko or Rokossovsky. But every army in the world, even the Soviet Army, consists for the most part not of generals and staff officers, but of the rank and file; and the rank and file of the Soviet Army consists by well over half of non-Russians, whose national aims have nothing whatever to do with the ambitions of individual marshals.

The Economic System in the Service of the Lust for Aggression

No Soviet Russian general can ever become a Russian Bonaparte, for Bonaparte had the French national army on his side, whereas the Soviet Army consists by well over half of a non-Russian and anti-Russian rank and file, who are only held together by inhuman discipline and the terrorist methods of the secret police. And, incidentally, why this hope of a Russian Bonaparte, — this would also mean the overthrow of at least this remainder of Europe which is still free!

Whether a civilian or a Party member in uniform, a Khrushchev or a Zhukov, rules in the Kremlin will not in any way change the imperialistic policy of aggression against the West, since the entire Soviet domestic policy is directed to future aggressions. Indeed, this was openly admitted by Khrushchev, as can be read in the Moscow "Isvestija" of June 4, 1957: "Abroad one says nowadays: 'the Russians obviously had military and strategic aims

in mind when they decided to reorganize their industrial administration, since a decentralization of the industrial administration promises greater security for further independent production on the part of the economic regions, should several individual regions be destroyed.' If the statesmen of the bourgeoisie interpret our reform in this way, we do not wish to contradict them." This decentralization is connected with the modern atomic and long-distance rocket-weapons armament.

In this respect we must not forget the following facts: "Russia now regarded the United States as a new enemy who might attack the unprotected northern girdle zone of the U.S.S.R. from the air via the Arctic Circle. In addition, the system of alliances and of military bases in Europe, Africa, South Asia (Pakistan) and in the Far East (in Japan, on the Philippines and Formosa) enabled the United States to reach the southern girdle zones, too" ("Ostprobleme", No. 25). Alaska (Behring Straits) forms the border between America and Siberia. Soviet and American frontier troops are stationed on the Diomedes Islands in Behring Straits, only two kilometers away from each other. If we take long-distance bombers with atomic and hydrogen bombs into consideration, then the new economic policy of decentralization in the Kremlin becomes perfectly clear to us. The Kremlin's aim is to keep pace with the times as regards the latest technical means of war and to adjust itself to modern warfare.

Consequently, all allegedly purely economic reforms in the U.S.S.R. are subordinated to strategic aims. The preferential development of the war industry and thus of the entire heavy industry to the disadvantage of the light industry and the production of consumption goods continues and will cause the Soviet regime more and more difficulties. But, nevertheless, these difficulties are relatively insignificant compared to the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Union, — the national problem which so far no imperialistic tyranny has solved nor will solve in the future. It is an undeniable fact that Khrushchev's clique is terribly afraid of national freedom movements and even tries to make up to them. And this is precisely the ground on which Soviet Communism and Russian imperialism can be successfully fought and must be overcome.

In this respect what happened to Zhukov is not particularly important.

The General Officers are servile to the Party

What happens in the Kremlin can only be explained on the basis of the Russian historic mentality. The Russians long for only one dictator, for a single symbol, for one idol. Never in all their history have the Russians had a free order of society. Without a tyrant who steers all in one direction, the imperium cannot be preserved. The collective dictatorship is for the Russians a contradictio in adjecto, a contradiction in itself. Sooner or later a one-man dictatorship will have to be restored. Without a mono-party, namely a factionless leadership and one despot alone, the regime and the peoples' prison cannot be held together. The rank and file of the army can only be kept under control and discipline by the terrorism of the Party and the M.V.D. The controlling function of the M.V.D. continues as before to extend to the army, too. In no stage of the conflict in the Kremlin was the political authority of the Party within the army ever questioned, but, on the other hand, confirmed again and again. It is a well-known fact that the army has a very high percentage of Party members as regards the officers' corps, and practically all the high-ranking commanders are Party members.

"The insistence of the military on the release of their former leaders such as Blucher and Tuchatchevsky for war and state historiography does not necessarily spring from anti-Party feelings. Apart from purely rational reasons, it seems that the intention to show and emphasize more clearly than was possible in Stalin's day the services rendered by the Red Army in establishing the Soviet state

and the so-called consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, also plays a part in this respect. The Soviet Army officers are legitimately interested in producing evidence that during the epoch of the Bolshevik revolution there were no Party traitors but loyal Communists at the head of the fighting forces" ("Ostprobleme", No. 25). And this is of such importance to the general officers because they became powerful through the Communist Party, and it is only through them and the M.V.D. that terrorism over the peoples and the non-Russian rank and file of the Soviet Army can be maintained. The Party as the ruling power consists of a majority of Russians as members, the army of a majority of non-Russians as rank and file. No Russian dictator can retain his power without the Party and the M.V.D. Under no circumstances can he rely on the army, that is to say on the majority of the non-Russian soldiers. Thus, no dictator is able to rule without the Party and the M.V.D. There is a conflict between the army and the Party, but no conflict between the general officers and the Party. Or, to put it more correctly, there is a conflict between the non-Russians in the army and the Russians who rule the Party and the general officers. The corps of the general officers is not and never was united. Zhukov was not a recognized political leader of the general officers. There were personal conflicts among the generals, too. Each of the most important Party leaders had his followers amongst the generals or marshals, and vice versa. There was never a united political attitude amongst the general officers, as there has been in recent times in the Praesidium of the Party. The Party leaders have played off the marshals and generals against each other. Zhukov had several opponents, with Konev at their head. Zhukov was the most prominent, but not the only person who had the right to decide in the army. The game was played in the Praesidium of the Party as the forum which decides all matters.

The Failure of Collective Leadership

Zhukov's most prominent opponents were to be found amongst the acting Ministers in the Ministry of Defence. It was only with the help of the Party that Zhukov could assert himself, for all the other marshals likewise owe their influence and their importance to the Party. The Party holds the key-position for high-ranking military persons, too. And it is thus always a mistake to overlook these facts.

Thus, Zhukov was overthrown because he had no decisive position and power in the Party.

But it is not important who exercises the one-man dictatorship, which is only conceivable in the closest contact with the Party and the M.V.D. The U.S.S.R. is a colonial imperium, which was not preserved by a multi-national army, but by the M.V.D. and the Party. But since Party membership is the decisive factor in every case, sole rulership was in the end bound to fall to the ruler of the Party system, the astute Khrushchev. But it is not yet certain whether Khrushchev has emerged from the clique conflicts as the final victor. Most probably in the course of time some other personality will advance to the top position, who has a less criminal past, but is equally brutal and criminal by nature. It looks very much as if this person will be a member of the Secretariat of the Party and not only of the Praesidium, since the entire power is at present once more concentrated in the Secretariat.

The Russian colonial empire will not be destroyed by court-revolutions and secret clique conflicts, but by the open fight of the nations subjugated by Russia, namely by *national liberation revolutions*. In the background of the struggle for power in the Kremlin there stands, like the writing on the wall, the national fight for freedom of our peoples, which presents the Kremlin leaders with problems that cannot be solved, thus aggravating differences of opinion as to how to solve the problems in the field of foreign and home policy. The world-expansion aims of Russian imperialism and its totalitarian character demand, in principle, a concentration and centralization of the power. The strongest expression of this power is a one-man dictatorship. The system of the so-called collective leadership has in Moscow once

again proved incapable of functioning satisfactorily. And these facts shed light on the real meaning of recent events. They are only the function and the consequence of the ever-increasing pressure of the fight for freedom of our peoples against the Russian colonial empire and the unnatural Communist system. The internal differences and disputes will continue to increase more and more, particularly in the national sphere, since — and we must bear this fact in mind — there are 80 mil-

lion Russians against 120 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R. and 90 million in the satellite countries. Will the West have the courage to support the national fight for freedom of these non-Russians who number over 200 million?

In its own interests we demand that it should abandon its fatal containment and coexistence policy at last and adopt an active liberation policy as the only way to avoid an atomic war and crush the enemy of the world. D. F. Brookman

A Western Estimate of Internal Conditions in the Soviet Union

In the speech which he delivered at the first session of the new German parliament, Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer also commented on the external political situation. He was quite right in affirming that the free world is endangered by the Soviet Union and that unity, common action and cooperation between the free peoples are urgently necessary.

Although he rightly assessed the international situation, his estimate of internal conditions in the Soviet Union was in part wrong. The German Chancellor commented on the situation as follows: "The Soviet Union is this year celebrating the 40th anniversary of its existence. There is no doubt about the fact that — according to the news and information we have received — Soviet Russian totalitarianism has succeeded in depriving the peoples, who number 200 million, of their own will and the conviction of their own strength and in amalgamating them in one mass which can easily be moulded according to the will of the dictatorial forces. The 40 years' domination of violence has exterminated all expression of will in the Russian people; the rulers in the Kremlin have succeeded in directing these giant masses to aims belonging both to Communist ideology and Pan-Slavism."

Anyone who studies the development of events in the Soviet Union is bound to admit that the present processes in the Soviet Union disprove the above statements made by Chancellor Adenauer. Thousands of facts which show what the life of the population is like under the Soviets, prove that, in spite of the ruthless terrorism of Stalin's epoch, Soviet rule has in no way succeeded in liquidating criticism and free thought amongst the masses. Now that terrorism has been slightly relaxed, the opposition among the masses is even more noticeable. This applies in particular to intellectual circles and to youth. And this fact is clearly proved not only by the participants in the

Youth Festival in Moscow, but also by the Soviet press itself.

In describing the population under Soviet rule as slaves without any will of their own, Adenauer makes the same mistake that has been made by many others, who propagate the theory that the East European peoples, especially the "Russians", (i. e. all Slavs who belong to the U.S.S.R.) who have lived as slaves for centuries, are thus accustomed to every form of enslavement (because they do not know the meaning of freedom) and are, therefore, perhaps not so eager to live in freedom. This statement is wrong. And how wrong it is can be seen from the revolution of 1917 and the long armed struggle of the Ukrainian and other peoples subjugated by Moscow for their independence and the freedom of the individual; this armed struggle for independence was continued in various forms until the 1950's and claimed millions of victims.

We should like to point out that a stagnation in action does not imply a liquidation of the will of the subjugated peoples which aims to establish independent national rule for all the peoples concerned. It is but a mere interval after the recent massacre.

It is a generally known fact that there are various nations in the Soviet Union. And the fact that the Ukrainian and other peoples that were subjugated by the Red Russians waged war against the Red Russians usurpers for years (even Ukrainian Communists were liquidated in the subsequent years after the revolution) is in no way a mere coincidence. It is true that all these non-Russian peoples have been obliged to endure the pressure of Russification. But the Red Russian occupants have not succeeded in Russifying the subjugated peoples. And Russian domination will be overthrown in the end, when the opportunity for the subjugated peoples to liberate themselves comes.

A.F.A.B.N. at Work

American Friends of A.B.N. preparing a Congress in U.S.A.

According to information received from the Secretary of the Presidium of the organization A.F.A.B.N., Inc., in Cleveland (American Friends of A.B.N.), a conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., on October 5, 1957, in order to discuss plans for the A.F.A.B.N. Congress which is to be held in New York in April, 1958.

Sincere greetings were sent to the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, by the members of the conference.

In the course of the conference, which was attended by 52 representatives of the Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Croat, Kossak, Latvian, Slovene and Ukrainian sections of the A.F.A.B.N., a detailed programme was drawn up for the forthcoming Congress.

The Congress is to last two days, with two plenary sessions. In addition, a press conference and a conference of men of learning, as

well as an exhibition of material of the fight for freedom (illegal literature, uniforms and weapons of the partisans) of all the nations of the A.F.A.B.N., are also to be held. A banquet will also take place at which speeches will be held by prominent persons.

It is intended to issue a special declaration and manifesto during the Congress. The American Friends of A.B.N. are expecting high guests from Europe, Asia, Canada and the South American countries to attend the Congress.

The conference held on October 5th was well organized and conducted in an extremely cordial atmosphere. The Croat, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Ukrainian representatives were particularly active in making suggestions for the forthcoming Congress.

We hope that the Congress to be held in April, 1958, will be an important step forwards in the field of propagandist and informative work.

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice

II

The Application of Communist Principles in the Territories Occupied by Moscow after World War II

It was to be foreseen from the start that Moscow would apply the principles laid down by the Comintern, in the countries which were occupied by the Red Army after World War II and were incorporated in the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. The resolution on the national questions in Central Europe and the Balkan countries, which was passed by the 5th Congress of the Communist International, is thus perfectly clear when viewed in this light.

"The national question — so it is affirmed there — assumed a new significance in Europe after the World War and has now become one of the most important political questions as far as Central Europe and the Balkan countries are concerned." "Consequently, the Communist Parties of Central Europe and the Balkan countries are confronted by the task of supporting the national revolutionary movement of the subjugated peoples with all the means at their disposal. The principle, 'the right of self-determination of all peoples, including the right of severance' must, in view of the present pre-revolutionary era and the newly created imperialistic states, find expression in the watchword, 'state severance' of the subjugated peoples from the body politic of Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Greece."

"The Congress establishes that in the case of certain Parties a deviation is apparent, which is revealed in the fact that individual Party members and groups base their attitude to the national revolutionary movement in their countries on the state formations established as a result of the treaties of St. Germain, etc. The watchwords of these Party members and groups as regards the national revolutionary movement are not directed against these states, which have been founded on national subjugation and are opposed to the proletarian revolution, but towards a partial reform of these states, inasmuch as watchwords about the autonomy of the subjugated peoples within the framework of these imperialistic states are proclaimed."

"The Congress stresses the counter-revolutionary significance of the colonization policy pursued by the ruling classes of the small imperialistic states, a policy which leads to an extreme aggravation of national differences. The Congress declares it to be the duty of the Communist Parties of Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Greece to carry on a determined fight against this colonization policy."

When, however, after 1945, Moscow and the Communist Parties became the decisive factors in Central Europe and the Balkan countries, they did not bother to observe the said resolution. The only changes that were introduced were those which were advantageous to the Soviet Union. All else remained unchanged.

Constantly Changing Attitude towards the Question of Czecho-Slovakia

Since its constitution the Comintern has opposed the preservation of the artificial state structure of Czecho-Slovakia. But because the Communist leaders in the countries

of Czecho-Slovakia refused to adopt this point of view, the Comintern saw fit to stress the following points at its 5th Congress:

"The Congress establishes that there is no uniform Czecho-Slovakian nation in Czecho-Slovakia and that the Czecho-Slovakian state, in addition to the Czech nationality, consists of the following nationalities: Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Ukrainians and Poles. The Congress deems it necessary that the Czech Communist Party, in view of the national minorities, should proclaim and realize the watchword of the right of self-determination of the peoples, including the right of severance. The watchword of autonomy which has been proclaimed by the bourgeois and nationalist parties is directed towards the enslavement of the working population of all nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia by their own bourgeoisie, with the aid of the Czech bourgeoisie."

When, in 1935, E. Benes signed a treaty with the Kremlin, however, the Soviet Union veered in its point of view by 180 degrees. Since then it has advocated the consolidation and preservation of a centralized Czecho-Slovakia.

After the signing of the non-aggression pact between Hitler and Stalin on August 23, 1939, Moscow liquidated the Czecho-Slovakian Embassy in Moscow. But when, in 1941, the war between Germany and the Soviet Union broke out, Moscow, on July 18, 1941, concluded a treaty with E. Benes and acted as though Czecho-Slovakia had never ceased to exist and as though E. Benes had never resigned his office as President. And, later on, the more Benes advocated cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the Communist Party, the more did the interest of the Kremlin in the restoration of Czecho-Slovakia increase.

Opportunist Attitude towards the Slovak Question

It was natural that the negative attitude towards Czecho-Slovakia was reflected in the positive attitude towards the Slovak question. This was clearly evident in the resolution passed at the 5th Congress of the Comintern:

"The Czech Communist Party — so it was affirmed on this occasion — must support the fight of the Slovaks for their independence and must always endeavour to wrest this fight from the influence of the nationalist bourgeoisie."

When, on April 27, 1919, war broke out between Czecho-Slovakia and Communist Hungary and Bela Kuhn's Red Army advanced into Slovakia, the Slovak Soviet Republic was proclaimed in occupied Presov on June 16, 1919. This Republic was recognized as an independent state by the Comintern, by the Hungarian Soviet Republic and by the Communist governments in existence in the territory of former tsarist Russia.

After 1935, when the cooperation between Prague and Moscow became closer, the Communist Party opposed not only the independence of Slovakia, but also the autonomy of this country.

When the Slovak Republic was proclaimed, the Kremlin on March 18, 1939, in a note to the German Embassy did not oppose the independence of Slovakia, but, on September 16, 1939, recognized its independence and entered into diplomatic relations with this state. Since

the activity of the Communist Party was prohibited in Slovakia, the Slovakian Communist Party was founded illegally and its activity developed underground.

When the Slovak Republic took part in the war against the U.S.S.R. on the side of Germany, Moscow opposed the independence of Slovakia and declared itself in favour of the continuity of Czecho-Slovakia. Since the Kremlin, however, was not sure whether it would succeed in incorporating all the territories of Czecho-Slovakia in the Soviet sphere of influence, it continued to toy with the idea of an independent Slovakia in order to force the Czechs to yield. This game on the part of the Kremlin was obvious from the fact that it continued to support the Communist Party of Slovakia until September 28, 1948. In order to retain the sympathy of the Slovaks, at least partly, the Communists supported the idea of the autonomy of Slovakia in the framework of Czecho-Slovakia, thus opposing the centralist trend represented by E. Benes, and even stipulated this in the Constitution.

Moscow's constantly changing attitude as regards the Slovak question is a typical example of the fact that the Kremlin despots are not in the least concerned with respecting the right of self-determination, but are merely interested in the favourable opportunities which might be gained by adopting such a point of view. As long as Prague pursued a policy which was not dependent on the Kremlin, Moscow supported the idea of the independence of Slovakia. When Prague, however, signified its willingness to be a tool in the hands of the Soviets, Moscow, completely disregarding the rights of Slovakia, supported the aims of the Prague chauvinistic policy. The Kremlin has systematically used the independence aims of Slovakia as a means of pressure against the Czechs, so as to force Prague in this way to make concessions in favour of the Soviets.

(To be continued)

From the Political Calendar

November 21, 1917. A congress of the representatives of the peoples subjugated by tsarist Russia was held in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, for the purpose of discussing methods and ways of a common struggle against the imperialistic policy of Petersburg.

November 21st-22nd, 1943. Thanks to the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the first conference of the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia was held in Ukraine. The conference was attended by 39 delegates, representing 11 peoples. The delegates were: Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Georgians, Kabardines, Ossetians, Tatars, Cherkas, Chuvash and Turkestanians. The conference initiated the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

A New Book on Russia

The English edition of a book on Russia and Europe by Dr. D. Donzov, entitled "The Basic Principles of Our Policy", is shortly to be published by our publishing firm. By kind permission of the author, the ideas expressed in this book were used in the article "Europe and Russia" which appeared in the "A.B.N. Correspondence", No. 11/12, 1957. We warmly recommend to our readers this profound book by Dr. D. Donzov, which deals most thoroughly with the differences between Europe and Russia.

The Imperative Demand of the Hour

Leaflets distributed in the Free World and Behind the Iron Curtain

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS!

**FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!
DEATH TO TYRANNY!**

The Fortieth Jubilee of Bolshevism

Whilst in Budapest the freedom fighters of the big Hungarian liberation revolution, which dealt the Soviet system the death-blow, are still being executed, Moscow has been celebrating the fortieth "Jubilee" of Soviet Russian tyranny with a hitherto unheard of display of mass-destruction weapons. In addition, the threat to the free world has been further intensified by experimental advances into the stratosphere, for the success of which our subjugated peoples have been cruelly exploited and forced to work like slaves for years.

If the Soviet system has been able to exist for four decades, then only by brute force and deceptive manoeuvres and because of the reprehensible tolerance on the part of the free world, which by its irresoluteness and indecision has made possible the continuance of a regime that has been one long mockery of international law, a violation of human rights and a legalized genocide.

In the course of these forty years, millions of persons have been thrust into prison and deported to slave-labour camps. Countless millions have died an unnatural death. About 25 million persons — the majority of them from our countries — have been sent to concentration camps. During the 1930's, artificially created famines were systematically organized in Ukraine and other non-Russian countries and claimed 8 million people as victims.

The Western world, however, took little notice of the fact that the collapse of tsarist despotism was not solely the result of social conditions (March, 1917). The decisive factor in this case — as for every imperium — was the national liberation fight of the nations subjugated by Russia, which contributed to a very decisive extent to the collapse of the tsarist dynasty. It was only after months had elapsed (November, 1917) that the Bolshevik conspiracy was in a position to use the confusion and chaos caused by the revolution to advantage for the purpose of setting up its fiendish regime. In those years the national factor still asserted itself very emphatically, namely in the revolts and national revolutions of the non-Russian peoples, who for a time were able to establish their own national states independently of Moscow and of every form of Marxism and Communism.

The Russian Avalanche Rolls On

Even in those days the world looked on unmoved, and actually did its share, too, whilst the national states which had been set up in the territory of the convulsed Russian colonial empire were brutally crushed. It was Lenin's perfidious idea that these peoples should then be misled by a pretended recognition of their rights to independence and even to "complete severance from Russia", in order to incorporate and incarcerate them in the new Russian realm of despotism under Bolshevik rule.

After World War II, Moscow, once again by misleading its Western allies, by ruthless violation of agreements and by applying methods of military power, likewise incorporated and incarcerated a number of Central and East European nations in the Russian Bolshevik prison of nations.

By means of the treacherous system of collectivization, the arbitrary deprivation of rights and spiritual subjugation, accompanied by more and more promises of a better future, the Kremlin has since then exercised its despotic regime unhindered in a large part of the world.

But in spite of all this, it has not been able to crush the spirit of resistance and the will to freedom of the subjugated peoples. Their longing for freedom was expressed unrestrainedly both in the mass riots on the part of non-Russian prisoners in the death-camps of Vorkuta, Norylsk, Kingiri and Mordovia and also in the July revolt in the Soviet Zone of Germany and in the Poznan insur-

rection, as well as to an inestimable extent in the big Hungarian national revolution. In Tiflis, Eriwan, Kyiv, Sofia, and Pressburg and in Turkestan and other countries, the signs of an uncompromising fight for freedom have likewise manifested themselves most clearly. But the Western world has not known how to avail itself of the biggest of all opportunities to crush the Bolshevik despotic regime and bring peace to the whole world.

An Imperative Demand

The new ruler in the Kremlin, Nikita Khrushchev, however, is now well on the way to impressing the whole truth on the world at last. The threatening launching of the Soviet satellite into the stratosphere and the downfall of Marshal Grigori Zhukov, who hitherto was acclaimed as the "hero of the Soviet Union", have made the world prick up its ears and have shattered all the illusions of the West as regards the unscrupulous striving for power and the unchangeable barbarous methods of Russian despotism.

In view of the present political situation in the world, it is time the West at last thought about the surest means of protection against Moscow's continuous aggression and supported the fight for freedom of our peoples in every possible way. The immeasurable potential of the urge to freedom of a whole world of enslaved people and nations will in the end prove stronger than all nuclear weapons and stratosphere rockets. It is the duty and obligation of mankind and of the conscience of the world to solve the burning problems on our planet first of all, before science occupies itself with the problems of the stratosphere.

The imperative demand of the hour is: cease trying to appease the inveterate tyrants and cheri-

shing illusions of a peaceful coexistence! Break off all economic, diplomatic, cultural and other relations with the murderers of nations! Bolshevik genocide is a disgrace to our century and must cease!

The watchwords of the free world must not only be directed against Communism as a system of government, but also against Russian imperialism, united with it, as an alien rule, which systematically engages in the spiritual decimation of the peoples already subjugated and is preparing the decimation of those countries of the world that are still free.

From this it follows that in the epoch-making fight for freedom of our day there must be no room for either the hirelings of Communism from the Popular Front governments, or for the Russian imperialists who, under non-Communist guise, are working for the preservation of the Russian colonial empire. The spokesmen of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain, who are striving to attain social freedom no less than national freedom, are thus the sole representatives of the national liberation movements in the free world. They alone are the heralds and guarantors of a future world, in which, in addition to social justice, national freedom, state independence and mutual recognition of the inviolable rights of all peoples will prevail.

Long live the independent democratic states of all the peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism!

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

November 1957.

The Ideological Political Resistance of the Ukrainian Underground

II

The Russian Bolshevik imperialists are well aware of the significance of the national idea, and are at pains to neutralize it by fictitious statements within the U.S.S.R. and false demagogy — wherein the Kremlin appears as "protector" of the national idea — this side of the Iron Curtain and thus belittle the invincible urge of the national revolutionary movements in the Soviet bloc. The organized underground in Ukraine devotes a series of publications to the exposure of that Bolshevik deception, in which the Bolshevik theory concerning the nationality problem is analysed and its complete mendacity is shown up, not only by what is practically genocide, but also theoretically.

In a publication in 1950: "The Bolshevik Solution of the Nationality Problem", the author M. W. proves that the U.S.S.R. is nothing but the great Russian Empire in a new form, and that the national oppression in the U.S.S.R. is not an accidental appearance, not the action of different "peoples' enemies" but a well-considered realization of Lenin's and Stalin's planned tactics to lay the way for Russian imperialism. The U.S.S.R. is a new form of Russian imperialism which by new Bolshevik methods under the motto of a "proletarian world revolution" aims at the conquest of the whole world, to be followed by a Russian World State. "In 1917 it was the Bolsheviks who undertook to save the sinking great state. The Russian Empire could only be saved by an apparent settlement of what was undermining and destroying it. And that was the unsolved national problem (as, of course the social moment for the subjugated peoples developed from the national moment)", the author says on page 1. "The Revolution saved Russia from breaking up", Stalin wrote in his "proclamations and speeches on Ukraine". On the occasion of the formation of the U.S.S.R. on 30th Aug. 1922, Stalin declared, "To-day is the day of the triumph of the new Russia over the old... Russia has gathered the peoples of the

Soviet Republics around her to give the world an example of a world union of socialist Soviet Republics." — "But if it is an example of a new Russia, it must be said at once, that it can merely be an example of the Russian world empire" (page 5).

At any rate it is correct to say that "the communists seek to win the confidence of the broad masses by that means" (i. e. the right of self-determination), as P. Poltava writes on page 46. As, however, Bolshevik practice by no means coincides with the ideas and catchwords proclaimed for export, and as the subjected peoples not only do not support the plans for conquest cherished in modern Bolshevik form by Russian imperialists, but, on the contrary, are fighting actively for their own national and social liberation, Moscow is compelled more and more to depend on the Russian elements, on Russian chauvinism and the imperialist hearers of the idea of a Russian world empire. Among the peoples oppressed by Moscow, idealistic communists are rare. Those of the oppressed peoples who are Moscow followers are no longer fighters for communism but are quite common opportunists and fellow-travellers, all of them quislings. The Ukrainian Underground is always at pains to reveal Bolshevism as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism and has done so in a whole series of articles and books. "Stalin's toast, in the Kremlin, 24, May 1945, to the Russian people (the Russian "was the most prominent nation of all the nations belonging to the Soviet Union, the leading power among all peoples") may be regarded as an official acknowledgement of the naked chauvinistic course" (O. Hornovy: "Chauvinist Confusion and Russification Fever among Bolshevik Imperialists" from the magazine "Idea and Deed" — *Ideja i chyn*, 1946, No. 10). "History (in the U.S.S.R.) is treated from a purely imperialist and racial standpoint, to convince the Russian people of its "superiority", its "progressiveness,"

Continued on page 13

Niko Nakashidze

Marshal K. Rokossovsky in Caucasia

The appointment of one of the best Soviet army commanders, Marshal K. Rokossovsky, as G.O.C.-in-Chief of the Trans-Caucasian Command has not been necessitated solely by the strained relations with Turkey. It is true, on the one hand, that the situation in this respect has become so acute that Khrushchev boastfully declared that Turkey would one day be eradicated, but this fact alone was not decisive, even though it was a reason for the appointment of Rokossovsky. This appointment, however, is also significant from another point of view, too.

The Trans-Caucasian Command includes the countries of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. The Trans-Caucasian Special Group of Divisions, as it is called, has been organized and equipped to such an extent as regards military and technical strength that, in the event of Trans-Caucasia being cut off, it would be able to conduct operations alone independently of any other troops. All the branches of the services are represented in the Trans-Caucasian Special Group of Divisions, and its air force is extremely strong. Air bases, some of them underground, have been set up throughout the entire territory, including the regions north of the Black Sea. There are aircraft and tank factories in various parts of the country.

The Trans-Caucasian Command is particularly important from the strategic point of view, since it is a sally point of the Soviet armies for a break-through to the Near East and to the east Mediterranean countries via Persia, Iraq and Turkey.

The army commanders-in-chief in the non-Russian republics are not only entrusted with military but also with state political tasks. They are the provincial governors of the central government in Moscow and they see to it that the latter's instructions are strictly observed. They are the pillar and support of Russian power in the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union.

The Republics of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia have always been a hotbed of unrest and have always been treated by Moscow with distrust. The recent disturbances in Armenia and Georgia have intensified this distrust still more, and for this reason the Kremlin rulers have appointed Russians from Moscow to the Central Committees of the Communist parties of these countries as Second Secretaries, who are responsible for control of the Party and the propaganda. In Georgia the notorious Kovanov holds this office. The acting Ministers in the leading all-Union Ministries of these Republics are likewise men who have been appointed and sent there by Moscow. Moscow no longer trusts the native functionaries in these Republics, who belong to the younger generation. As compared to the old Bolsheviks who felt that they were nihilists and ostracized, they are self-confident, ambitious and definitely inspired by national feelings. They do not want to be Moscow's subjects and have not the least intention of recognizing the Russians as the pillar and support of culture. These differences are even in evidence in the various publications of these Republics.

Numerous signs indicate that there is something brewing in these Republics and that the people are putting up a silent resistance.

Every year, in November, young people are called up for service in the Red Army. In former years orders were issued to the effect that a certain age group had to report at a certain

time and place. Now, however, a big propaganda campaign is conducted for this purpose in the press and at meetings. A long article, entitled "We must systematically carry out the calling up of the youth for service in the Soviet Army", by the military commissar Sch. Wasadse was published in the Party organ of the Georgian Communist Party, "Kommunist" (No. 224) of September 21, 1957. In the edition (No. 228) of September 26, 1957, of the same paper there was another article on the same subject, together with a picture showing the military commissar Kobidse talking to some young people about the heroic fight of the Soviet Army in the last war. Why this propaganda if everything is in order. There must be something brewing, otherwise one would not resort to such measures!

Accordingly, it was necessary that Moscow's governor in Trans-Caucasia should be a powerful and ruthless man, and for this reason Moscow's choice fell on its trustworthy condottiere, K. Rokossovsky. Together with his friends, the omnipotent hangmen of the

Cheka—Dserjinsky and Mendhinsky, he was one of the old Bolshevik brigades. When Soviet Russia in 1921 attacked Poland, Rokossovsky fought against his own country and distinguished himself. From 1949 onwards, as Moscow's governor in Poland, he ruled his Polish fellow-countrymen with a hand of iron and did not even spare his own Party comrades. When Gomulka came into power, his first request to Moscow was that Rokossovsky should be removed from office.

As early as 1946, the organization of the Georgian Social Democratic Party in exile received authentic information from Georgian Communist circles that, immediately after the war, when relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey were very strained because of the territorial claims put by Armenia and Georgia to Turkey, Marshal Zhukov had demanded the expulsion of the Armenian and Georgian population from the frontier regions because it was allegedly not trustworthy. Beria opposed Zhukov in this matter and declared that the Party could guarantee for the trustworthiness of this population. Zhukov was not able to put his plan into practice. And now Zhukov has been overthrown just as Rokossovsky perhaps was intending to use the tension provoked by Moscow in the Near East, in order to try and carry out Zhukov's former diabolical plan.

Political Trial Against Ukrainians in Yugoslavia

On September 23, 1957, a political trial began in the district court of the town of Doboj (Bosnia), in which the accused were four Ukrainians: the Reverend Felix Bilenjkyj, priest of the village of Lischnja near Prnjavar, Dean Hryhorij Biljak, in office in Prnjavar, the Reverend Michael Jurysta, priest of Kosarec near Prnjavar, and Peter Schlapak, employed in Belgrade.

The accused were charged with anti-state activity, stirring up hatred amongst the Ukrainian population against the present regime in Yugoslavia, a hostile attitude towards Communism and similar offences. Peter Schlapak was the chief accused. In accordance with Paragraphs 109, 111, 117 and 118 of the Criminal Code, the accused are likely to be sentenced to death.

The Reverend Bilenjkyj and Peter Schlapak were already arrested on February 28th, the Reverend Biljak and the Reverend Jurysta on April 28th. When the police searched Schlapak's home they confiscated numerous Ukrainian books, private letters, magazines and even children's books such as "Master Fox" and the fables of Wilhelm Busch in Ukrainian translations.

The indictment was worded as follows:

"On the strength of the evidence found it has been ascertained that the accused have committed serious crimes against public security. The evidence shows that they are enemies of the people and hostile agents... And for this reason... the judgment of the court shall be harsh and severe... We are pledged to this duty by our past and our future, which is to be great and illustrious.

For these reasons these crimes must be dealt with strictly according to the law and justice."

None of the accused can reproach themselves with having committed any crime against the regime or the state. In Yugoslavia extremely difficult material conditions prevail, and the accused merely wanted to inform their fellow-countrymen about material aid and possible chances of emigrating. The three priests are entirely innocent. But the courts in undemocratic states apply undemocratic methods in order to achieve their aims, namely to make their victims — innocent accused — appear guilty and then sentence them.

The court also accused the priests of having carried on a slave-trade in girls and of having sent the girls to England, to brothels there. In reality, the priests merely tried to help young Ukrainians in England to have a chance to marry Ukrainian girls.

Dr. Peter Mirtchuk (a co-worker on the staff of the Ukrainian weekly "Homin Ukrainy," published in Canada, and "Schlach Peremohy," published in Munich) attended the hearing of the trial which lasted four days, but, unfortunately, he was not able to ascertain what sentences were pronounced as the Ministry of the Interior took his visa from him and forced him to leave Yugoslavia within twenty-four hours.

At the last moment we have been informed of the sentence passed on the innocent Ukrainian clergymen tried recently in Yugoslavia, — a sentence which is once again a striking example of the hatred of the Communist system against religion and the Church. The following sentences were pronounced:

The Reverend Felix Bilenjkyj 5 years' penitentiary;
The Reverend Mychailo Jurysta (who is 60 years old) 3 years' penitentiary;
The Reverend Hryhorij Biljak (who is 73) 1 year penitentiary.

It is not known what sentence was pronounced in the case of the chief accused, Peter Schlapak. There is, however, every reason to fear for his fate, since the crimes of which he was unjustly accused are punishable by the death sentence according to Paragraphs 109, 111, 117 and 118 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code.

The Liberation Struggle of Ukraine

In its edition of November 15, 1957, the German newspaper "Öffentlicher Anzeiger für den Harz", which appears in Klaustal-Zellerfeld, published a report on the death sentences passed on certain Ukrainian nationalists, who were members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The paper stresses the fact that the condemned persons were charged with having committed "crimes" between 1942 and 1949. This indicates that the liberation struggle continued in Ukraine for a number of years after World War II. The German newspaper also points out that the trial took place 8 years after the "crimes" which are cited in the indictment. On the basis of this fact it can be assumed that bloody clashes must have occurred in Ukraine during the recent Hungarian revolution, so the paper concludes.

The above press organ, incidentally, also contains quotations from the newspapers "Prykarpatska Pravda" (Stanislaviv) and "Pravda Ukrainy" (Kyiv) against Ukrainian nationalism.

Our Answer to the Russian Danger

This was the topic of the Political Rally of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held at Ukrainian House 83-85 Christie St., Toronto, Canada on December 1st, 1957.

About 800 people—Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Bulgarians, Roumanians and others—took part in this rally.

Mr. Y. Spolsky addressed the audience as chairman and other speakers were: A. Maloney, M. P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Labour, Dr. V. Gylys, Consul General of Lithuania, M. Sosnowsky and W. Bezhlibnyk.

they can get support from the Western World. The enslaved nations of Europe and Asia cannot forget the tragic faith of Hungary which was left alone in her struggle with Russian military power.

5. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations believes that if the struggle with Soviet aggression is to be successful the Western World must bring to its side the enslaved nations of Europe and Asia and promote an alliance and close co-operation. United we will stand and the free Western World must learn that the enslaved nations within the Soviet bloc as allies of the

to issue a declaration stating their political goals in the struggle with the Communist bloc and especially to determine and to clarify their attitude toward the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain. Such a declaration must include a clear statement that the enslaved nations have the right after the destruction of the Soviet Russian empire to form their own national governments and that the Western World will not support forces attempting to restore the Russian empire in another form.

7. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations states that there is no possibility to preserve world peace on the basis of the principle of coexistence with the Communist bloc because for Moscow coexistence means a peaceful way of expanding the Communist system all over the world and the ultimate victory of Russian imperialism. There is only one way to secure lasting peace in the world and that way is the destruction of the Soviet Russian empire by any possible means and the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia.

8. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations feels it to be its obligation to bring once more to the attention of the Governments of the free world the fact that the Communist regimes in Europe and Asia are not the true representatives of their peoples, although the Communist leaders at their recent rally in Moscow boasted that they represent 950 million people. Not a single nation enslaved by Moscow empowered any Communist in a free election to be its representative. The only true representatives of the enslaved nations in that transitory period are their liberation movements and their revolutionary leaders who freely accepted the responsibilities and the enormous task of organizing and conducting the struggle for national liberation.

9. The representatives of nationalities, members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations—Canada, present at the rally express their confidence and their full support for the policy and the work of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and pledge their further assistance by every possible means for the endeavours of the liberation movements of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism.

FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS AND PEOPLE OF ALL THE WORLD, UNITE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST BOLSHHEVISM FOR THE FREEDOM OF NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS!

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



The Presidium of the Rally. From left to right: M. Hojbota, J. Malins, A. Maloney (speaking), Y. Spolsky, Dr. V. Gylys, Dr. R. Malashchuk, Dr. M. Anisas, I. Dejczakowska, M. Sosnowsky, M. Krawciw, P. Peltikoff.

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals! RESOLUTIONS

adopted by the political Rally of the Representatives of Nationalities, members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, held in Toronto, Canada, on December 1st, 1957.

1. Recent technological achievements of the Soviet Union might result in the capability of the Soviet bloc to launch in the very near future a surprise attack against the free world. The Communist leaders bluntly revealed during the recent celebrations in Moscow that they are willing to exploit their advantage to attain the ultimate goal of Communism—the conquest of the world.
2. Today's serious situation and the attitude of Communist leaders call for a drastic revision of thinking and for a reappraisal of the policy of the Western World to find new ways and new methods in the organization of defense against the Soviet menace.
3. In this grave moment for the free world the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations once again raises its voice to stress the importance of the struggle for liberation which is being waged by the nations enslaved by Soviet Russia against the oppressor and to point out the necessity to establish the co-operation between the free world and the enslaved nations in the struggle against the common enemy.
4. The enslaved nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia represent within the Soviet bloc great potential power and their weight could be thrown against their Communist masters. Moscow is now exploiting every means to bring them to its side remembering its sad experience of 1941 when those peoples turned their weapon against Soviet Russian oppressors. It must be regarded as very unfortunate that because of the failure to formulate and clarify Western policy towards the enslaved nations within the Soviet bloc, those nations are now confused and are not convinced that

democracies are now as important to their survival as it is to the survival of the enslaved nations. However, the essential condition for such an alliance is the readiness of the Western World to assume the obligation as to the future of those nations. They want to be free and politically independent and they wish to know that the Western democracies are willing to help them to achieve independence. The sad experience of the past cannot be so easily forgotten and these nations do not wish to imperil their future by undertaking some actions without having certainty as to the real intentions and the aims of the Western World.

6. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations believes that there is a necessity for the Western powers

“We were Ready to Die“

An interview with the leader of the Roumanian revolutionary group that seized the Bolshevik Consulate in Bern, in 1955.

On February 14, 1955, the Roumanian Communist Consulate in Bern, Switzerland, was attacked by a group of Roumanian patriots. This hold group consisted of the following persons: Oliviu Beldeanu, Stan Codrescu, Dumitru Oechiu, Jon Chirilia and three others. For two days and nights the building of the Roumanian Consulate was in the hands of these men, who during this time studied the secret documents that they found on the premises and destroyed various papers. The leader of the group was Mr. Beldeanu. During our interview with him, he said that before he learnt the truth about the agency activity of the Bolsheviks in the West, he supposed that the Western world did not realize the danger of this Red Russian insidious activity and was indifferent to the fate of the peoples under Red Russian rule; but later on, he became convinced that armed action against the Bolsheviks was necessary in order to draw the attention of the Western world to the position of

the subjugated Roumanian people. At first, he planned to seize a Bolshevik ship in one of the European ports, but later on changed his mind. The friends who cooperated with him followed up the activity of various diplomatic representatives in Switzerland; they learnt that in Bern, in the building of the Roumanian Communist Consulate, there was a spy centre for southwestern Europe and southern Germany. At the same time, they received information that the Bolshevik distribution centre of this spy agency was in Zurich. Thus, it was far easier for them to attack one of these Bolshevik agencies than to seize a ship.

They began their first preparations for their action in Bern in January, 1955. In Constance, near the Swiss frontier, Beldeanu rallied a group of loyal Roumanian patriots who were prepared to take part in the planned attack. He provided them with arms and began to train them. All these preparations were carried out with such secrecy that no one had any inkling beforehand of the conspiracy. On February 14, 1955, they carried out a surprise attack on the Consulate in Bern.

Russian Imperialism the Common Enemy

All subjugated peoples' political parties from left to right unanimously in favour of the disintegration of the Russian Imperium

On the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia, rallies were held and thousands of leaflets distributed in various parts of the free world and behind the Iron Curtain by the A.B.N. The most effective demonstration was held by the "American Friends of the A.B.N." on November 6, 1957, in front of the Soviet consulate in New York.

On November 20, 1957, a protest rally against Russian tyranny was also held in Munich by political organizations of the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. which are not members of the A.B.N. and have so far not followed the same course as unconditionally as the A.B.N. has done. It is interesting to note that the idea of the disintegration of the

Russian imperium into independent national states has become the universally accepted principle of all the political parties and trends, from the socialists to the monarchists, amongst the political emigrants of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R.

That all these political groups make the same demands can be seen from the statements of the speakers at the above-mentioned rally in Munich and from the resolution adopted on this occasion. All the speakers violently attacked not only Communism, but also Russian imperialism, and emphatically supported the idea of state independence for the peoples incarcerated in the U.S.S.R. A. Kordzaya as representative of the Georgian Social Democratic Party in Germany spoke on the subject of the peoples of Caucasia.

language, namely the language of the October Revolution. In other words, all the nations which have been forcibly incorporated in the U.S.S.R. are to be *Russified*.

During the three years that Georgia was an independent state, that is until it was conquered by the Red Army, a number of far-reaching social reforms were introduced in the country. The former tsarist estates and the land belonging to the big landowners — in cases where this property exceeded a certain area — were assigned to a general land fund and were placed at the disposal of the farmers as private property. Mineral deposits, forests and lakes were declared national property. The famous manganese ore found in Tchiatura and the coal mines of Tkvarcheli Tskibuli were nationalized. Several factories were erected by the municipal and rural administrative authorities, that is to say they were in the possession of democratic organizations. But this did not prevent the rapacious Russian Party leaders from expropriating this national wealth and transferring it to the central power of the U.S.S.R.

The entire economic system of this country, like that of the other Union Republics, is based exclusively on the exploitation of the labour potential of the population. *And the colonizers of past eras are hardly likely to have ever dreamt of such an absolute power over the colonial peoples.*

The same scene present itself in North Caucasia, where the oil wells and curative mineral springs are ruthlessly exploited by Soviet Russia, since the whole of North Caucasia has been incorporated in the RSFSR, that is to say the Russian Soviet Federated Republic. And it is here that the greatest crime has been committed by Soviet Russia, a crime to which the attention of the whole world should be drawn. The freedom-loving mountain-peoples, who had never before bowed before a conqueror, were forced to surrender to Communism, and after they had given up their freedom, whole tribes of these peoples, as for instance the Chetchen-Ingush and the Karatschai-Balkars, numbering one million young and old persons, women and children, were crowded into unheated cattle-trucks within twenty-four hours' time and deported to Siberia. This happened on February 23, 1944. *Their country was settled by resettlers from Central Russia.* Now, twelve years later, Khrushchev has admitted that they were innocent and that their abduction cannot be justified by any reasons at all. Promises were made to the effect that some of them would be allowed to return home within the next four years, provided that the Communists, allegedly anxious for their welfare, have found employment for them in their native country. It took twenty-four hours to deport them and twelve years to prove that they were innocent, and their return home is now to take four years.

The same fate befell the Crimean Tatars, the Kalmucks and the Volga Germans, and so far it has never been ascertained exactly what happened to them.

In view of all these facts, we can but ask, — what is the freedom and sovereignty of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.? What does the equality of rights of the Soviet Union Republics consist in?

Does it only consist in slavery and inhuman exploitation and in genocide? These are the things which forty years of Communist rule have brought with them.

Is it not possible that these peoples were treated so cruelly because from the outset they opposed the October Revolution and determinedly took their fate in their own hands? In keeping with their historic, cultural and state traditions and with the demands of modern civilization, they founded their own independent, democratic republics, which merely by their exemplary order and the fact of their existence exposed the chaos, despotism and terrorism of the Bolsheviks.

On the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution, we oppose Communist tyranny as emphatically as we opposed it in October and November 1917.

And as in those days, our aim is still the same: *Freedom and Independence!*

For the Independence of the Caucasian Peoples

Against Russian Occupation and Enslavement

(Extract of a speech by A. Kordzaya)

After forty years of Bolshevik alien rule it seems appropriate to show up one of the anti-national traits of the Bolshevik regime, namely its actual imperialistic desire to subjugate all neighbouring peoples. In this respect the military occupation and exploitation of the Caucasian peoples provide an obvious example.

From the very outset, the Caucasian peoples opposed the Bolshevik revolution and, already in May 1918, they set up the independent democratic Republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and North Caucasia. It is a well-known fact, however, that it was precisely these Republics which were amongst the first victims of the Red Army of Soviet Russia. This act of conquering Caucasia, the second largest of the Republics, must thus be regarded as an imperialistic act on the part of Soviet Russia, just as the first conquest of Caucasia by tsarist Russia in the 19th century was recognized by the whole world as an imperialistic act. This application of Soviet Russia's imperialistic colonial policy aroused the indignation of these peoples, an indignation which was expressed in numerous revolts, the last of which occurred in Tiflis last year, with repercussions in Erivan and Baku. The methods by which these peoples are exploited in economic respect show the cunning way in which the new Soviet Russian imperialism asserts itself.

There is, in the first place, Azerbaijan with its oil production in Baku, which for the independent Azerbaijan Republic represented the basis of its development and prosperity. The so-called sovereign Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic even has a Special Minister of Oil Production. But the oil deposits do not belong to the people of Azerbaijan or to the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, but to the central government of the U.S.S.R. Not a single copek obtained from the oil production goes into the exchequer of Azerbaijan. The central power in the Kremlin appropriates it all. Strange though it may seem, neither in the villages nor in Baku itself can the population obtain adequate supplies of oil products for household use. The other natural reserves of the country, such as cotton, ores, etc., are likewise appropriated by the central government of the U.S.S.R. In return the people of Azerbaijan were blessed with the forcible introduction of the Russian alphabet, to take the place of the Latin script which they themselves had adopted.

Hardly had the Armenian people recovered from the serious losses they had suffered during the first world war, than they set about successfully restoring and expanding the state, cultural and economic life of the independent Armenian Republic. The regime of military Communism which was set up in the country and the ruthless looting which was carried on by the Soviets led to the outbreak of a national revolution on February 18, 1921. But after a heroic resistance lasting three months on the part of the whole nation, the newly

restored state power was crushed in bloodshed by the Red Army. And since then, the country has for thirty-seven years been subjected to the most ruthless exploitation. Wines, brandy, tinned fruits, copper and various rare ores, — all these products are exported. In return, huge factories are erected which are extremely important for the Soviet Union, as for instance the factory for the production of synthetic rubber, but all these factories are

Death of a Great Ukrainian Patriot



According to news received from Ukraine recently, the Ukrainian patriot, Mykola Duzhyj, died there on May 17, 1955, after having been released from a concentration camp in Russia.

Mykola Duzhyj, who was born in Kariv, West Ukraine, in 1900, was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine, a former fighter in the liberation struggle, a prominent member of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, a former student of the secret Ukrainian university in Lviv (Lemberg) during the Polish occupation, a prominent student leader in the 30's, and a former first secretary of the "Prosvita" association, etc. He was buried in the West Ukrainian capital, Lviv, on May 20, 1955.

controlled by the central power, whilst the population derives no benefit whatever from them and is forced to work like slaves.

In addition to economic exploitation, the population is also forced to endure national subjugation. In this year of the 40th "Jubilee", this ancient people with their own individual and great culture will have a foreign language, Lenin's language, forced on them. Soviet man is supposed to originate from the fusion of all the peoples with the elder brother (the Russian people, — the Editor), whose language is in future to replace the mother-tongue of all these peoples. This is not an assumption on our part, but a categorical statement uttered by the Communists in the local press, to the effect that all the peoples of the Soviet Union should be fused into one nation, which would allegedly be the first step towards forming a unified world-nation. In the first place, however, so they affirm, this unified Soviet nation must have one

The Vulnerable Spot of the Soviet Russian Empire

"Is there an Underground Movement in the U.S.S.R.?"

In its edition of November 22, 1957, the French paper, "Le Figaro", publishes an interesting and objectively written article entitled "Is There An Underground Movement In The U.S.S.R.?", which is worded as follows:

"The U.S.S.R. is not a monolithic bloc. The persistence of a national feeling in the various Republics, added to an opposition to the regime is developing mainly through the channels of the Red Army, is creating profound movements of hostility which are definitely expressed by armed force.

We are today in a position to give our readers details regarding the existence of an active resistance movement which has been developing for several years, mainly along the frontiers, in the Caucasian and Carpathian mountains, in the swamps of Georgia and in Ukraine.

The Soviet press itself has admitted this fact. The "Pravda" of February 13, 1956, for instance, states that during the summer of 1955 the entire corps of the frontier troops was mobilized in order to arrest the progress of the Turkestanian partisans. The "Red Banner" in its edition of February 11, 1956, states that an amnesty will be given to the partisans who return home, and a few days later, the radio announced that this amnesty had been extended to the whole of the U.S.S.R.

The Ukrainian underground movement and that of Georgia are the most active.

Travellers who last summer wished to visit Western Ukraine came up against restrictions forbidding them to enter the regions of Lviv, Chernivtsy and Uzhorod. This latter district had been closed and practically in a state of siege since April, 1956 . . .

These three regions were opened to travellers on September 11, 1957. But on the 14th of September, the district of Chernivtsy was once more closed!

On May 26th and 27th, 1956, Kyiv was the scene of bloody riots as the result of a demonstration to mark the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Petlura, the hero of the Ukrainian fight for independence in 1918-1920. Placards were posted all over the town bearing the words "Down with Soviet colonialism!" Three regiments mutinied.

The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (U.P.A. — This is the abbreviation for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The abbreviation used for the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is O.U.N. — The Editor of "A.B.N. Correspondence") has been carrying on its underground activity since 1941. On numerous occasions it has blown up ammunition trains, and cars containing officials, has opposed deportations and has hindered the movements of troops. During the Hungarian insurrection, the Ukrainian partisans blew up the bridge at Zahony on the Tysa, at the frontier, and thus prevented the Russian reinforcements of tanks from proceeding to Hungary by a direct route and forced them to make a detour via Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania. During the subsequent months, they attacked several trains containing Hungarian deportees and liberated the prisoners . . .

Since the general insurrection of March 5 to 12th, 1956, in Georgia, ranged combats between Georgian partisans and Russian troops are a frequent occurrence there. Tiflis, in particular, has been the scene of numerous riots.

A considerable influx of troops as a result of Turko-Syrian events has forced the partisans to flee into the mountains or swamps. Caucasia, which has very few main routes, offers a sure retreat where the insurgents can lie in wait for a suitable opportunity to resume their guerilla activity.

Other points of unrest can be found all along the west frontier of the U.S.S.R.

In Latvia, the town of Riga was closed to travellers for several weeks during the month

of August, 1957. This has become a habit, for every summer partisans block the streets of the town.

Further south, in the Roumanian Carpathians, Red troops tried in vain to crush the group of Roumanian partisans known as "The Falcons of the Carpathians", who are commanded by General Gavrila. This group put five regiments and six battalions of the Red troops out of action in the Eagara mountains and eventually succeeded in escaping from the enemy.

In conclusion, mention must also be made of the revolts which took place during the first half of September in East Siberia, in the camps in the regions of Thelabinsk, Vladivostok, Syktyvkar and Sverdlosk. 25,000 persons are said to have been killed when these revolts were crushed. A group of prisoners succeeded in escaping and fled to China. And, strange to say, Mao Tse-Tung refused to extradite these fugitives . . ."

Russian Colonial Power

Comments on an article in the "Vietnam Press"

An article by Geoffrey Wheeler, Director of the Central Asian Research Centre in London, which is entitled "Russian Colonial Power" and is published by the "Vietnam Press" (Bulletin No. 681, Nov. 13, 1957), deserves to be recommended to the attention of all opponents of Communism and Soviet imperialism. The author, with objectivity and a thorough knowledge of his subject, describes "how, since the revolution (of 1917) Russia has greatly extended and strengthened her position as a colonial power with vast and valuable territories." The author very rightly stresses that, on the one hand, "among the remaining colonial empires of today there is not one which has relinquished so little of the territory which it originally gained by conquest or annexation, or which shows so little inclination to relinquish any more;" and yet, on the other hand, "the Soviet government indignantly denies that Russia is a colonial power at all," and what is far more important, — "the Soviet disclaimer seems to be accepted by a number of countries, particularly in Asia."

What is the explanation for this? The author formulates his opinion in this respect — in the concluding sentences of his interesting article — as follows:

"It is difficult for the West to understand why many blatant manifestations of Russian colonial power should apparently pass unnoticed in some of the countries of the Middle East, North Africa, and Southern Asia, where the charge of colonialism is still reserved for the rapidly shrinking British and French empires. The reasons are in fact not far to seek. With the exception of Persia none of these countries has experienced Russian occupation or seen the Soviet system in action. On the other hand, most of them have experienced Western occupation and the Western system of government. They still regard Western so-called imperialism as fundamentally opposed to nationalism. — But in Asian eyes the Russians do not qualify as imperialists since they do not come from overseas. An additional point in favour of the Russians is that outside the U.S.S.R. they now support nationalism, and even "bourgeois nationalists" against whom they were fulminating little more than a year ago. Those who have learnt from experience the value of Soviet blandishments now turn a deaf ear to them. But many of the countries of Asia and Africa have to learn."

As regards "bourgeois nationalism," the situation is, however, somewhat different from the author's conception of it: the Soviets designate in this way every form of nationalism which at present does not suit them as far as their foreign and home policy is concerned, whilst every form of nationalism from which Soviet foreign policy at present derives or hopes to derive an advantage, is described as "democratic;" it is thus not a question of different variations of nationalism, but solely of the temporary use of certain national move-

ments (in Asia, Africa and South America) for the purpose of Soviet Russian foreign policy. — Otherwise the explanations given by the author would be right — were they not incomplete and inconsistent. Incomplete in so far as he overlooks the fascinating psychological effect which the comparatively rapid (and greatly puffed up by Soviet propaganda) industrialization of the formerly economically backward Asian territories of the U.S.S.R. is undoubtedly having on the economically backward free peoples of Asia and Africa; and inconsistent in so far as the author is of the opinion that Russian despotism can only be described as colonial inasmuch as it is applied to the non-Slav peoples. It is true that the author distinguishes theoretically between the "non-Russian and non-Slav peoples inhabiting the colonial empire," thus admitting that there are Slav peoples who are non-Russian, but he seems to count the Ukrainians (and thus, of course, also the Byelorussians or White Ruthenians) as belonging to the "Russian peoples," just as he describes Ukrainian Galicia as "an area of Eastern Poland, which is now called the Western Ukraine" and holds the Ukrainians partly responsible for the Soviet Russian forcible colonization of Central Asia.

Thus, if certain free peoples of Asia and Africa refuse to perceive the colonial and imperialistic character of Russian expansion, they are following the example of the Western world itself, which still believes in the fatal illusion that Russian colonialism only begins beyond the Ural and Caucasus Mountains and on this side of the Soviet western frontier of 1921-1939. In reality, however, it was precisely the unreserved colonial Russian exploitation of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the originally Ugro-Finnish and Tatar Volga territories which enabled and continues to enable the Russian imperialism to hold the position of a world power. And thus we should like to conclude this review with a paraphrase of the final words of the author himself:

It is difficult for the free world to understand why the many blatant manifestations of Russian colonial power should apparently pass unnoticed in some of the Western countries, where the charge of colonialism is still reserved for Russian despotism in Asia, and, if it is reserved in Europe, then only in the countries occupied by the U.S.S.R. since 1939.

Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn

Three Letters in "Scotsman"

In its editions of October 26th and 30th and of November 8, 1957, the Scottish newspaper "Scotsman" published three letters by readers, in which problems dealing with the Red Russian empire are discussed. The first of these letters was written by the well-known friend of the subjugated peoples, John F. Stewart. He draws the attention of readers to the national problems of the Soviet empire and to the Red Russian aggressive policy, and stresses the fact that 80 million Russians are subjugating 150-200 million non-Russians. He invites his fellow-countrymen to cooperate with the non-Russian peoples because the Kremlin is not as afraid of the hydrogen bomb as it is of a revolution by the peoples who are subjugated by Moscow.

The second letter, dated October 30, was written by another reader of the newspaper. This reader reproaches John Stewart with trying to publish ideas of the 18th century. But for lack of arguments, the letter contains a comparison of the Cyprian Greeks with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The third letter was sent by a reader, who signs himself M. M. He describes the second letter as provocative and, at the same time, quotes facts to prove that Moscow is not as strong as the writer of the second letter imagines it to be. M. M. points out that the national problem in the U.S.S.R. is the vulnerable spot of the (Muscovite) Russian colonial empire. He also expresses his astonishment that the free world shows so much pity for the dog in the artificial Russian satellite, but forgets the fact that millions of Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians and other nationals of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union have perished.

Milovan Djilas' Part in Tito's Regime

It is a well-known fact that as soon as a prominent Communist decides to oppose Communism or only the Muscovite Bolshevik type of Communism, his previous Communist past is rapidly forgotten, — indeed, far too rapidly and far too unreservedly. The most outstanding example of this is undoubtedly the dictator of Yugoslavia; who nowadays recalls the fact that Tito in 1937 played a very active part in the Kremlin, in getting all the leading members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, who had been cunningly lured to Moscow, shot, so as to pave his own way to the post of a satrap of Stalin's in Yugoslavia? As soon as Tito broke with Stalin in 1948, the Western major powers gave him their complete confidence; that this was a serious mistake needs no further explanation nowadays, when Tito is doing his utmost to stir up the hatred of the states and peoples of the Near, the Middle and the Far East against the Western world; will the Western world now trust Djilas, too, as blindly and as credulously, solely because he seems to have broken with Titoism?

It is true that Djilas' main attack against Communism in general and Tito's regime in particular is a book — "The New Class," and thus, as compared to Tito's anti-Stalinist fronde, a lasting work. But one must distinguish between the work and the man. What this man might do in the future can not only be seen from this work, but also from what he did prior to writing this book. And it is precisely as regards Djilas' role in the Communist regime of Yugoslavia at a time when there was no talk whatever of a break between Tito and the Cominform, that we possess evidence which is beyond all doubt. This is the book by the former Czecho-Slovakian Ambassador to Belgrade, Josef Korbel, "Tito's Communism" (University of Denver Press, 1951), a work which is fundamentally valuable in more respects than one, in assessing the first four years of Tito's government and, in particular, Tito's domestic and economic policy, as well as the political sentiments and attitude of the population. The particular value of the book lies in the fact that the author was not only well acquainted with the political life and activity of the Belgrade government, but also regarded the latter without any negative prejudice and, to begin with, shared the naive optimism of his superiors — Benes and Jan Masaryk — unreservedly, as some of the ideas and phrases in the book still clearly show, even after so many well-deserved disappointments (as for instance the amazing sentence with which the chapter "The Crucial Struggle" begins: "After the war, the Soviet armies helped to liberate Europe from the evils of nazism...," which is, however, followed by the words: "but the Soviet government did not keep the promise given at Yalta"). And after the Communist Party gained complete control in Prague, the author appears to have remained in the diplomatic service of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic for some time and not "to have chosen freedom" until later.

He is thus not a very rigorous opponent of Communism and there can be no talk of his being prejudiced against Djilas and other leading personalities in Tito's regime. On the other hand, however, he frequently reveals a remarkable foresight and objectivity, not only as regards social and political matters, but also in national questions (which on the part of a convinced "Czecho-Slovak" of the Masaryk and Benes type is truly remarkable). For instance, he makes no attempt to deny that "the Serbo-Croat problem still exists in all its fatality and tragedy and probably in a measure which surpasses which was known in pre-war times. It has ceased to be a question of power politics or a dispute between political parties, but it has grown to a national estrangement of serious dimensions" (p. 56). "The profound abyss which existed between Croats and Serbs" prior to World War II (p. 3) has in no way been bridged since 1944, quite the contrary, in fact: "There are politically-minded people in every part of Yugoslavia, who are seriously beginning to be convinced that the founding of the Yugoslav state thirty years ago was a fatal error... the idea of a united Yugoslavia is far from being deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of the Yugoslav people and the Serbo-Croat

problem still exists in full strength." And a point which is particularly interesting and significant is — "these ideas were heard frequently in Belgrade and they did not come only from people of the older generation who were inclined to overestimate and oversimplify Serbian self-sufficiency. They came also from young Serbian students" (p. 57-58)*.

About Milovan Djilas, with whom, incidentally, he was acquainted during the years from 1945 to 1949, and this acquaintanceship seems to have been far more than purely official, this competent and discerning observer writes as follows:

"There has been a lot of speculation about who will take the mantle of Tito's leadership, time and politics permitting. My guess would be Djilas, for reasons described below. — Djilas seems to have in the government the modest position of Minister without Portfolio. In fact, he is the most important person in anything connected with propaganda and culture. He issues daily directives to the Yugoslav press through the Communist party propaganda center called AGITROP. He watches the publishing programs of the state-owned publishing companies and there is no theater or operatic piece which could appear on a stage without his approval. He controls schools and universities, which are his specialities. — As a member of the Big Secret Four**, Djilas has decisive influence in the ideological line of the party and in all matters of internal and external policy."

"Djilas is undoubtedly a man of high intelligence... Djilas is an uncompromising Communist but he does not like to conceal from himself the situation as it really is, which most Communists do."

"There is another line in Djilas' character. He is radical in his Communist belief and brutal in its execution. He does not count victims scrupulously if he decides to march on to achieve an aim. No sacrifice of other people is too great for him to score a victory for Communism" (p. 79-81).

And in the next few years after Tito's break with Moscow, Djilas' fanatical hatred of the so-called "Western capitalism and imperialism" did not in the least change:

"In the parliamentary election in March, 1950, the main emphasis was put on the Communist program of the government, and Marshal Tito made it clear that no opposition would be tolerated. Two programs cannot exist in our country... Revolution is a brutal thing... if something should hamper us on this road (of revolution) it must be vanquished and eliminated", declared Tito in February, 1950. — Milovan Djilas went further in an election speech in March, 1950, "Our Socialist regime is so contrary to the western capitalist world that its very nature does not permit us to agree to anything, nor expect anything, other than the trade relations which are common to capitalism. Therefore it is clear that we cannot make any political or economical concessions to the western capitalist world because of trade relations or because of this or that temporary need, because that would mean returning to capitalism, and we have passed a just sentence on capitalism" (p. 335).

And, finally, one more concrete example of how Djilas — and not Tito's government as such, but Djilas personally — visualized the "brotherly co-operation" of his state with the "people's democratic" satellite states, and most probably still visualizes it today (a question, which precisely in connection with the two unsuccessful national and fundamentally anti-Communist revolutions in Po-

*) In any case, it is interesting to know that precisely on this question — namely, a Serbian movement which wants to detach itself from Croatia — there is not even any information in the later "more competent" books by Adam B. Ulam ("Titoism and the Cominform", Cambridge, Mass., 1952) and Hamilton F. Armstrong ("Tito and Goliath", 1953).

**) This is how the author designates the four "leading men" of the Yugoslav government — Tito, Djilas, Minister of the Interior Ranković, and Foreign Minister Kardelj, who are only followed after a considerable interval by Minister of War Popović and Party theoretician Pijade.

land and Hungary in the autumn of 1956, has now once again become particularly actual for Yugoslavia, too):

"Up until February, 1948, when the Communists forcibly turned my country into a 'people's democracy', Czecho-Slovakia was considered by the Yugoslav Communists as a half reactionary country because its government was composed not only of Communists but also of democratic parties. Therefore no favourable information was published about it, though it was an allied country... I decided to visit 'the Communist press magnate', Djilas, and put before him all the material which the (Czechoslovakian) Embassy had written in vain. Djilas... seemed to accept my arguments immediately. I was agreeably surprised when the following day his deputy, Vladimir Dedijer, came to see me and we agreed upon many things regarding the increase of publicity about Czechoslovakia in the Yugoslav press. Two months later, he came to see me again and proudly showed me the statistics of the AGITROP giving Czechoslovakia the first place in publicity. The articles were all quotations of the Czechoslovak Communist press attacking the democratic parties" (p. 131-132).

Thus, both Tito and Djilas have played exactly the same part — namely that of the wooden horse of Troy —, in the first place, as regards the satellite states and then, after the break with Moscow, as regards the whole free world. And nothing can alter this fact, — neither the present personal enmity between these two Yugoslav "National Communists", nor the pamphlet recently published by the vanquished Djilas and directed against Tito's regime, "The New Class", which, incidentally, does not contain any important ideas which were not already expressed by Trotsky in exile, when he published his attack on the Stalin regime. But Trotsky most certainly never longed for the collapse of a Communist dictatorship, — nor, in all probability, does the "National Communist" Djilas. V. D.

The Ideological Political Resistance of the Ukrainian Underground

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its "ability to set up states", its "mission of freedom in Europe and the rescue of the whole of civilization" etc. ... in other words history is treated with a perfectly plain tendency to stir up Russian chauvinism, the only foundation for Stalinist imperialism (from the same work, page 56). "The Russians are the foundation of the ruling Bolshevik party. The non-Russian party members are actually completely russified" alien members" who have nothing in common with their own peoples now. The Russians form the core of the Red Army which is as much a Russian army as it was in tsarist times..."

... although all other peoples, too, have been compelled to serve in the Soviet Army... Among Stalin's military commanders, Russian generals by far outnumber the non-Russians... Out of a total number of 6,134 so-called "Heroes of the Soviet Union", as of Jan 1, 1945, 4,123 are Russians... The members of the NKWD-NKGB, Stalin's huge and all-powerful police apparatus, are almost exclusively Russians" (loc. cit., p. 66).

This Russification is, in the first place, achieved by means of a systematically planned physical extirpation of non-Russian peoples and by settling Russians in non-Russian territories. It is not single individuals, but entire nationalities that are extirpated, as was the case with the Crimean Tartars, and the Chechenians (this genocide was confirmed by a resolution of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR on June 25, 1946) (loc. cit., p. 68).

"The Ukrainian people suffers a particularly cruel extermination... By 1940 the Bolsheviks had destroyed more than 12 million Ukrainians, among them 6-7 millions by means of the artificial famine of 1932/33. Withdrawing from Ukraine in 1941, the Bolsheviks murdered all Ukrainian prison inmates. Applying the method of "sealing off groups", the Russians, in wartimes, drove the Ukrainians into the heaviest shell fire... Since the

"We were Ready to Die" Continued from page 10

Their plan of action was brief, but drastic. They planned to seize the building of the Roumanian Consulate by a surprise attack, to disarm the staff and force them to hand over the keys to all safes and bookcases, and to compel Bucharest to release five prominent persons (among them a bishop and a general) imprisoned in the Bolshevist prisons; in return, they would then set free all the staff of the Consulate.

Beldeanu greatly deploras the fact that this plan did not succeed as they had wished. One of his friends was unexpectedly attacked by the chauffeur of the Consulate; a fight ensued, in the course of which his friend, Codrescu, was obliged to shoot in self-defence and accidentally killed the chauffeur.

The death of the chauffeur wrecked their plans. They were no longer able to force the staff of the Consulate to hand over the keys without being noticed, nor could they carry out their plan to compel Bucharest to set free the five Roumanian patriots incarcerated in Bolshevist prisons. The building of the Consulate was promptly surrounded by Swiss police, and the Communists demanded that armed action should be taken against the Roumanians immediately. The latter refused to comply with the demand of the Swiss police to surrender and declared that they would be obliged to use gas-shells should the police attack them and that in this case many other persons in the town might be killed. Hence, there was nothing the police could do but to negotiate with the Roumanians. In the meantime, Beldeanu and his companions broke open two safes and began to study the secret documents of the so-called diplomatic representation; their suspicions as regards the activity of the latter were now confirmed and they also discovered other interesting details. It was evident from the documents that the staff of the Consulate performed two functions, — official and secret agency functions. The chauffeur of the Consulate, for instance, kept a check on all the movements of the consul, whilst the chauffeur's wife sent reports of her husband's activity to Bucharest. She was officially a cook. The Roumanians found significant amounts of money in the safes, namely 20,000 dollars and several thousand pounds sterling. All this money, which was in banknotes, together with other currency, they destroyed. In addition, they also destroyed the secret and illegal broadcasting station of the Consulate, as well as a huge collection of Swiss watches. These had probably been collected by the consul for his private purposes. Unfortunately, the Roumanians were not able to break open the other six safes, as they had not the necessary tools.

Four of the Roumanians were arrested by the Swiss police and imprisoned and later tried before a court. The entire staff of the Consulate, with the exception of the consul, were recalled to Bucharest. After the trial, the consul, too, was recalled to Bucharest. One of the Roumanians, incidentally, was arrested by the German police.

The action carried out by the Roumanian pa-

triot was partly successful. Mr. Beldeanu said during our interview with him that he had been pleased to see that the Western world was not as indifferent as he had supposed. The Roumanians received considerable moral support from the peoples of the free world.

Having tried the Roumanians before a court, the Swiss were faced by the alternative of either giving them a severe sentence and taking measures accordingly against the exposed Bolshevist "diplomats", who were in reality spies, or of punishing the Roumanians symbolically, as it were, and tolerating the carryings-on of the Communists on Swiss territory. The Swiss authorities chose the second alternative. The Roumanians were only given a light



The Roumanian revolutionaries on the way to Bern.

sentence and the Bolsheviks were allowed to continue their treacherous activity. Mr. Beldeanu pointed out that he would have been more satisfied if the Swiss authorities had been less neutral in this case.

Mr. Beldeanu, who is 36 years old, fought in World War II and was a member of the Roumanian Farmer's Party in his native country. After the liquidation of this party, he joined the Roumanian underground movement and organized three partisan groups. In October, 1947, these partisan groups were defeated, and in November of the same year Mr. Beldeanu fled to Yugoslavia where he was imprisoned. After two years in prison there, he managed to flee to Trieste and from there to Germany.

Whilst the Roumanian partisans under the command of Beldeanu were active in the Carpathian mountains, strong groups of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A) operated in Bukovina. Beldeanu tried to establish contact with these Ukrainian groups, but this was not possible, owing to the fact that the Roumanian underground groups headed by Beldeanu were defeated by Red Russian troops. The Ukrainian partisans, incidentally, advanced far into Roumanian territory, namely as far as Yakobeny, in 1947.

literature, art language, press, and all the other domains that are subject to state control in the U.S.S.R. (pp. 70-90). Special mention is here made of the adulteration of Ukrainian history (pp. 70-77) and of Ukrainian literature (pp. 80-86), and also of the Russification of schooling (p. 88), of the Red Army (p. 88), and of the key positions in Ukrainian economy (pp. 88-89).

From these statements it is obvious that the organized revolutionary Ukrainian movement for freedom has to take up the all-out ideological fight not only against a certain type of Russian imperialism, but also against all its possible forms in the present and in the future, since present-day Bolshevist policies very clearly lapsed into the old ruts of the imperialistic aims of the Russian Tsars, of Kerensky and of General Vlasov (among the emi-

grants). For that reason it is quite natural for the editorial of the newspaper "On Guard" ("Na Chatakh"), No. 1, Nov. 1946, published in the home country for the youth, to fight, under the headline "The Ukrainian people struggles with Russian imperialism" (p. 5) all forms of the historical, traditional Russian imperialism, calling Ukrainian youth to the fight against any Russian imperialism and not only against its last embodiment, Communism-Bolshevism.

Fully aware of the menace represented by the disintegrating activities of both Communism-Bolshevism and Russian imperialism, the OUN subjects the methods of an adequate resistance to searching analysis. In the "Journal for Education", published by the propaganda center of a OUN district committee in the home country under the title "For the Great Idea" ("Dlya velykoyi Ideyi") B. Ulas, in his article "How and in what direction can the path be found that leads to the youth that has succumbed to Bolshevist falsities" (Year 1952), recommends the following:

(a) To underline the heroism of our youth during its historic past; to emphasize the value of such personalities as fight for the well-being, honor and fame of their own nation, and not a foreign one.

(b) To point out the fact of consanguinity between our present-day misinformed youth and the glorious Ukrainian nation. There is no such thing in nature that members of the same genus devour and exterminate each other. Among other cultural nations there is no such thing either. Moscow alone is capable of doing such a thing in Eastern Europe and of tainting its subjects with such dishonor.

(c) It is with disgust that we nowadays look upon the part of Ukrainian youth that once allowed itself to be formed into Janissaries...

(d) To state with special emphasis the heroism, achievements and sacrifices of the youth that joined the ranks of the OUN and the UPA...

(e) To arouse the feeling of national dignity, of the proud awareness that one is a member of the Ukrainian nation... The Ukrainian people are lovers of freedom and the greater part of its history is filled with the struggle for its freedom. It cannot stand any despotism or dictatorship.

(f) To describe and depict the sufferings and the spiritual and material losses to which Moscow has exposed the Ukrainian people; physical extirpation, Moscovisation, Moscow's efforts to extinguish the Ukrainian people, Moscow's attempt to push the Ukraine onto a colonial level. To contrast the wealth of Muscovite settlers in Ukraine with the distress Ukrainians suffer on their own soil...

(g) To shake the belief in Moscow's power... All the world now turns against Moscow, since everybody sees the impending menace... The inhuman rule of Hitler's Nazism has not lasted long; similarly, Moscow is approaching the final stage, since the realization of the state independence of all peoples is under way. How miserable must Moscow's stooges feel among their Ukrainian people. The people has suffered, the people has struggled, but he has helped Moscow enslave the people! Would it not be better for him to abandon that ill path?

(h) To express the assertion that every Ukrainian ought to be induced by his innate dignity to turn with disgust from Moscow and to help protect his people.

(i) To propound the reasons why a Ukrainian lacking the national idea is but an empty vessel and good-for-nothing among Ukrainian people and on Ukrainian soil.

(j) To unmask the most detestable crime, which is to preserve one's own life at the expense of one's brethren being murdered and jeered at.

(k) To express the conviction that the league with Moscow means death for us... (loc. cit., 37-39).

What follows in that article is a comprehensive list of underground publications, recommended above all for Ukrainian youth (among them the treatises of the above-mentioned writers H. Hornovy and B. Ulas), — publications of a propagandistic as well as artistic nature, in which the "spiritual renaissance of certain Ukrainians, poisoned by Bolshevist stultification, raising them to the level of true, honest and worthy sons of the Ukrainian people" (loc. cit., p. 39) is described. S.S.

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times when they again occupied Ukraine until 1946, the Bolsheviks destroyed and deported more than one million Ukrainians" (loc. cit., p. 69).

The aim of aggression consists in the following: (1) to imbue the non-Russian peoples with a feeling of inferiority; (2) to spread among them a slavlike adoration of the Russian people as "the elder brother" and "the leading nation", so as to facilitate the assimilation of those peoples, to weaken their spiritual and ethical resistance, and to undermine the mental fundaments of those peoples' struggle for freedom" (loc. cit., p. 70). — On the following pages the publication deals in great detail with the Bolshevist policy of Russification, expounding the manner in which this policy is forcefully carried on in the fields of history,

From Behind the Iron Curtain



BULGARIA

COMMUNIST STANDARDIZATION OF THE BULGARIAN ARMY

As can be seen from numerous articles published in the organ of the Bulgarian Ministry of Defence, "Narodna Armija", Party activity in the army has recently assumed an unusual intensity. In addition to the "deputy commander", who as the Polit Commissar has control of the general political training of the cadres, there are in every troop unit special groups of the Communist Party and the national youth organization at work, which are run and supervised by their own Party bureau or by committees of the national youth organization. It is the duty of these groups not only to carry out the ideological training of the cadres — and obviously to check the political trustworthiness of the officers and soldiers, but also to be responsible for the highest possible achievements as regards the purely military training and to act as a model example in this respect themselves. Irrespective of their military rank, the secretaries of these Party organizations act as competent advisers of the commander of the unit in determining training courses and even in fixing the individual tactical drill exercises.

In a leading article in the "Narodna Armija" of October 4, 1957, the Party and national youth organizations in the army are exhorted to devote themselves to the political training of the cadres still more and to eradicate all remnants of bourgeois ideology in the barracks. It is stressed that every soldier must be turned into a fighter for the cause of the Party and a defender of his socialist country.

As can be seen from other publications, special training courses on Marxist doctrine have recently been introduced for the officers of all units. Even during field drill, the propagandists of the military Party groups endeavour to instil political propaganda into the minds of the soldiers by lectures and by distributing newspapers and Communist literature.

STUDENTS RECRUITED FOR HARVEST-WORK AS LAST RESORT

The formation of labour brigades consisting of pupils and students of both sexes has once again been introduced in Bulgaria to a very considerable extent. A mass mobilization of this kind, in which no less than 200,000 students were recruited as agricultural labourers for the purpose of coping with seasonal work, was carried out at the beginning of October 1957. A decree was issued by the Ministry of Education to the effect that lessons and classes in all the secondary schools and colleges of Bulgaria were to be suspended completely for the duration of this labour service.

The pupils and students recruited for the labour brigades are sent to collective farms all over the country, where they have to work day and night, helping to bring in the harvest and preparing the fields for autumn-sowing. This campaign, which has allegedly been introduced thanks to the initiative of the national youth organization to do voluntary labour service, has been given considerable propagandist support by the press. The people's councils and organizations of the home front have been entrusted with the duty of seeing that the campaign is successfully carried out by providing the brigades of pupils and students with adequate board and lodgings in the rural areas.



GEORGIA

DEPORTATION OF GEORGIAN YOUTH

Russian terrorism continues unabated in Georgia and its chief victims are the young people of the country. Constant compulsory deportations of young Georgian boys and girls continue as before.

According to the newspaper "Zoria Wostoka" ("The Star of the East"), No. 150, about 6,000 young Georgians have "settled" in Kazakstan, in

the region of Kustanaisk, for the purpose of cultivating virgin land there.

The organ of the Communist Party, "The Communist", recently published pictures of some of these young "volunteers" on the point of departing into exile. The paper adds that the young people of Georgia continue to volunteer for work in the remote and uncultivated regions of the Soviet Union "with an unheard of enthusiasm".

"The Communist" of September 7, 1957, also reports with great pleasure how "eager" the young Georgian exiles are to work in hitherto uncultivated regions.



HUNGARY

The journal "Der europäische Osten" (No. 10) reports that in Czecho-Slovakia alone there are 45,000 political prisoners in the Communist prisons, and adds: "In Hungary at least 2,000 persons were executed, more than 25,000 arrested and about 12,000, mostly young persons, were deported between January 1st and August 1st, 1957. Up to 100,000 Soviet soldiers are stationed there. In addition, there are about 2,000 civilian Soviet "advisers", technical experts and members of the secret police."

It is perfectly obvious from the above figures that this is a case of brutal genocide in which the Hungarian people are the victims.



LITHUANIA

On November 2, 1957, the Soviet Lithuanian Radio Station in Vilna broadcast an amnesty decree issued by the Supreme Council, according to which all persons sentenced for minor offences to a term of imprisonment of up to three years are to be pardoned and longer sentences are to be commuted by half the term. This amnesty is to apply to the following categories: women with children under eight years of age, women who have just given birth to a child, male prisoners over 60, female prisoners over 55, and youthful delinquents up to 16 years of age. Additional punishments, such as deportation, are likewise to be reduced accordingly. The amnesty does not, however, apply to political prisoners. This typically Soviet perforation of the amnesty law obviously makes it a farce.

PROPAGANDA FOR PRE-MILITARY TRAINING

A congress which was attended by representatives of the Soviet Lithuanian administrative authorities, Party organizations, sports and other societies and was devoted to the question of the pre-military training of the youth of Lithuania was recently held in Vilna. General Bielow of the Moscow central department for pre-military training was present at this congress. After listening to the reports given by various members of the congress, he proceeded to criticize the tardiness of pre-military training in Lithuania.



SLOVAKIA

In September 1957, the Soviet writer, Leonid Stepanov-Leonov, who, as the political commissar of the partisan unit "High Tatra", together with other Soviet functionaries, in 1944 organized the "Slovakian National Revolt", paid a visit to Slovakia.

During the first nine months of 1957, 2,785 workers were deported by the Communist authorities for work in the uranium mines in Joachimsthal.

The Pressburg "Pravda" recently published a long article about the future activity of the Slovakian "National Council" (which is described as the Slovakian Diet). As is apparent from this article, the function of this institution in future, too, will merely be to listen to and discuss the reports of the commissars (State Ministers). Although the competence of the Slovakian National

Council has allegedly been extended, the only bill on the agenda for the next session is a bill on the re-distribution of land-holdings and the common right of pasture.

This is apparently a legal matter which cannot be dealt with in the Bohemian provinces, and for this reason the Slovakian pseudo-Diet is to have the privilege of settling this question.

According to official reports, 386 new kolkhozes with a total area of 146,900 hectares were set up in Slovakia from January 1st to September 30th, 1957. These figures are a typical example of the ever-increasing forcible collectivization of agriculture in Slovakia.

By October 1, 1957, a total area of 1,383,000 hectares had been converted into kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Slovakia. This figure represents 50.6 per cent of all the acreage under cultivation in Slovakia.



UKRAINE

UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS SHOT DEAD

The newspaper "Pravda Ukrainy" ("The Truth of Ukraine"), which is published in Kyiv in Russian, reported in its edition of October 24, 1957, that the following Ukrainian patriots had been sentenced to death in accordance with the judgment passed by the court of Rivne: V. D. Drozd, V. I. Kalchuk, I. R. Bukhalsky and V. S. Shevchuk.

The newspaper reminds its readers of the article it published in its edition of March 20, 1957, entitled "Let them be accursed", in which it described a "horrible tragedy which happened in the village of Ustenske Druhe (formerly called Derman), near Misoch in the province of Rivne". The article accused several inhabitants of Derman of being "bourgeois nationalists" and of having murdered more than 400 Soviet citizens in 1942-1949; according to this Russian-Bolshevist newspaper published in Ukrainian, the victims were thrown into a well. They were buried in March of this year. "Pravda Ukrainy" states that the "toiling masses of the district and of the province unanimously (sic!) demanded that the organs of state security should severely punish the criminals."

During the trial 120 "eyewitnesses" (probably agents of the Communist NKVD organization, — the Editor) accused the above-mentioned persons of having committed the "horrible deeds".

This recent Russian crime against Ukrainian patriots and freedom fighters is proof of the fact that the anti-Russian struggle continues in Ukraine and that the position of the Red Russian occupation authorities there is not very rosy.

VIETNAM

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (A.P.A.C.L.), Vietnam Section, has just published two books in Vietnamese and English, entitled "Quynh-Luu Uprisings", to mark the anniversary of the Quynh-Luu revolt against the Viet-Minh dictatorship (November 14, 1956).

The release of these books will enable the Vietnamese people to keep in mind the everlasting memory of the heroic struggle that their compatriots in Quynh-Luu waged against Red tyranny.

ANTI-COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES

From September 25th to October 22nd, the village militiamen and the Security Service in the Van-Ninh district swept the region of all subversive elements.

Helped in this task by the local inhabitants, they confiscated many guns and explosives and also several important documents of the Viet-Cong.

At a solemn ceremony held on October 20th at the Pleiku Town Hall, 35 former Viet-Cong cadres pledged to break with the Communist Party.

After the usual ceremonial, a representative of the cadres who had surrendered stressed the significance of the ceremony. In turn, his comrades then denounced the Communist crimes and pledged loyalty and support to the Government of the Republic of Vietnam led by President Ngo-Dinh-Diem.

Twenty-five year old Le-Son-Hong, a lieutenant in the Viet-Cong Army, recently crossed the 17th parallel and sought refuge in Free Vietnam.

At the invitation of various groups, the ex-Communist lieutenant will shortly hold a series of talks on the soldier's life in the Viet-Cong Army.

BOOK-REVIEWS

Chiang Chung-Cheng (Chiang Kai-shek):

Soviet Russia in China.

Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, New York, 1957.
pp. 392.

This book recounts the story of China's role in world politics during the period from 1911 up to the present day. The author explains the Chinese policy during the so-called "peaceful coexistence" with Soviet Russia in the years between 1924 and 1945 and its final failure to save the Chinese Republic from Communism. At the same time, Chiang Kai-shek explains the successes and failures of the free world's struggle against Russian Communism. His excellent analysis of the Communists' strategy for a world revolution is particularly interesting.

The author hopes that "the bitter lessons China has learned may prove instructive to countries and governments, and especially to those in Asia which now face the same threat of Communism" (p. 7). He goes on to express his firm hope that: "If this book can in any way help enhance the vigilance and determination of those who are defending the cause of freedom and democracy and to bring home to the avowed neutralists the realization that they are unwittingly serving the Communist purpose, my labor will have been rewarded and the great sacrifices that the Chinese people have made will not have been in vain" (pp. 7-8).

In the chapter "Peaceful Coexistence" between China and Russia during the years from 1924 to 1949, the author points out that the treachery and infiltration of the Russian Communists combined with intrigues and provocations in China for the purpose of weakening the resistance of the Chinese army and the people and finally occupying the Chinese mainland. Chiang Kai-shek is, however, convinced "that the Russian Communists' dream of turning the Chinese mainland into a new colony will remain a dream and will before long be dashed to pieces under the counter-blow of the people of the Republic of China" (p. 193). We should like to add at this point that not only the Chinese mainland, but also Ukraine (in 1918-1921) and other European countries have been conquered by the treacherous Russian Communists in the same way.

In Part Two Chiang Kai-shek deals with the problems of basic importance in the free world's war against Communism: in his opinion, the part played by weapons and military strength, and their usefulness in our struggle against Communism today, can be accurately assessed only in connection with social and political conditions. If weapons and military actions should become isolated devices either for retaliatory purposes or as a deterrent, this will play right into the hands of the Soviet aggressors (p. 276).

Chiang Kai-shek utters the following warning: "If the Western nations should try to use their position of strength to stop Communist war of aggression in the vast area in the East, Soviet Russia will surely condemn this as another manifestation of the gunboat policy or of old colonialism, in an attempt to arouse anti-Western feelings in Asia. If the Western nations should try to direct pressure on Soviet Russia, and back it up with military force, if necessary, Soviet Russia could play it up as 'imperialist aggression', and rally her people in an 'anti-imperialist' and 'patriotic movement'" (pp. 276-277). We do not agree fully with this statement, since the so-called Soviet Union is also inhabited by non-Russians who constitute more than half its population. These non-Russian peoples would organize uprisings against the Red Russian oppressor. And what about the people of Hungary, of the Soviet Zone of Germany, of Poland, and others who are suffering under the Red Russian yoke? In World War II the Russians speculated on the fact that the German occupation authorities treated the non-Russian population (the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and others) as enemies; that is why the Kremlin tried to arouse a "patriotic movement" among these non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. But nevertheless, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought both the Red Russian and the German occupation armies in World War II.

In the chapter "Peaceful Coexistence", Chiang Kai-shek concludes his comments on the peaceful coexistence of the world with the Communists, with the following remarks: "If the democratic bloc is afraid that a local war by the anti-Communist national revolutionary forces would touch off a world-wide thermo-nuclear war, and therefore seeks to avoid war at any cost, then the Communist infiltration and subversion will run its course and the Communists will have a free hand in conquering the free nations and extending their control. In that event, though it is possible to preserve peace temporarily, the free world will have only two courses before it. One is to wait for the enemy to strike first in a surprise attack of annihilation. The other is to accept the enemy's 'peaceful coexistence' and to permit ourselves to be disposed of as the enemy may see fit. Therefore, if the democracies wish to prevent the outbreak of a world war, and to save mankind from a major calamity, the only thing is to substitute a local war in East Asia for an all-out world war, and to fight a war with conventional weapons instead of a war of annihilation with thermo-nuclear weapons. Such a Far Eastern war of national revolution against Communism points a way to the defeat of the Soviet bloc and to the lifting of the Iron Curtain without a world war. It is also the free world's only way, apart from a world war using thermo-nuclear weapons, to foil the Russian Communists' ambition to dominate the world. This is also the only way to rebuild world peace and to safeguard human freedom.

Which of the two courses will the democracies elect to follow? The answer to this all-important question will determine whether the Russian Communists will succeed or fail in their scheme for world conquest" (pp. 341-342).

In our opinion the Iron Curtain will not be lifted until a blow has been directed at the very heart of the Soviet Union; the Western support of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations of the Soviet Union and of the

satellites in Europe would be a deadly blow against the Soviet Union and would enhance the total disintegration of the Russian prison of nations that bears the name "Soviet Union". In this case the Russian Communist Empire would cease to exist, and there would then no longer be a Communist menace in the world. And this is a fundamental question if one deals with the problem of combatting or annihilating world Communism, — a question no less important than the question of combatting Chinese Communism; because after the defeat and disintegration of the Soviet Union, Communist China, too, will cease to exist.

Chiang Kai-shek's book is of considerable value to all those who wish to learn more about the true nature of world Communism, because the author has experienced Communist imperialistic tactics in his long struggle against Russian Communism in Asia.

We felt it our duty, however, to point out another aspect of combatting Russian Communism in the Soviet Union itself and in the European satellite states.

V. Oreletsky

John Shelton Curtiss: The Russian Church and the Soviet State 1917-1950. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1955.

This work, which owes its origin mainly to the fact that it was financed by the Russian Institute of Columbia University, recently appeared in a German translation by Josef Hahn (with the title "Die Kirche in der Sowjetunion 1917-1956" — "The Church in the Soviet Union 1917-1956", Isar Verlag, Munich, 1957), in which the author "has in an epilogue" taken the development of events up to the year 1956 into account, a fact which naturally gives the whole book far more actuality. At a first glance, the main theory propounded by the author seems to be fairly plausible, for it is worded as follows: "It must definitely be emphasized that the Soviet leaders at no time tried to exterminate the Church for good. They regarded it as a problem of relatively slight significance and from 1922 onwards were prepared to try and find a modus vivendi. When they failed to achieve this with the help of the Living Church, they secured a compromise in this respect for themselves through Metropolitan Sergey" (p. 215, — we are quoting throughout from the German edition).

The fact that this remark refers exclusively to the Russian Greek Orthodox Church and not to any of the formerly numerous non-Russian national churches in the U.S.S.R., is, incidentally, clearly stressed by the author himself in the opening sentence of his "Introduction": "As the title indicates," the following work deals with the relations between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet State. No attempt has been made to discuss other religious faiths" (p. 9).

The above-mentioned main theory propounded by the author could therefore be accepted, in so far as he, in the first place, refers exclusively to the Russian Orthodox Church with it — which he does — and if, by the "modus vivendi" aimed at by the Soviets or "compromise, he meant the complete subordination of the Russian Orthodox Church to the political interests of Bolshevism and its transformation into a willing and eager tool of Soviet foreign and home policy, — which, however, he does not. On the contrary, he presents himself as a careful and, to outward appearance, circumspect, but all the more consistent apologist of Bolshevik Church policy. Nine-tenths of his account is no doubt based on Soviet official and semi-official sources (or on Western publications for which the ideological credibility of Soviet sources is an established fact); he likes to quote them in extenso, comments at length on them, occasionally criticizes them a little (which naturally creates the impression that what is not criticized is more or less in keeping with the truth) and finally draws "conclusions" which, as a rule, are merely verbal variations of the Soviet allegations.

On the other hand, however, publications by Russian anti-Communist emigrants which show the Soviets in an unfavourable light are only included to a very modest extent, hardly ever quoted, but merely referred to briefly by the author in an obviously sceptical manner and, as a rule, disposed of with the disparaging remark that all this is "not proved". What, indeed, does the author hope to prove — and "prove objectively" — on the strength of such "material" as, for instance, the text published in the Moscow "Pravda" of the press conference between Metropolitan Sergey and foreign newspaper correspondents in Moscow, on the one hand, and between the Metropolitan and representatives of the Soviet press, on the other hand, in the year 1950? The entire text was, of course, dictated by the GPU (the Soviet secret state police) and only allows conclusions to be drawn as to how the Soviets wanted their Church policy at that time to be regarded at home and abroad. Every Bolshevik publication is, in the first place, propagandist in character, and if there is only one grain of truth in it, then this has happened by accident or of necessity (in the autumn of 1941, for example, the Soviets could not make up their mind to announce the loss of Novgorod, but a little later were forced to admit that combats had taken place "to the east of the River Vokhov", which meant exactly the same thing). But it was precisely in their Church policy that the Soviets on no occasion needed to affirm a grain of truth, and it is for this very reason that one must know how to read between the lines very skilfully, in order to discover something in the Soviet publications on this subject which is not a direct untruth. The author, however, systematically contents himself with such meaningless formulations as, for instance, the following: "As far as can be ascertained according to Soviet sources, the policy of using objects of value belonging to the Church in order to alleviate the famine, proved a success" (p. 112). Precisely — according to Soviet sources! Indeed, what interest could the Soviets have had in describing the looting of the churches and monasteries, which was undertaken by force under the pretext of the famine (and

*) That the German title means something quite different, has no doubt escaped the notice of the author, and can, of course, be traced to the apparently ineradicable, political, tendentious habit in Germany of regarding practically everything that is Soviet as Russian, too, — with, of course, the exception of the German colonists along the Volga and in Ukraine.

claimed numerous victims), as their own failure? It is frankly amusing to see how the author from chapter to chapter endeavours to analyse the activity of the "Union of Atheists", patronized by the Party and the government, on the strength of this Union's own reports and various official sources, in order to draw conclusions as to the temporary intensification or relaxation of Bolshevik anti-religious propaganda, whereas in reality all these reports, etc. were only intended as a basis for subsequent decisions on the part of the Party and the government and were "elaborated" accordingly; their purpose did not consist in ascertaining something that had already happened, but in justifying in advance something that was to be undertaken.

But to return to the notorious mass looting of the churches in 1920-21. The author (on the strength of data published in the Bolshevik anti-religious organ "Revolution i Eerkov") writes as follows: "When an inventory was made of the property of the Alexandro-Svirskij monastery and the massive silver shrine of the saint was opened, not a body preserved in a miraculous way but a wax figure was allegedly found in it. The news of this scandalous discovery spread throughout the country and caused such indignation amongst the people that many of them demanded that other shrines should be opened for the purpose of inspection" (p. 85). — To which we should like to add that one does not even need to have lived in the Soviet Union oneself to know in what way such "demands on the part of the population" were and are required by the Party and the government, according to requirement; in this respect one only needs to be acquainted with the corresponding literature, of which there is plenty on the subject of Bolshevik religious persecution. But the author does not dream of referring to this literature; he intentionally ignores all the proof offered by really competent and credible experts and organizations as regards the Bolshevik Church policy (as for instance the works on this subject by Prof. H. Koch, Prof. I. Mirchuk and by Fr. Heyer, as well as the important compilation "First Victims of Communism — White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine", Rome, 1955); he likewise ignores V. Kravchenko's famous book which has been translated into a dozen languages, "I Chose Freedom" (which contains much interesting information about the Bolshevik Church policy); and though he is an American research scholar, he even goes so far as to ignore the well-known Washington "Reports of the Soviet Committee on Communist Aggression".

We leave it to the reader to decide whether such an attitude should be described as unlimited biasedness or as ruthless cynicism.

One must, however, admit that at least the author makes no attempt to idealize the Russian Orthodox Church or to exaggerate its ideological influence. He obviously enjoys quoting the following public declaration by a Russian Orthodox priest in August 1917: "Apparently what has been said repeatedly in the history of our civilization, is now said again: namely, that religion consists almost wholly of rites and that apparent religiosity is not based on any moral foundation... The 'Christ-loving' people not only do not love Christ, but they also do not know Him: this is the perpetual tragedy of our Russian reality" (p. 25). — But immediately after the outbreak of the October Revolution the author changes his point of view very considerably: he now classifies all circles of the Russian Orthodox Church either as "reactionary", that is to say those who are in any way opposed to Bolshevism (also designated as "fanatics" by the author), or as "liberal", that is to say those who are not afraid of capitulating unconditionally to Bolshevism; this latter class is sometimes honoured by the attribute "venerable" — even when their venerability only consists in their dog-like servility to the atheistic usurper.*

The persecution of the two Ukrainian Churches — the Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church — by Bolshevism and the Russian Orthodox Church is disposed of on a few pages with quotations from Soviet official organs and from the "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate". And apparently this suffices from the author's point of view.

It is incomprehensible why one should want to ascribe any scientific value to this book.

V. D.

*) As is obviously the case with Metropolitan Sergey of Vladimir (p. 152).

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Fleet Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (Brazil)

The Free World Has Got A Remarkable Superiority . . .

Thoughtful Comments on World Communism / Special Interview for "ABN-Correspondence"

Fleet Admiral Carlos Penna BOTTO, well-known as a supporter of the anti-Communist fight, has very kindly agreed to give us his views on the following questions:

Question 1: *In what way do you think it would be possible to overthrow the Russian Bolshevik imperium, if the leading statesmen of the free world are not prepared to give active support to the national liberation revolutions, — as was the case in Hungary?*

2: *Do you not think that the passive attitude of the Western major powers towards the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia is helping to hasten on the outbreak of a nuclear war?*

3: *In view of the free world's inferior strength as regards classical weapons, how could it withstand a war of aggression on the part of Russia with conventional weapons, without being the first to resort to nuclear weapons, if it misses the only opportunity of destroying the Bolshevik imperium*

from within, namely by supporting the national liberation revolutions?

4: *Why does the free world not take part in the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia, seeing that Russian Bolshevik colonialism represents a grave menace to its own existence, too?*

5: *Is it not true that the only guarantee for a lasting peace and for the security of the whole world lies in the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent national states for all the subjugated peoples, all the more so since Russia is the last and most terrible colonial empire in the world? For what reason is the disintegration of the British and French Empires approved of, whereas the idea that the Russian Empire should be preserved in the future, too, — at least within the frontiers of 1939 — is supported?*

6: *Do you not think that the state independence of Ukraine, Caucasia, White Ruthenia, Turkestan and other peoples forcibly included in the Russian imperium, as well as the independence of Russia within her ethnographical territory would liberate the world from fear and danger?*

could possibly have started a successful chain-reaction against Communist slavery . . .

It might have spelt the doom of Bolshevism in Europe!

But what the astonished world saw was just the reverse, as the United Nations cowardly refrained from any noble, human and worthy attitude, and kept, instead, a passivity all the more shameful in contrast with the forceful action taken against France and England on the Suez Canal issue . . .

The best way to overthrow the Communist world conspiracy is to strike at the very nerve-center of that conspiracy, which is the Soviet government, whose seat is on the banks of the Moskva river!

— There lies, in other words, the head of the Marxist dragon.

— If we succeed in felling off this head, the whole conspiracy will crumble down. I don't mean that we would, that way, get rid of Communism, as a creed, as a doctrine. No, because that needs fighting in the realm of ideas; that needs proving convincingly to everybody that Marxism is decidedly out-dated, both in theory and practice.

And also it would be necessary to prove, mainly by deeds, that democracy is a much better substitute for Marxism, in providing for the peoples' livelihood and general welfare. But by slashing at the Kremlin criminals we would cut to pieces the subversive and enslaving outfit which threatens the free world, and this is what needs to be done as soon as possible.

— How to chop off the dragon's head?

— By sharpening the sword of the subjugated peoples, represented by the "national liberation movements", and then helping to use that sword properly and with telling efficiency on the dragon's head.

— Who should do the sharpening and the helping?

— The Occidental Powers, of course, through NATO and the other democratic organizations.

2. No. It isn't helping to hasten the outbreak of a nuclear war; — it is delaying the outbreak of such a war.

Soviet Russia has every inducement, every advantage, not to hasten any hot war, still less nuclear war; not only because she rightly fears a declared war, due to her unstable inside situation brinking on general popular rioting, but because the so-called cold war, or psychological war, is paying her high dividends.

She is succeeding in fooling the whole world, why then should she change her course of action?

1. It would hardly be possible! I have contended many times, while discussing the problem of overthrowing both the Soviet and the Chinese Governments, that insurgent liberation movements stirred up inside the Soviet Union (also inside the satellite countries which make up the Iron Churtain) and within China (the red Chinese mainland) will not, as far as I can see and excluding unexpected circumstances, be able to bring about, by themselves alone, the much desired doom of Communism.

This is because it would be very difficult, albeit impossible, that these insurgent movements could entail and bring about "guerilla warfare" of such military worth as to sufficiently shake down the tyrants' bastions in Russia and China, bastions whose defenses rely on Bolshevik strongly armed forces.

Needless to say, I am not, in my reasoning, considering the possibility that the liberation movements might involve the help and active participation of considerable fractions of the mentioned armed forces; — because, if it did, then it would be quite feasible to storm Khrushchev's and Mao-Tse-tung's dismal ramparts. Lenin's advice holds good when he says: — "all well-succeeded revolutions have been carried out by using the military forces on which the thrown-down governments relied upon."

That possibility exists, of course, both in the Soviet Union and in China, but I am taking it for granted that the expression "national liberation revolutions" included in question number one, which I am trying to answer, concerns more pointedly "popular upheavals" with but slight or occasional military support.



Fleet Admiral Carlos Penna Botto

This was exactly the case in Hungary, referred to in the final part of the question under consideration.

Had the Occidental Powers, during the savage onslaught on Hungary exerted pressure on the rapacious and brutal Kremlin invaders, and given the insurgent Hungarians moral, material and military help, the overall situation might be altogether different now. Not only brave Hungary would be free, but the other subjugated nations, including the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Union,

She will keep on going the same way, striving harder and harder to subjugate other peoples besides those belonging to 17 European nations and to about 14 non-Russian countries wrongly included in the Soviet Union. She will do that by using lies, deceit, trickery, falsehood, through her agents or through fifth columns and local sectors of the USSR Communist Party; and, in the meantime, she will try to sell to the world at large the cynical theories of "peace" and "coexistence". The enslaving process will proceed methodically and unhindered, until the world situation really becomes glaringly serious; — then, and only then, the major powers will wake up and the nuclear war will have to be resorted to!!

This, of course, won't be the case if the Occidental Powers decide to change, as they should, their wrong strategy for a better one, as I shall consider while attempting to answer some of the questions which follow ahead.

3. To begin with, I do not agree with certain assumptions contained in question number three. What is meant by classical weapons and conventional weapons? Are they those which are not nuclear weapons? In naval parlance, for instance, a propeller-driven plane is a conventional plane, differing altogether from a jet-plane in what concerns propulsion; but a jet-plane is not called a classical plane.

Anyway, I do not think the free world is inferior to Soviet Russia in any kind of weapons, and I am prone to believe it is superior in everything with the exception of manpower! But man-power should not be taken at its face value... Manpower depends on many things to be efficient.

Enslaved peoples constitute poor manpower, not to be relied upon by the enslavers. That is why Soviet manpower is exactly the sort of manpower that can be turned against the Soviets...

As for nuclear weapons, whether strategic or tactical, I feel sure the free world has got a remarkable superiority.

And, above all, victory in any war depends highly on moral and technical factors, and these will concur greatly to tip the scales in favour of those fighting the barbarian hordes under the yoke of the Kremlin.

4. Because "perplexity" and "confusion" enshroud the free world, as if it were a fog screen, thus preventing a clear vision of what is happening not only at large, at a fair distance, but even at close quarters, in the near neighbourhood! ... As a result we have the following present paradox, totally absurd but none the less true: — "Communism is decaying, rapidly declining and becoming demoralized within the countries where it prevails; — and, on the other hand, the same Communism is gaining adherents and making headway in the free countries!"

How can we account for that strange and illogical phenomenon? It seems to me that the explanation lies in the fact that those who live under the Communist regime are forced to realize full well, through sheer experience, through bitter suffering, how atrocious and cruel the same is; — while those who are lucky enough to inhabit the democratic nations do not measure to a full extent, the blessings of freedom and liberty, and are bound to believe, led by false propaganda and unable to find out by themselves the accuracy of what is captiously told them, that there is something good in Communism and that perhaps it may prove to be the right solution for many shortcomings existing in their own free lands...

In addition to that, many free and democratic countries are going through a depressive

period, fraught with hardships, as a result, or rather as an aftermath, of the two so-called World Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45.

In spite of the freedom they enjoy (and which they rightly take for granted), the peoples of many democratic nations, specially the economically underdeveloped ones, are suffering in many ways, are living at a low standard, are enduring injustice and ill-treatment, are facing an ordeal.

Marxist propaganda avails itself skilfully of that sad state of affairs, and seeks to poison the minds of all the discontented ones with evil, fake and treacherous ideas, all of them stressing the would-be wonders of the so-called "classless society" but, in reality, paving the way to subversion, to unrest, or, at least, to utter passivity before the Bolshevik onslaught.

Crowds get blind to the Soviet threat, ignore

The questions of this interview were likewise put to Dr. Jorge Prieto LAURENS, Secretary-General of the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", to the Marquis de VALDEIGLESIAS, Secretary-General of the Centre of Information and Documentation (Escorial), and to Senator F. P. McMANUS, State Secretary, Australian Democratic Labor Party (Victoria), and we publish their opinions in the following columns:

Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens

(Mexico)

1. — It is essential that active moral and material support be given to all peoples who are fighting for their liberation, or who are awaiting the opportunity to free themselves from their oppressors. If this is not done, the Free World will again view the sterile sacrifice of unfortunate Hungary.

2. — Undoubtedly, the lack of decision of the Western major powers to help the revolutionary movement behind the Iron Curtain is helping on the "Cold War", where the Russians have an indisputable advantage, and can most certainly result in hastening on the outbreak of a nuclear war.

3. — The Bolshevik imperium must be destroyed from within, before it decides to pour its strength in numbers and in weapons into the battle against the Free World. Russian-Soviet imperialism must be done away with by helping oppressed countries to disintegrate the Bolshevik monster.

4. — Russian-Soviet colonialism or imperialism is a grave danger not only for the subjugated peoples, but for the entire Free World.

5. & 6. — These points are covered by the previous answers. Certainly, Russia itself, Ukraine, Caucasia, White Ruthenia, Turkestan, Georgia, etc., have the right to real state independence.

*

Marquis de Valdeiglesias

(Spain)

1) The leading statesmen of the free world who were in the last world war the builders of the Russian Imperium can hardly be expected to give any active support to the national revolutions, because it is simply not their aim to overthrow the Bolshevik Imperium. Therefore the only thing to do is to try first to replace these actual leading statesmen of the free world. An active propaganda in the free world showing clearly the dangerous fraud that is taking place as well as the disastrous consequences that these mistaken tactics must forcibly have, can only be considered as reasonable.

2) Certainly I think that the passive attitude of the Western major powers towards the

the oncoming danger, adhere to a cowardly "watch and see" attitude and do not dare protest against the hideous procedure of the gang of criminals brewing world dominion behind the walls of the Moscow citadel... The Hungarian revolution afforded enough proof of that.

But those who are most to blame are the leaders, the statesmen, the rulers, those who hold the reins of government in the free countries. Their failure to understand, to grasp the world situation, is simply appalling. It seems to me that history never before recorded such a bunch of poor statesmen as now!

A very prominent Portuguese writer of the past, Camoes, once said in one of his inspiring verses: — "bad leaders often make even a strong people weak", which is truer than ever to-day.

national revolutions for freedom are hastening the outbreak of a nuclear war.

3) One way of destroying the Bolshevik Imperium is without doubt to support national revolts for liberation from the Bolshevik tyranny.

4) The free world cannot take part in the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples because the leading statesmen do not allow any real judgement of the question. And this situation will be kept on unless the oligarchy that pretends to rule democratically the so-called free world is not substituted by an appropriate system.

5) It is certainly true that the disintegration of the Russian Imperium into independent national states will be the only guarantee of a lasting peace.

6) The world would be liberated from fear and danger if the peoples forcibly included in the Russian Imperium would recover their independence.

I hope these answers will help our common interests. You can always rely on my active participation in this matter.

*

Senator F. P. McManus

(Australia)

Question 1: National liberation movements deserve the active support of all free peoples. Such support is essential, if the free world is to prevail against the onward march of aggressive Communism.

Question 2: Policies of "appeasement" and so-called co-existence play into the hands of Communism's leaders. Such policies ensure war rather than peace. Communism respects firmness but despises appeasement.

Question 3: Disintegration of the Communist imperium by fostering national liberation movements is the best way known to me of avoiding a major world war, which would turn to nuclear war.

Question 4: The free world does not give support to national liberation movements because —

a) in many cases people do not know such movements exist — more publicity is needed;

b) therefore statesmen are able to evade giving them support; →

President Veli Kajum Khan's Tour of the Near East

The President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and Vice-President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Veli Kajum Khan, at the invitation of the Turkestanians last summer undertook an extensive tour of various countries of the Near East. He visited Saudi Arabia, Turkey and other Near East states. He was received everywhere by the highest state dignitaries as the head of the Turkestanian exile government and was granted an audience on two occasions by King Ibn Saud. In the course of numerous lectures he propagated the idea of the independence and freedom of the peoples and also explained the fundamental principles of the A.B.N.

He was given an extremely cordial welcome by the many Turkestanian emigrants, who recognize the National Turkestanian Unity Committee under his leadership as the legal National Turkestanian Government. Numerous banquets were held in honour of President Kajum Khan by the governments of the various countries which he visited and by his fellow-countrymen. President Kajum

Khan gave countless press and radio interviews and aroused the enthusiasm of the orthodox Mohammedans again and again by his profound and extensive analysis of conditions behind the Iron Curtain and by expounding the means of liberation. As a devout Moslem he visited Mecca, the place of pilgrimage of all the Islamic peoples, and offered up prayers there for the liberation of his native country.

President Kajum Khan spent over two and a half months in the Near East and during this time showed that he was a true herald of the idea of freedom not only of his own Turkestanian fellow-countrymen, but also of all the peoples incarcerated behind the Iron Curtain, and enlightened his audiences as to the fate and aims of these peoples, a fact which considerably influenced intellectual and political circles of the Near East peoples.

President Kajum Khan very kindly placed an interview at the disposal of our editorial department and we are publishing the text of this interview below.

INTERVIEW

"This anti-Communist attitude is radiated to the entire Islamic World"

Question: *President Kajum Khan, you spent over two months in the Near East. Which countries did you visit and by which prominent personalities were you received? What is your general opinion of the situation there?*

Answer: For over two and a half months I visited various countries of the Near East and had an opportunity to discuss political problems and in particular the ideas and aims of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia with Ministers of state, state secretaries, the governors of Medina and Taif, police presidents and with accredited Western and Asian diplomats. I was welcomed by official representatives of the government, Turkestanian delegates from Saudi Arabia, India, Pakistan, Transjordan, Iraq, Turkey and other countries. I was received in audience by His Majesty King Saud of Saudi Arabia. He is one of the greatest personalities of the Near East. His attitude is definitely anti-Communist and he tolerates neither Communist propaganda nor Communists in his country. His Majesty's opinion carries great weight in world politics, as could be seen recently in the Turkish-Syrian incident. He is regarded as the protector of all Islamic peoples.

As far as the situation in general in the Near East is concerned, I found that there were two camps in existence. Owing to ignorance of Soviet conditions there is a certain sympathy on the part of some countries towards the Soviet Union which affirms that it is fighting imperialism. These countries are annoyed with the West and disappointed, a fact which Russia very skilfully exploits. On the other hand, however, Soviet advances are rejected

c) Communist propaganda for co-existence is more powerful than liberation propaganda.

Question 5: *Too little publicity is given to Communist colonialism. The free nations should support the fight of Communist colonies for freedom. At present they allow Communism to pose as the supporter of freedom from colonialism and imperialism.*

"We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed". II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

by the majority of the governments and peoples and they are afraid of being overrun by the Soviet Union. But in principle these governments and peoples, too, do not evince much sympathy for the Western countries. They do not trust either of these powers. Extremely close ties exist between

emigrant groups and to undermine their influence, the Soviets distribute books and pamphlets printed in Samarkand and Tashkent, which aim to undermine the national aims of the emigrants and affirm that the national leaders are agents of the Western powers.

I have discussed in detail the individual Soviet propaganda methods in my article "Basic Principles of Soviet Russia's Islam Policy", which was published in the "A.B.N. Correspondence", No. 9/10, 1957.

Question: *What is your opinion of the Soviet Russian campaign regarding Islam and the Soviet pilgrimages to Mecca?*

Answer: The "Red Pilgrims" sent to Mecca by the Soviet Union are regarded with distrust and all close contact with them is avoided. They allegedly convey greetings and bring letters and presents from relatives at home to the emigrants. They do not engage in political discussions and when asked about politics, reply that they are only priests and do not meddle with politics.

The governments — irrespective of which camp they may belong to — are all fighting Communism. They spend millions of dollars every year in order to strengthen national thought and faith; the Communists are put into prison and the Communist Party is prohibited in all countries with the exception of Syria. Islam is today still regarded as the main factor against Communism.

Question: *Did you yourself visit Mecca, and how do you assess the role of Islam in the fight against godless Bolshevism?*

Answer: I not only visited Mecca and Medina, but also many other towns and I lived with thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the Moslem world. I exchanged ideas with them every day and I ascertained again and again that all of them reject Communism. In Saudi Arabia in particular,



Reception by
His Excellency
The Emir of Taif

the Moslem peoples and particularly between the youth of these countries, and they are trying to set up a common Islamic front and to pursue a common national policy. The main problem of all the Near East countries is to improve social conditions and to fight colonialism.

Question: *What is the nature of Soviet propaganda in the Near East and what kind of a counter-campaign is conducted by the national governments there?*

Answer: Soviet Russian propaganda is very active, extremely manysided and skilful. The Soviet Russians pose as the protectors of independence and freedom; they send experts, propagandists and priests to the Near East. The latter do not openly carry on Communist propaganda; they only pray, conduct religious and philosophical discussions and talk about the independence and solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa. But this, of course, is a policy in itself. In order to destroy the very considerable strength of the Turkestanian

Communism is not tolerated at all and is strictly opposed by both the government and the people. Since Saudi Arabia is the religious centre of all the Islam peoples, this anti-Communist attitude is radiated to the entire Islamic world. For this reason Moscow is now disseminating the watchword: "Every Moslem can be a Communist and every Communist can be a Moslem, too, for we are not against God and the Prophet".

Question: *Have the leading circles of the Near East seen through Communism as a camouflaged form of Russian imperialism?*

Answer: In the course of the talks which I had with numerous politicians I found that they agreed with the theory that Communism is a new form of Russian imperialism and that Moscow has announced by its Party decrees that some day the whole world will be Communist. They also realize that Moscow with its Communist ideology and its imperialistic aims is a danger to the whole world. And the suppression of the revolts in Hungary, East

(Continued on page 5)

Cairo and Mexico

Vital Thoughts on Two Conferences

In this edition of our paper we are publishing a statement by the two well-known international anti-Communist organizations, the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" (APACL) and the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", on the question of convening an anti-Communist world congress. The preparatory conference is to take place in Mexico in the near future.

We greatly welcome the fact that Mexico has been chosen as the seat of this preparatory conference, since this freedom-loving people with its ancient culture and civilization provides a guarantee that the ideals of the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism will be expounded in an objective manner at the conference. And a further guarantee is provided by the fact that the head of the executive committee of the preparatory conference is Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, the loyal friend of the subjugated peoples, who in the columns of our paper has clearly and definitely declared himself in favour of the independence of the nations incarcerated in the U.S.S.R. We wish our loyal friend, Dr. Laurens, every success in carrying out his historic task.

It is extremely gratifying to us that the anti-Communist world league is being organized by such outstanding anti-Communists and champions of the independence of our peoples as President Ku Cheng-kang and President Admiral Carlos Penna Botto.

In our opinion now is the time, before the preparatory conference is held, for us to express certain ideas which we hope will act as a stimulus: We should like to see in the world congress not only an answer to the recent camouflaged Comintern Congress during the anniversary celebrations of the October revolution in Moscow and the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo, but also a positive exposition of the longing of our peoples for national independence, freedom of the individual and social justice. Since freedom of the individual and social justice are not realizable for a people without its national independence, the first precondition for this realization is the national state independence and severance of the subjugated peoples from the imperial Russian centre.

In Cairo the demand was raised that the colonies and protectorates should be conceded immediate and complete independence, that the UNO mandates should cease to exist from now onwards, that all foreign troops should be withdrawn and that the setting up of foreign military bases should be suspended, that is to say cease, in all countries. The demand was also raised that colonial territories which never in the course of their history have possessed state independence should become independent, too. We in no way wish to deny them this right to national independence. We merely stress this fact for the simple reason that the Western Major Powers cannot summon up courage to proclaim as the aim of their efforts the restoration of the independence of the nations incarcerated in the U.S.S.R., some of whom, such as Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and others, can look back on a thousand-year old history of independence. A clear and definite resolution must, therefore, be arrived at in Mexico, to the effect that the Russian imperium -- the last imperium in the world -- must be dissolved.

In view of the fact that Western colonialism and imperialism was attacked at the Cairo conference, it is imperative that the conference in Mexico should give the world a clear picture of Russian imperialism and colonialism. Not only must one recognize the right to state independence of the dependent and so-called colonial peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain, but one must, above all, clarify

the question of the same right for the peoples subjugated by Russia. There can only be one basis for the world conference as regards the national problem; the disintegration of the last and most ruthless colonial imperium in the world, that is to say the Russian peoples' prison, -- a process which other, far more progressive Western empires have already undergone or are at present undergoing.

It is incomprehensible why the free world should have hesitated to turn the tables for so long and, by using the same weapon but with sincere principles, to destroy the Russian imperium from within by the idea of national independence.

The Mexico Conference shall for the first time stand out as a symbol of the universal validity of the idea of national independence as a world-embracing idea and not as an idea which is limited territorially to the peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain.

In place of the demand raised at the Cairo conference that a world congress should be

convened on disarmament and coexistence, Mexico must demand the convening of a world congress on moral, ideological and universal armament and the rejection of every form of coexistence with tyranny. In place of the Cairo demand that Red China and Red Mongolia should be admitted to the UNO, it must demand the exclusion of all Communist governments from this organization. In place of the Cairo demand that Korea and Vietnam should be reunited under Communist participation, it must demand the reunification of these two states in freedom under the present freedom-loving governments of Seoul and Saigon.

We trust that the Mexico Conference will adopt the ABN principles and ideas for which our peoples behind the Iron Curtain are suffering and fighting and will give our suffering and fighting peoples new hope of being liberated. We hope that the Mexico Conference will pave the way for the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent national states within their ethnographical areas, as regards the attitude of the free world towards our peoples. After this Mexico Conference the statue of freedom of Mexico will become the symbol of the national freedom and independence of our peoples, too.

Statement Issued Jointly by "The Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and "The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League", Concerning a World Anti-Communist Congress

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto and Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, President and Secretary-General, respectively, of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, and Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, Chairman of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League Council, duly authorized by the organizations they represent, arrived at the following decisions at the meeting, held in Taipei on October 3rd 1957, for exchange of views on the convocation of a "World Anti-Communist Congress":

1. The above-mentioned two international anti-Communist organizations, realizing that the ultimate aim of the international Communist bloc is world conquest and enslavement of the whole human race, agreed that it is not only necessary for peoples throughout the world, belonging either to the free nations or to those under Communist yoke, to coordinate and intensify their efforts directed against Bolshevik action, and, consequently, to employ real and effective collective measures to defeat the common enemy, but also very important that this intended effort should be capable of being exerted to its fullest extent, as soon as possible.

2. The above-mentioned World Congress shall abide by the Resolution approved at the "Third Congress Against Soviet Intervention in Latin America", held in Lima (Peru), in April 1957, and will represent a preliminary step towards the creation of a permanent "World Anti-Communist League". The original idea came from Mr. Ku, Observer of the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China", who was present at the Lima Congress, and was promptly materialized through a proposal made by the Brazilian Delegation.

3. The above-mentioned two Parties, namely the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" decided, further, to issue immediately this statement not only to members of both Parties but also to all anti-Communist outstanding civic organizations of the United States, Canada, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, asking them to kindly express their opinion on the matter with the shortest possible delay.

4. Upon receipt of the answers, which both Parties confidently expect will be in hearty support of the World Congress, a "Preparatory Conference" will be summoned, to take place in Mexico City, tentatively in late February or early March 1958.

with the purpose of paving the way for the future Congress, organizing everything for its successful installation, choosing the location (country) for said Congress, laying down statutes, preparing the agenda and inviting Delegates and, possibly, Observers, but without overlooking the fact that the World Congress should take place as soon as possible, perhaps in June or July 1958.

This will be called the "Preparatory Conference for the World Anti-Communist Congress".

Each unit invited to participate at the "Preparatory Conference" shall consist of not more than five Delegates, besides advisers and other assistants. The units invited will be in a small number, at the discretion of the two sponsoring Parties. Each Delegation is to pay for its own travelling, boarding and lodging expenses.

5. Although statutes and the Agenda will be tasks to be fulfilled by the "Preparatory Conference", both Parties deem it advisable to lay down clearly, in this statement, the basic and underlying principles of the proposed World Congress.

The main objective is to stamp out Communism, to rid the world of the Marxist plague. That implies: (1) to liberate the peoples enslaved by Communists wherever that may be, in Europe and Asia; (2) to preserve the free peoples from being in the future enslaved by the Communists.

These two aspects of the fight against Communism are, nonetheless, to be considered *simultaneously*, as the fight should assume, for efficiency's sake, a global character.

In order to accomplish the aims in sight, the strategy is to be discussed at the World Congress, and, once approved, no effort will be spared to carry it out, until final victory is gained against the Bolshevik scourge.

6. The task of setting up a Secretariat for the "Preparatory Conference" will be assigned to the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent", according to the spirit of the Lima Resolution.

Taipei (Taiwan) — the 3rd of October, 1957.
(signed)

Carlos Penna Botto
President of IACDC
Jorge Prieto Laurens
Secretary-General of IACDC
Ku Cheng-kang
Chairman of the Council of APACL

The Moral and Legal Point of View

Comments on the Political Basis of the World Front against Communism and Russian Imperialism

It stands to reason that our nations, too, naturally have a right to the restoration of their independence and that their aims in this direction must be recognized and supported by the free world. It is impossible to fight Communism, which is the means of Russian imperialism, and not take into account the most important factor, namely the disintegration of the Russian peoples' prison into independent states of the nations incarcerated there. If the free world recognizes the independence of almost all the peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain, it is incomprehensible why it refuses to recognize the state independence of Ukraine or Byelorussia, which are members of the United Nations, or of Turkestan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and other nations incarcerated in the Soviet Union.

It is known all over the world that our peoples (for instance the peoples of Caucasia, Turkestan, Ukraine, etc.) have a thousand-year old history of independence, but in spite of this fact, attempts are now being made to transform the Communist regime into an NTS regime. It is impossible to form a successful world-front against Communism if one does not clearly and definitely emphasize the state independence of the nations incarcerated in the U.S.S.R. From the propagandist point of view alone, Moscow will attack this weak spot in the world-front as regards the most important question, and will make it clear to the nations subjugated in the U.S.S.R. that, in spite of all, they are granted the sovereignty conceded to them (though, as we all know, this is de facto only fictitious). Does the free world, if it is victorious, intend to throw Ukraine or Byelorussia out of the UNO? We support the independence of Burma, Korea, Indonesia or Vietnam, therefore why should not all members of the various freedom-loving organizations of the free world definitely concede this same right to independence to Turkestan, the Caucasian peoples, to Ukraine or Byelorussia and proclaim it to the whole world.

If a world-front is to be successful in the fight against Bolshevism, then it must not only formally recognize the sovereignty of our peoples, as the Moscow rulers have done fictitiously (Ukraine and Byelorussia — members of the UNO), and as this

President Veli Kajum Khan's Tour

Continued from page 3

Germany and Poland has made them even more distrustful of Russia. But the campaign of enlightening the people is not active enough.

Question: *What is the position of the Western powers at present there? What do the Islamic peoples think of Eisenhower's Near East doctrine?*

Answer: Western diplomatic circles live in a certain state of isolation. They have little contact with the population. And, apart from this fact, the Western world is rejected as a colonial power.

In the course of all the talks I had, whether in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon or Turkey, I never once heard Eisenhower's Near East doctrine discussed.

Whenever it has a chance the Soviet Union attacks the West and in doing so always resorts to striking arguments. The Western methods of combatting Russian propaganda seem, by comparison, feeble and superficial and its watchwords hackneyed. The Near East peoples, on the other hand, have their own effective watchwords.

Question: *What prospects has the A.B.N. campaign in the Near East and how were the A.B.N. ideas propagated by you received there?*

Answer: In the talks I had with the representatives of the peoples of the Near East I was able to ascertain that they sympathize with the peoples subjugated by the Soviets. The ideas of the A.B.N., — freedom and independence of the peoples and the policy of the A.B.N. which is directed against colonialism — met with approval. Unfortunately, the masses are not sufficiently informed. And only very few of the publications of the subjugated peoples reach them.

The ideological fight against Russian imperialism and Communism should be intensified, for Soviet propaganda rules the whole of Asia and Africa.

right is stipulated in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, but must also *really* support our fight for freedom and for national independence and must adopt as its watchword in its freedom manifesto the idea of the disintegration of the Russian peoples' prison.

There can be no compromising on this point!

The world-front can be set up on the out-moded principles of the tsarist, Kerensky-ist or NTS imperium, but this means without our peoples and herein lies its defeat from the outset, or it can be set up on the most progressive basis of the present historical epoch, namely that of the state independence of the nations incarcerated in the U.S.S.R. Two different standards cannot be applied, namely that one recognizes the attainment of independence by the peoples of Asia or Africa who so far belonged to the British or French imperium, but wants to preserve the Russian imperium in another form (NTS, Kerensky-ist, etc.) and denies our peoples the right to independence.

There is as much difference between the ABN and the NTS principles as there is between day and night, between progress and backwardness, between freedom and slavery, between national independence and imperialism. Neither the Ukrainians, the Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians nor the Islamic peoples of Turkestan or Azerbaijan have anything in common with the Russian people. Why does one concede the right to independence to the Islamic peoples of the Near East or of Pakistan, but not to the Islamic peoples of Turkestan or of Caucasia who also have an ancient and high standard of culture?

We are confident that the Islamic members of the APACL, in particular, will show an open mind for this problem. Why should the Russians continue to rule our peoples merely according to a changed NTS pattern? It would be most incomprehensible if the Asian peoples, some of whom until recently belonged to various Western empires, were to accept the ideas of the NTS. The so-called Ukrainians, Azerbaijanians or Armenians who allegedly cooperate with the NTS are a couple of traitors or Russians with non-Russian names. Is it right to recognize traitors as the spokesmen of the fight for freedom of a people? Did not Vietnam, for instance, during the colonial era have a few traitors? What would happen if one of the former colonial rulers were to speak in the name of Vietnam? Would he be recognized as the authorized representative of the Vietnamese people?

We should like to draw attention to the fact that at the Frankfurt Conference in September 1957 and also at the 1956 Conference the NTS ideas showed a definite trend towards national Communism; collectivism was not emphatically rejected, but, on the contrary, it was clearly stated that the NTS would be prepared to cooperate with such a mass-murderer as Zhukov, who, as is well-known, not only crushed the Hungarian revolution, but also showed himself to be a ruthless subjugator and a Great Russian chauvinist in other countries of the U.S.S.R., and that this same Zhukov would be acceptable to the NTS as the future dictator of Russia. Furthermore, if the NTS presents an assassin like Chochlov to the free world as a freedom-fighter and if it declares that it is a *legal* opposition to the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., then one cannot possibly cooperate with such a suspicious organization.

During the Zhukov crisis the NTS broadcast an appeal to the general officers and peoples of the U.S.S.R., asking them to hack him up and to support him as a good man ("Posev", No. 41/1957). At the "Posev" Conference there were members of the peoples subjugated behind the Iron Curtain present, who are known as former collaborators with Bolshevism and are regarded with hostility by their fellow-countrymen behind the Iron Curtain as hirelings of Communism. How can one try to fight Communism with the aid of hirelings of Communism who helped the Russian army to subjugate their native countries?

We should also like to draw attention to the joint statement made by all Ukrainian journalists of various political trends, who clearly and defini-

tely reject the NTS, and to bring the text of this statement to your notice ("ABN Correspondence", No. 11/12, 1957). It is wrong to make a concession to the Russian people at the expense of the nations incarcerated in the U.S.S.R., in order to win over the Russian people for the fight against Communism. How can one offer the Russians more practical possibilities of expansion than the Bolsheviks have done? In the present world conflict one can only fight the world enemy from a higher moral basis, that is to say in the sense of the absolute values of justice, true freedom, true democracy and, above all, true independence of the nations. How could one morally justify the toleration of the murder committed by Russian imperialists, irrespective of whether the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or the NTS is involved? The latter wishes to preserve the Russian imperium within the frontiers of 1939 at least, or of 1941, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union within the frontiers of 1957, in order to extend it later on to the whole world.

From the moral and legal point of view, is it not the same murder, whether ten nations or thirty nations are murdered? It is only with noble ideas that are absolutely just for all that one can successfully overcome Communism and Russian imperialism.

One must also adopt a moral attitude towards the Russian people

Indeed, one is more likely to win over certain circles of the Russian people in this way than with the criminal attitude maintained by the NTS imperialists as regards further subjugation, if one concedes to the Russian people the same right to independence within their ethnographical area which the Ukrainian, Georgian, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian or German peoples are entitled to. Why should one let one people be privileged to the detriment of other peoples? How can one fight one sin with another sin? This is not in keeping with either the Christian or the Mohammedan religion, with either Buddhism or Confucianism. And, incidentally, why should one annoy and insult the English or the French people by talking about English or French imperialism, if one is afraid to talk about Russian imperialism? Was it not the Russians who carried Bolshevism into our countries at the point of their bayonets? There was no Communist revolution either in Ukraine, Caucasia, Bulgaria, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Poland or Hungary, — it was the Russians troops who introduced Communism by force into our countries from without.

One talks about French imperialism, but not about democratic imperialism, although France is governed democratically. One talks about Communist imperialism only, but not about Russian imperialism, even though everyone knows that all the Communist parties of the world have their centre in Moscow and are controlled from there. One must fight Russian imperialism and Communism *simultaneously* as an imperialistic ideology and lust of conquest which is realized to a monstrous extent, and as an unnatural social and godless system.

If one only takes a partial view of this question, there can be no victory. Why, indeed, does one not talk about Commonwealth imperialism (though we have not the least intention of comparing it with the Soviet Union), for the nations are united of their own free will in the Commonwealth and are independent, and all really have a common interest in the preservation of the Commonwealth and also have a common democratic state ideology. One talks about Soviet imperialism instead of about Russian imperialism, even though the peoples have been incarcerated in the Soviet Union by force, have no interest in the preservation of the latter and regard the Communist ideology as something odious and alien to them. India and Pakistan are free and independent members of the Commonwealth, but one does not talk about a common Indian, Pakistanian, Boer, Irish, Cypriot and English or rather Commonwealth imperialism. On the other hand, however, even though Ukraine, Geor-

gia, Turkestan, Byelorussia and other countries have been incarcerated in the Soviet Union by force, one talks about a common — that is to say, Soviet imperialism, which implies the imperialism of all the peoples in the U.S.S.R., instead, as would be more correct, about Russian imperialism.

Even before there were any Bolsheviks, there was already Russian imperialism which threatened our peoples. In order to conquer Ukraine, Peter I defeated the head of the Ukrainian state, Mazepa, and Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava in the year 1709, even though there was no Lenin in those days. And in 1848, for instance, the Hungarian Kossuth liberation revolution was crushed by Russian troops just as was the case in Hungary recently. In those days Russian imperialism used different methods of disguise in order to undermine the peoples and later seize their countries by force, as for example the idea of Pan-Slavism, of the so-called liberation of the Balkan peoples from the Turks in order to seize the Balkans itself, or the spreading of Russian Orthodoxy in order, by this pretext, to seize Constantinople from the Turks. And now it resorts to the idea of the liberation of the so-called colonial peoples in order to subjugate them later on, to the idea of the world revolution of the proletarians in order to crush these same proletarians in the same way as was the case in Hungary and Poland (Poznan), namely with the aid of Russian Zhukov troops, etc.

From this the following conclusions can be drawn as regards the Russian Bolshevik imperialistic ideas:

1) The world Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a Russian world imperium must be opposed by opposite ideas, namely the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. into independent states and the national independence of all nations.

2) The Communist totalitarian system must be opposed by an opposite system, by a *truly* democratic system, that of the freedom of the individual, of social justice and of de-collectivism.

3) Godlessness must be opposed by faith in God, dialectical and historical materialism by spiritual values, and class conflict by the idea of the nation.

This is the only basis, from the point of view of the subjugated peoples, for the formation of a world-front against Russian imperialism and Communism.

And we sincerely recommend that these ideas should be taken into consideration when setting up a world-front, if we are all to become free and if the subjugated peoples are to be victorious over the incarnation of evil.

DECLARATION of the Ukrainian Committee in Great Britain

We, the representatives of the organized Ukrainian community in Great Britain, having considered the activities and the publications of the Russian emigré organizations herewith declare as follows:

The Ukrainian Nation subjugated by Communist Russia fights against Communism and Russian imperialism, striving to re-establish the independence and sovereignty of the united Ukrainian State.

To achieve this aim it has for 40 years waged a war against Bolshevism which is but a new form of Russian imperialism.

Taught by our experience in the past and inspired by the manifestations of the sovereign will of the Ukrainian Nation, we reject any possibility of the connection of the Ukrainian State with any kind of Russian-Muscovite State, be it in the form of a union or a federation.

We protest against the attempts of the Russian emigré organizations to mislead the public opinion of the Free World, as is systematically being done, for example, by the N.T.S. (i. e. National'no-Trudovoi Soyuz — the Russian Solidarists' Movement) which is spreading the view that the Ukrainian Nation does not strive for her full national independence, but is working only for the overthrow of the communist regime in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We declare that the assertions of the N.T.S. and other Russian emigré organizations are designed to distort the idea of liberation as

Ukrainian United Front Against Russian Imperialism

Communiqué of the Ukrainian political organizations, parties and institutions

On October 11, 1957, a joint conference of the Ukrainian political organizations, parties and institutions was held in Munich; it was attended by the following:

- 1) the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council;
- 2) the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists;
- 3) the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists;
- 4) the Union of Ukrainian Monarchists;
- 5) „Sojus Semel Sobornoji Ukrainy“ (Union of the Countries of United Ukraine);
- 6) the Union of the Constructive and Creative Forces of Ukraine;
- 7) the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party;
- 8) the Ukrainian Socialist Party;
- 9) the Ukrainian National Democratic Union;
- 10) the Ukrainian National State Union.

After a thorough investigation of the questions under discussion, the joint conference accepted the tenor of the statement given below, and the elected committee, consisting of Mr. Jaroslaw Benzal, Mr. Fedor Pigo and Dr. Mykola Chrobak, was asked to prepare this statement for the purpose of publication.

Statement

The constant efforts on the part of the Red Russian rulers of the U.S.S.R. and the Russian exile organizations to pose as the spokesmen of the Ukrainian people, and, in particular, the campaigns undertaken recently in this respect in the forum of various international conferences by the Russian organization „Narodno-Trudovoj Sojus“ (NTS), were discussed on the agenda of the joint

conference held in Munich on October 11, 1957, by the Ukrainian political organizations.

For this reason the Ukrainian political organizations, as spokesmen of the will and aims of the Ukrainian nation, unanimously stress the following points, in particular for the information of the participators in the above-mentioned conferences:

1) The unchangeable aim of the Ukrainian people is the restoration of the sovereign Ukrainian state, at present occupied by Red Moscow, in a common front with all the subjugated nations, the overthrow of Communism and of the present Russian imperium — of the U.S.S.R., and the restoration of the independence of the states and peoples subjugated by the U.S.S.R., within their ethnographical areas.

The Russian organization „Narodno-Trudovoj Sojus“ (NTS) is neither entitled nor has it any justifiable reason to speak on behalf of any Ukrainian political factor or to pose as the spokesman of the liberation aims of the Ukrainian people.

The so-called „Ukrainskoje Oswoboditelnoje Dwischenije“, to which the NTS refers, is a fictitious organization, consisting of irresponsible persons specially chosen for this purpose, which is in no way supported by the Ukrainians and has no influence whatever on the latter either in their native country or in exile.

3) These campaigns on the part of the NTS must be regarded as a conscious misleading of the free world as regards the true liberation ideas and composition of the anti-Bolshevik forces and as an attempt to preserve the Russian imperium in some form or other and to give the subjugated nations the impression that the Western world is opposed to their national liberation.

Munich, December 27, 1957.

For the Presidium of the Joint Conference of Ukrainian political organizations:
J. Benzal, Chairman.

all those nations which fight at the same time against the communist system and against Russian-Muscovite subjugation, aiming at the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into Free National States.

Only such a just and clear Western conception regarding the liberation of the nations subjugated in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics will give a moral support to those nations in their resistance against the enslaving power of Russia, and will strengthen their trust in the Free World.

A blurred and dubious conception may undermine the firmness of their resistance against the invaders and weaken their trust towards the Free World.

We are deeply convinced that the freedom-loving West, in accordance with its age-old traditions, will resolve to take the side of the fighters for freedom of the individual and of all nations, and will not support those, who against all the laws of God and humanity, endeavour to prolong the state of subjugation. A resolute support of the liberation fight of the enslaved nations will enable them to establish successfully on the huge territories of Europe and Asia those liberties which are today a blessing and a privilege of the Free World.

For the Ukrainian Committee in Great Britain
D. Lewycky, W. Shayan, I. Dmytriw,
Chairman Deputy Chairman Secretary
I. Krushelnicky, M. Bilyj-Karpynec
December, 1957.

Major-General Richard Hilton

40th Anniversary of Brief Liberty

"Independence Day" for scattered Ukrainians

Few could have objected to the solemn assurance, contained in Mr. Macmillan's recent letter — that no British Government will ever condone aggression against the Soviet Union — if only he had qualified his words in one vital respect.

It was our Prime Minister's duty and opportunity to have added something to this effect:

"This must not, however, be taken to imply any British condonement of Soviet acts of aggression or oppression against non-Russian peoples, either within or outside the territories of the Soviet Union."

True Peace

Millions of victims of the new Russian imperialism have long been awaiting some such declaration by Great Britain, the champion of small nations.

Some Britons may say that it would have been inexpedient to jeopardise peace talks by raising such a thorny point at this moment. But no true peace will ever come from compounding a felony, which is exactly what we are doing by our silence.

All of us remember the tragedy of Hungary, however hard we may try to salve our national conscience by forgetting. But how many of us realise that Hungary is only one of the many martyred nations, some of whom have groaned under Russian tyranny for far longer than any of the "satellites". —

Suppressed

Today Ukrainians all over the free world are celebrating the 40th anniversary of a great day in their country's history. In January, 1918, there came into existence the short-lived but genuinely independent Ukrainian Republic.

By November, 1921, after gallant resistance, it was bloodily suppressed by overwhelming Communist armies.

In course of time we British are rather apt to take for granted the presence among us of refugees from the red horror. We are inclined to take "with a grain of salt" their stories of woe.

The Attitude of the Ukrainian Press in Canada Towards the NTS

The extent to which the extremely suspicious Russian emigrant organization, NTS, is rejected by all patriotic members of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain who are conscious of their duty, can be seen from the following statement which was issued by the Ukrainian press in Canada:

"The representatives of the Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals in Canada, who convened in Toronto on November 27, 1957, unanimously approve the statement issued by the Ukrainian journalists in Munich, in October, 1957, regarding the NTS.

The Ukrainian journalists in Canada, who represent the views of various political trends of the Ukrainian community in Canada, in solidarity and unity support the claim of the Ukrainian people and of other peoples subjugated by Russia to a free state existence. They condemn in particular the activity of the Russian group 'Narodno Trudowej Sojuz (i. e. the NTS or "Russian Solidarists") and of other Russian groups and parties, who by their campaign in the free world are defending the positions of Russian imperialism and colonialism.

Since the NTS does not recognize the right of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. to an independent state existence, it frustrates

Slave Route

So perhaps an Englishman, with first-hand knowledge of the truth, may speak for the Ukrainians (a non-Russian people with an entirely different language) on this their national day.

During my time in Moscow (1947-48) there used to be one sure method whereby we could pierce the curtain behind which the M.V.D. performed its dirty work.

Round the outer suburbs of Moscow there ran a circular railway, connecting the great radial main lines which served the Ukraine, Siberia, and other distant parts. Owing to the paucity of cross-country lines, all rail traffic from, say, the Ukraine to the White Sea slave camps had to follow this suburban route round Moscow.

Whenever there were rumours in the capital of trouble in the Ukraine, one had only to take a harmless country walk, keeping conveniently in sight of the loopline. The number of train-loads of M.V.D. troops gave a clear indication of the magnitude of the rising in the South.

This could be confirmed a few weeks later by observing the flow of traffic in the opposite direction, different sort of trains this time, i.e. cattle-trucks, boarded and nailed but for one little window in each truck, through which crowds of civilians, men, women, and children, could be seen gasping for air.

Soviet Lie

These were Ukrainians, the "happy" citizens of the so-called autonomous Soviet republic, which, according to the Communist version of history, had been a voluntary member-state of the U.S.S.R. for nearly 30 years!

So much for the Soviet lie about 40 millions of "willing" Soviet citizens. The same grim truth holds good for all the other non-Russian nations — the three little Baltic peoples, for example, now scattered about the slave camps of Dalstroy and Vorkuta, or the little Chechen-Ingush nation of the Caucasus, which today is almost extinct.

the efforts to form a united anti-Bolshevist world-front of the peoples subjugated and threatened by Russian Bolshevist imperialism, and in this way enables Bolshevist Moscow to carry into effect its aggressive plans regarding those countries of the world that are still free.

A successful organized and systematic fight against the Russian Bolshevist menace to the whole world is only possible on the basis of the unconditional recognition of the Christian and democratic principles of freedom for all the peoples and individuals who are subjugated by Bolshevist Moscow.

Toronto, November 27, 1957."

This statement was signed by the representatives of the following Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals in Canada:

"Batkiwsczyna" ("Fatherland")
 "Wilne Slovo" ("Free Word")
 "Homin Ukrainy" ("Echo of Ukraine")
 "Kanadijskyj Farmer" ("Canadian Farmer")
 "My i swit" ("We and the World")
 "Nasza Meta" ("Our Aim")
 "Nowyj Schlach" ("New Way")
 "Nowi Dni" ("New Days")
 "Rozbudowa" ("Reconstruction")
 "Switlo" ("Light").

Nor ought we to forget that the arch-criminal of all these massacres is still alive today, the highly-honoured personal guardian of Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev, the expert murderer of whole nations, General Ivan Serov, whom the Kremlin still values so highly that he nearly came to London as an honoured guest.

Unworthy

Is it surprising that the Ukrainians hate the Soviet Union, and that they regard our attempts to shake hands with murder as conduct unworthy of the great British people?

We are wasting our best weapon in this cold war against Communist imperialism, in which there can never be a true peace till the Kremlin tyranny is overthrown from within.

The Coventry Evening Telegraph, Jan. 14, 1958.

Canadian Prime Minister's Greetings To Ukrainians

Office of the Prime Minister, Canada.

Mr. Arthur Maloney, M. P.,

Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Labour, Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Maloney:

You were good enough to inform me that you had been invited to be Guest Speaker at a Banquet to be held in Toronto on Saturday next, December 21, on the occasion of the Seventh Annual Convention in Canada of the League for Ukraine's Liberation.

On the eve of my departure for Paris, I would be grateful if you would convey my good wishes to the assembled gathering and communicate the contents of this letter to those present.

As the Prime Minister of a free people, I recognize the right of all peoples everywhere to freedom and self-determination. I am aware, too, of the deeply rooted aspiration for their homeland which animates the hearts and minds of that substantial segment of the Canadian people who are of Ukrainian birth or descent.

I know full well the courage and spirit of dedication which motivates the members and sponsors of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation. It is clear too that the freedom enjoyed by those of Ukrainian origin in this country has not in any sense dampened in their hearts the desire to see restored to the ancient and historic homeland of their people the freedom and independence which they last enjoyed, only briefly, after the First World War.

I should like to make known to you that I take pride in the fine contribution to our beloved Canada by Canadians of Ukrainian origin.

The roots of our country strike deep among many peoples and races. It is our pride and our heritage that from these varied beginnings we are bringing forth a nation united behind the principles of freedom and human dignity and it is our hope that the freedom and independence we enjoy here will in the end become the common gift of all mankind — including that of Ukraine.

Yours sincerely,

John Diefenbaker.

The Ideological Political Resistance of the Ukrainian Underground

III

A flaming appeal to the whole Ukrainian people is to be found under the title "Ukraine Tortured — Who Is To Blame?" in a work of February 1948, O.U.N. edition, — in which Moscow is held responsible for the Ukrainian tragedy. The author's answer to the question contained in the title is, "The Russian Bolsheviks, first and foremost, bear the blame for the whole tragedy suffered by Ukraine" (p. 6).

Then all the crimes committed by Bolshevik Moscow against Ukraine are enumerated; from the enslavement of its autonomous statehood through collectivization, destruction of its culture and civilization down to genocide (pages 6 to 7).

That is what the Russian Bolsheviks are, true heirs of tsarist imperialists of disgraceful memory. After having conquered Ukraine by force of arms, for 30 years they have carried on a policy of total extermination, not only of the independent, political, cultural and economic unit but the ethnical also...

The realization of the fact that "Russian Bolshevism, Bolshevik Moscow, the stubborn, bloodthirsty imperialism of the Moscow Bolsheviks is the first and most important cause of the whole national tragedy" ... that is again the first and most important condition and key to the right way to wage the fight for liberation" ... The paid Ukrainian traitors working for Stalin and his Kremlin clique, such as the Medwedis, Schachrajis, Zatonksis, Georg Kociubynskis, Korotczenskys, Manujilskis, Hreczuchys, Kornijctys, Serdiukys, Hrusheckis, Tyczynas, Kornijczuks, Sosiuras, Bazans, Petrowskis, ... (pages 6-9).

"Ukrainian peasants and workers to-day form the fundamental basis of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement. They sent their sons and daughters into the underground movement (U.P.A. and O.U.N.). They supported our revolutionary fight for liberation materially and generously" ... "The broad masses are the sureties for our future, guarantees of our national existence. Thanks to them we can cry aloud to-day to all our enemies, and in a happier, fighting, triumphant mood to the whole world *Ukraine is fighting*" (page 15).

The author, having pilloried all Moscow fellow-travellers as traitors to their country, then gives practical hints for the struggle with the enemy. "Do not speak Russian! Away with Russian in the secondary schools; out of the towns, from all offices and businesses in Ukraine! Everyone in Ukraine should speak Ukrainian ... Down with the seditious Bolshevik propaganda! Bring up your children as patriots and not as janissaries! Have no part in Bolshevik propaganda and the work of agitators! Expose Bolshevik lies wherever you can! Sabotage all the regulations and decrees given by Bolshevik administrative authorities in industry, transport, agriculture, in the schools and institutions! Sabotage Bolshevik plans! Seek contact with the revolutionary underground movement! Read our revolutionary literature! Spread our revolutionary slogans! Take part in the active, organized anti-Bolshevik revolutionary fight! If you are a Ukrainian patriot ... it is your clear duty to fight for the national and social liberation of Ukraine from Muscovite Bolshevik dominion! We Ukrainian patriots must offer active resistance to the active attacks of the occupation authorities! ... The grave that the Muscovite oppressors are preparing for Ukraine must be their own!" (pages 17/18/19).

As we see, these supplements to the books by P. Poltava, M. W.-ak are intended for the broad masses, and besides they give one an idea of the versatility of underground publication, both in form and contents.

Moscow seeks to neutralize the urge for independence among the different nations by a sham independence, in accordance with the Stalin book "Marxism and the Nationality Problem" in which dialectic perversions in favour of Russian imperialism are fully utilized. Stalin writes, "Social democracy proclaims the right of self-determination for nations ... , but that does not mean that social

democracy is ready to support every kind of aspiration a nation may cherish (p. 18)".

"A nation has the right to establish an autonomy. It has even the right to secession; that does not mean, however, that it should use that right on every occasion" (p. 20).

(J. Stalin "Marxism and the Nationality Problem", 1952 Edition, Stalin Political Publishers).

P. Poltava writes on this subject as follows: "The Bolsheviks attempt to satisfy the aspiration of the nations to independence by means of formally 'independent' states. The peoples, however, know well how to distinguish between a formal and an actual condition. Their demand to-day is for genuine independence, not a 'formal' one. The struggle of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union against Bolshevik Moscow is proof enough of that, and the anti-Bolshevik fight put up by those peoples living in Bolshevik Moscow's sphere of influence proves it too. Those nations have combined in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) to fight for a common cause. Their joint aim is the overthrow of the Soviet Union in order to establish their own independent national states

Ambrose Holovach, Ukrainian M.P., is member of Canadian Delegation to U.N.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y. — Ambrose Holovach, member of the Canadian Parliament, has been appointed by Premier John Diefenbaker as a member of the Canadian Delegation to the U. N. General Assembly Session. Parliamentarian Holovach is of Ukrainian origin and hails from East Edmonton, where he was elected to the Ottawa Parliament from the Social Credit Party.

on its ruins. The Bolsheviks know quite well that their allegations of a "moral, political unity among the peoples of the Soviet Union is a lie (P. Poltava, "Conception of an Independent Ukraine", page 57).

"The so-called Soviet Republic of Ukraine, like every other so-called Soviet Republic, is not at all an 'independent state of the Ukrainian people' as the Bolsheviks mendaciously pretend, but merely an administrative district, without any rights, in the Russian empire. ... The so-called sovereignty of the Republics in the Union is nothing but a fiction, an empty phrase used by the Bolsheviks to mislead the working classes in the Soviet Union and the whole world, a phrase without the least practical meaning. Neither the Supreme Soviet in the U.S.S.R. nor its 'government' can act without the consent of the Moscow Central Committee" (P. Poltava, "Those were the Bandera People", page 11).

"The so-called Ukrainian government, the Ukrainian S.S.R., is an agency of Moscow!" (Information Bureau of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), March 1950, series 7, 3rd year, p. 15).

"On Guard", a youth magazine, series 1, 1946, page 33: "The so-called Ukrainian S.S.R. is not a state of the Ukrainian people. The so-called government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. consists of Stalin's agents who have the task of realizing his plans for the conquest of Ukraine."

As the word sovereignty is very often misused, P. Poltava suggests a better slogan: "Separation of Ukraine from Russia, destruction and disintegration of the Soviet Union into national states." Wsewolod Ramsenko expresses this idea as follows: "Ukraine an independent united state — separate from Moscow" (p. 13, "Why do we advocate an independent Ukraine?"). Ramsenko holds the lack of independent nationality to be the only reason for the people's misfortune. He writes as follows:

"Our fighting slogan — Ukraine an independent united state — means striving for our right to nature. It means the legacy of our ancestors and moral obligation to the past generation of our people. It means the precondition for the life and prosperity of our people. It means separation from Moscow — the only escape from destruction and national ruin!"

The organized Ukrainian underground movement sets a democratic order against the totalitarian despotic Moscow-Bolshevik social order. The main slogans appearing on all publications of the underground movement are: "Freedom for the people! Freedom for an independent united Ukraine!"

Ramsenko writes: "... Realization of a stable and genuine democracy and social justice." He pleads for a democratic government which guarantees to the citizens all basic rights in the state and prevents a powerful clique such as we have in the Bolshevik state from forming. "Only in the Ukrainian state, only in an own state, can the relations between the state and its organs on the one hand and the Ukrainian people on the other be rendered just and without violence" (p. 13, "Why do we advocate an independent Ukraine?"). "All minorities shall enjoy the same rights as the Ukrainians do, as they will have the same duties too!" (p. 2).

P. Poltava writes: "For a genuine democracy, against dictatorship and totalitarianism of all sorts, for the freedom of speech, press, assembly and opinion."

Ramsenko says: "The Ukrainian national movement fights for the national and social liberation of the Ukrainian people, for liberation from its present slavery!"

The Ukrainian national liberation movement in its programme refers first of all to the extensive measures to be taken for the improvement of the social order in Ukraine" (p. 12).

The Ukrainian people advocate the principle of private landowning which guarantees freedom and prosperity. The author says: "that every peasant shall have his fields as his private property." P. Poltava expresses this same idea as follows: "We object to collectivized economy which is a means of exploiting the peasant ruthlessly and which is the reason for the poverty and death of the Ukrainian village. We object to the new parasitic class of exploiters formed by the Bolshevik power clique" (p. 9). "The conference of the OUN in Western Ukraine in 1950: the following decisions were reached: the OUN fights for the complete annihilation of the collectivized slavery in Ukraine. Fields shall be allotted without recompense to the peasants who become private owners in order to create one-family enterprises."

As regards labour problems, the OUN programme completely subverts the old Bolshevik Communist order and calls for the free initiative of the worker as a free man and master of his own working place.

The OUN is striving in particular for the annihilation of the collectivized economic organization as an alien and hateful institution which the Ukrainian peasants — individualists as they are — strongly oppose. Almost all publications end with the words: "Down with collectivization!" The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement objects very strongly in fact to the entire Communist order. S. S.

National Chinese planes over Chinese Mainland

According to the "China Post" of November 27, 1957, planes of the National Chinese air force flew over the Chinese mainland during the night of November 26th and dropped 1,000 copies of President Chiang Kai-shek's book "Soviet Russia in China", 80,000 photographs of the President, four million leaflets, as well as 10,000 sacks of everyday commodities and hundreds of sacks of rice.

The planes flew over 200 towns in South and Southeast China and for the first time penetrated as far as Chungking. All the planes returned to their base safely.

Jaroslaw Stetzko

Decisive Times

The Russian Peoples' Prison Must Be Disintegrated

It is by no means a coincidence that all the Western empires, which existed until recently, are conceding national independence to the colonial peoples of yesterday, whilst Russia continues to subjugate still more civilized nations, some of whom possessed their own state independence for thousands of years and from whom — as for example from Ukraine — Moscow received Christianity and the cultural values of the following centuries. The Western empires also concede independence to peoples who have never enjoyed independence, but have only grown mature enough for it under the influence of Western and European culture; Russia, on the other hand, however, destroys the spiritual, cultural, social and even the religious values of ancient nations which formerly had states of their own, as for instance Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Lithuania or Hungary. And, unfortunately, precisely at present, in our atomic age, when more and more independent states are being called into being in Asia and Africa, including Ghana and Malaya, certain circles in the free world are helping to preserve the most brutal empire of Russia, that is to say the worst and most brutal "prison of nations", — a designation which even certain oppositional Russians have applied to the Russian imperium.

Perhaps it is part of the Divine Providence that, whilst mankind is threatened with destruction by atomic weapons, smaller states should be called into being which, owing to a lack of material and human potential, will not be in a position to produce destructive types of weapons en masse. From this does not the demand logically follow that things must be brought to such a head that the Russian imperium is disintegrated into independent states of all the nations subjugated by it? And this all the more so since the question at issue is not so much the formation of new states, but the restoration of the independence of ancient states which already existed centuries ago, as for instance Ukraine, Turkestan, Georgia, Hungary. The restoration of their state independence on the ruins of the Russian imperium would establish a far-reaching guarantee of peace in the whole world and would, furthermore, make all future aggression on the part of Russia impossible, for without the natural resources of the Ukrainian, Caucasian, Turkestanian and other non-Russian countries and without the millions of slaves in the concentration camps, Russia would not be in a position to produce any material forces of destruction on a large scale.

The Principles of Psychological Warfare

It is precisely in view of this situation in the world that the free world should be aware of the problem of actual psychological warfare as the main factor of the entire anti-Bolshevik campaign.

The most powerful internal weapon in that part of the world subjugated by Russia is still the idea of national independence, that is to say the idea of the downfall of the Russian imperium, of universal freedom for mankind and of social justice in keeping with our Christian philosophy of life, which as a uniform system of ideas complete in itself we set in opposition to so-called dialectical and historical materialism, just as we oppose the Russian imperium with the idea of the state independence of all nations. It is only by means of clearly defined ideas that we can win this world conflict between the Russian demoniacal forces and the national and social aims based on the Christian philosophy of life.

The method to be adopted is indicated by the national liberation struggle and fight for freedom of the nations subjugated by Russia, which could localize an eventual world war and make the mass application of atomic weapons impossible. This fact is proved by the Hungarian revolution, which actually was rather an anti-Russian war of liberation, and by the workers' revolts in East Berlin and Poznan, as well as by the insurrections on the part of the Ukrainian and other non-Russian prisoners in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakstan, about which we not only have direct

information thanks to our Ukrainian connections, but also evidence furnished by Japanese, German, Austrian and other prisoners who have returned from these camps, namely that our idea of an invincible fight for freedom of the non-Russian peoples in the territory under Soviet Russian rule is indeed reality. What happened in Hungary, East Berlin and Poznan is well known; not so, however, the insurrections on the part of the Ukrainian and other non-Russian prisoners which — to mention only the most important — occurred in the years 1953, 1954 and 1955 in the concentration camps in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kingiri and Mordovia.

It would, of course, be erroneous to assume that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain need no help from the free world for their revolutionary war of liberation. Russian imperialism, which at present uses the Communist ideology as its weapon, represents a world danger, and for this reason opposition to it should be universal. This certainly does not mean an inevitable world war, but the urgent need for universal support on the part of the free world in favour of the revolutionary liberation movements, including a definite and unmistakable solidarity with the national political programme of the disintegration of the Russian "peoples' prison".

The demands raised by the prisoners in Vorkuta and addressed to the free world are published on another page of this issue.

Ways of Liberation

Regardless of the negative attitude of the major part of the world and in particular of certain political circles in the USA, the revolutionary national freedom fighters of the various peoples within the U.S.S.R. and within the entire Russian sphere of influence are pursuing the same course, — the preparation of a *simultaneous revolution* in all the countries ruled by Soviet Russia. Whether they will succeed in achieving this aim without active help from the West, as far as can be judged according to the present state of affairs, rests with God. The peoples subjugated by Russia, that is to say their authorized representatives abroad, who constitute the organization ABN, are preparing to set up an anti-Bolshevik world bloc together with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, which comprises the parallel organizations of Latin America.

We do not demand that war should be declared on Russia — for we oppose the idea of a third world war, since such a war might result in the destruction of mankind, but what we are entitled to demand is an uncompromising attitude towards Russia in the diplomatic, economic and cultural sphere and effective support for our revolutionary fight for freedom.

We reject the deceptive idea of coexistence with the murderers of nations, over the dead bodies of our children, our parents and brothers and sisters, in an age in which our churches are destroyed, our bishops and priests murdered and all those who believe in God are either "liquidated" or abducted and put into concentration camps.

There is neither religious nor spiritual freedom behind the Iron Curtain and in the U.S.S.R. in particular. The so-called Orthodox Church with the Patriarch Alexej as its head is a state church of the godless Russian imperium and its aim is to deceive the uninformed world. This state church is merely a tool of politics. It is solely the regeneration of the historically notorious Russian Caesarian papistry. At the same time, the recognition of the state church after decades of complete negation of religion is proof of man's unconquerable longing for God, a longing which one seeks to divert and replace by the state-controlled church, which thus becomes an instrument of the Russian policy of power.

Moscow — the protector of all orthodox Christians,

Moscow — the Third Rome (and a Fourth Rome can no longer arise),

Moscow — the protector of the Slav peoples,

Moscow — the protector of all so-called colonial peoples,

Moscow — the protector of Islam, and, finally,

Moscow — the protector of the world proletariat, — these are some of the slogans of deceptive Russian Messianism, behind which brute force, tyranny and slavery are concealed.

When considering freedom of religion and conscience we must bear in mind the fact that never in the whole history of the Russian empire and still less today has there ever been any freedom of religious faith, of speech or of assembly. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, for instance, was brutally suppressed, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPC), which was independent of Moscow and refused to recognize the Russian Moscow patriarch, was forced to lead an underground existence. True religion and the true Church continue to exist as they did twenty years ago in the catacombs in the U.S.S.R. The true priests of God, like the freedom fighters, risk their lives if they serve God and freedom. And, incidentally, how can one regard a patriarch as the supreme head of a Church if he acclaims Stalin, the greatest mass murderer and atheist of all time, who was worse than Nero and Diocletian together, as the envoy of God and the saviour of mankind from the "capitalistic evil"? It is more than regrettable that certain Western ecclesiastical circles accept the invitations of this Moscow MVD official for ecclesiastical matters, the so-called Patriarch Alexej, and in this way compromise true Christianity and cause confusion amongst our subjugated peoples. Thus, chaos is spread not only in the political but also in the spiritual sphere.

The question obtrudes itself as to why Georgia, for instance, with its population of 4 million, or Ukraine with its population of 45 million, or Turkestan with its population of 25 million, should have less right to state independence than, say, Denmark or even Luxembourg? Why should the free world spare our enemy — especially when the latter is a colossus with feet of clay?

Could the Free World not adopt a new course?

Every game with Russia demobilizes the peoples subjugated by Russia, undermines their faith in the West and may drive them to despair or even to political passivity. There is no sense whatever in repeating the East European situation of the years 1941 to 1945, when, at the beginning of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, three million soldiers of the Red Army capitulated in the hope that they would be supported in their national anti-Russian fight for independence. But at the end of the war, unfortunately, non-Russian Red Army soldiers, too, also stormed Berlin since their disappointment as regards the attitude of the West knew no bounds.

Did the West draw any conclusions from this? The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) conducted a two-front war — against Nazi Germany and against Bolshevik Russia. But these powerful moral forces of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia were completely disregarded by the Western Allies. What could have been simpler than to declare a war of liberation against both tyrants and to win over the peoples subjugated by these two forms of tyranny? An ultimate victory would have been certain, for at that time the members of the peoples subjugated by Russia were given arms at Moscow's very own command: more than 50 per cent of the soldiers of the Red Army were and are of non-Russian origin and anti-Russian in their attitude. It was exactly the same situation which later was repeated in China, Korea and Vietnam, — the nationally-minded population always resists the Communist onslaught and wins or loses the fight according to the extent of Western aid which, unfortunately, so far has never equalled the extent of the support given by Soviet Russia to its hirelings.

The war which possibly threatens us and which is, in fact, already being conducted is, in the first

place, a *war of ideas*. For this reason our anti-Communist fight must bear as its banner great and noble ideas, — the ideas of a new free and peaceful world, without slaves and masters, without ruling and subjugated nations, since otherwise this fight can not be won. This conflict between the forces of good and evil does not tolerate any compromises or any half-truths, for no half-truth is valid.

Why should it be in keeping with the moral principles of the Western major powers for the Russians to subjugate the non-Russian nations within the U.S.S.R., but not when the so-called satellites are concerned? The genocide committed by Moscow as regards a dozen nations within the Soviet Union is just as immoral, unlawful and criminal as the extermination of those nations that were not subjugated by Russia until after the Yalta agreement.

It is not possible to fight a demonic power by partly acknowledging it, for in that case there is no longer such a thing as an ethical attitude. The fight of the free world against Russian Bolshevism is not a war for raw materials, frontiers or colonies, not a war for Alsace-Lorraine or Cameroons, for Danzig or Prague, nor is it a case of whether the frontiers of an empire should be extended five hundred or a thousand kilometres westwards or eastwards; the question at issue is the existence or non-existence of our culture and the idea of freedom, the annihilation of a tyranny embodied in Russian Bolshevism, a tyranny which aims to set up its absolute rule of evil over the whole world.

A fight of this kind for the existence of our Western Christian culture can only be conducted in the name of eternal truths without making any distinctions between the nations subjugated by Russia. For "nations are thoughts of God", as a

philosopher once said. The Russian nation, too, could be brought to its senses if one confronted it with unchangeable truths which hold good for all, that is with the demand to desist from the subjugation not only of Poland and Hungary but also of Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia and Turkestan. But if the Western world allows Soviet Russia to subjugate and destroy those peoples who came under Soviet Russian power from 1920 onwards, as was the case with Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia and the Caucasian states, and only makes an exception in the case of the peoples subjugated by Russia since 1939, then the West will find that it has no friends whatever within the Soviet Union in its anti-Communist fight, — neither the Russians nor the peoples subjugated by the Russians. And what is more, — the treachery of the Western major powers as regards Hungary's heroic revolt is not easily forgotten, especially not if the Western states continue to bargain with Soviet Russia. When in March 1950, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), General Taras Chuprynka, was killed in action near Lviv during a combat with Soviet Russian units, not a single influential newspaper of the Western major powers mentioned this fact. When in June 1954, 500 Ukrainian women in the Soviet concentration camp in Kingiri, during an insurrection on the part of the prisoners, threw themselves in front of the Soviet Russian tanks in order to save their fellow-countrymen, I sent an authentic report of this incident by Dr. Varkony, who had witnessed it himself, to a German newspaper. The reply was — we cannot investigate this matter and for this reason cannot publish this report. Yet every paper believes the statements made by the hangman of Ukraine, Khrushchev, who has millions of Ukrainians whom he has murdered on his conscience.

The Clash of Chinese Nationalism with Russian Imperialism

The representative of the Russian organization NTS in Taipei, Mr. R. Redlich, published an article entitled "President Chiang Kai-shek on the International Struggle against Communism" in the organ of this organization, "Posev", No. 37 (592) of September 13, 1957; he not only altered certain terms in the citations from the book by President Chiang Kai-shek, "Soviet Russia in China" (New York, 1957), but also affirmed that there were "prejudices" in the terminology contained in the book.

Mr. Redlich altered the term "Soviet Russia" into "CPSU" or "Soviet Union", the term Moscow into "USSR" and the term "The Russian Communists" into "CPSU", namely terms that were used by Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek on pages 288-293 and 345-346 of his book.

In using these alternations, Mr. Redlich tries to endow the text of the book with a certain Russian tendency; that is he wishes to diminish the objectivity of the author with reference to Russian Communist imperialism, which is the real cause of the conquest of China by Communists and also of the bloody aggression against freedom in Hungary in the past year. That is why Mr. Redlich writes as follows: "It is a matter of fact that the slow and cautious Chinese have come to Taiwan with the slogans — 'against Communism', 'against the Russians' — for the purpose of preparing a liberation march in order to chase away the puppets of 'Russian imperialism'; these Chinese are at present in the foremost ranks of the partisans of the doctrine aimed at the international struggle against the international evil."

Since he is not quite satisfied with his false interpretation, Mr. Redlich goes on to criticize the book by the President of Free China as follows: ". . . it would be unnatural if there were no 'prejudices'. Why is the complex term 'Soviet Russia in China' used intentionally already in the title instead of using the simple term 'CPSU in China'? In short, the entire terminology used in the book is nothing but conditional and reveals the endeavour not to do away with but only to correct the former terminology that is aimed at the struggle against 'Russian imperialism'."

It is evident from the above quotations that

the Russian organization NTS wishes to draw the attention of political circles not so much to the struggle against Russian Communist imperialism, but rather to the struggle against "international Communism" and the "international evil". Such a bold denial of the existence of Russian imperialism is very harmful because it tries to deter the blows of the freedom-loving peoples against the proper root of evil and against the real enemy.

The fact remains that the terms "Soviet Russia", "Russian imperialism" and "the Russian Communists" fully correspond to reality and historical truth. And this our statement is justified by the following facts.

I

The first period of the relations between China and Soviet Russia, that is during the years from 1917 to 1924, was not only really but also juridically a period of relations between Russia, that is between the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and China, and not between the Soviet Union and China. Already before Lenin came into power, the peoples that had been subjugated by Tsarist Russia threw off the Russian yoke; one people after another declared their independence, — Finland 1917, Estonia 1918, Latvia 1918, Lithuania 1918, Poland 1918, Ukraine 1917, Byelorussia 1918, Georgia 1918, Turkestan 1922, North Caucasus 1918, Idel-Ural 1917, Siberia 1920, Armenia 1918. Most of these republics were recognized by other states! The Russian Government, too, recognized many of these republics, as for instance Ukraine on December 17, 1917, Georgia on May 7, 1920, etc.

But at the same time, this same Russian Government secretly undermined these republics in order to liquidate their national independence, and finally waged an open war against them until Russia succeeded in destroying them in the years 1919 to 1923.

None of these newly created states was a "Communist" state; on the contrary, their national armies fought against Communist Russia until their final defeat by the Russian Communists. Communism was forcibly introduced in the said republics with the arrival of the Red Russian armed forces in these countries. Communist rule

was established by Russia in the above-mentioned republics in the years 1919 to 1923, in 1939, and after World War II.

After their occupation by Russia, the Communist governments in these countries for the time being enjoyed certain legal privileges, but these were entirely abrogated after the formation of the Soviet Union in 1924. In that year an all-Union constitution was adopted, which was not, however, "accepted" by Ukraine until 1925.

II

After the formation of the so-called Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in 1924 (this was the year that the constitution of the USSR was adopted), no changes took place, — neither in Moscow nor in the policy of Communist Russia. The same persons retained power who had been ruling in Russia prior to the formation of the Soviet Union; and these persons continued to pursue the Russian imperialist policy by using Communist slogans. The non-Russian peoples became part of the USSR, namely as so-called independent republics, but they did not enjoy any legal protection or prerogatives. The continuity of the Russian policy since 1917 and the continuity in the ruling and planning by the same government in Moscow before and after the formation of the Soviet Union proves the continuity and perpetuity of the genuineness of Russian Communist imperialism, under whose yoke the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union are, above all, suffering. These peoples do not participate in the aggressive imperialist policy of Russia since they are subjugated by Russia and are fighting bravely against Communism and Russian imperialism; millions of victims prove this fact.

Communist Russia is not satisfied with liquidating the freedom of these peoples. She continued and still continues the Russification and colonization policy of the Russian Tsars, by resorting to the most ruthless means for this purpose. Authentic documents prove that Red Russia organized an artificial famine in 1932/33 which resulted in the death of millions of persons; 8 millions in Ukraine, about 4 millions in Byelorussia, in the Caucasus regions, in Idel-Ural and West Siberia, that is in those countries where the soil is very fertile. Incidentally, there were during this same period in Russia proper, where the soil is by no means as fertile, no victims of mass famine.

In addition, we should like to stress that the millions of persons exiled are not Russians, but Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians. We have sufficient evidence which proves that only a small proportion of the internees in the concentration camps are Russians (about 10 per cent); the majority are Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and other non-Russian nationals. In many camps the Ukrainians alone constitute more than 45 per cent of the internees. This data is contained in the book by Dr. Scholmer on the Vorkuta concentration camps and also in the reports of the International Commission to investigate conditions in the concentration camps. Reports No. 4 and No. 8 of the Committee of the US Congress against Communist aggression likewise prove these facts.

The imperialist expansion of Communist Russia and the subjugation of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union by the Russians are clear proof of the fact that Moscow and the Russian Communist Party alone have the power to decide in all matters, but not the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

Although Communism is an international phenomenon, it is not an instrument of international imperialism, but only of Russian imperialism. Moscow talks about the interests of the international proletariat, but only for propaganda reasons; in reality it makes use of the Communist ideology and phraseology for the benefit of the Russian aims, whereas the international proletariat will never make use of Moscow for its own aims.

V. Kosyls

"I in no word agree with what you say, but I shall defend your right to say it, to the end."

Voltaire

Russian Aggression Against China

The Russian refugee newspaper "Nasha Strana" ("Our Native Country"), the official organ of the Russian monarchists in Argentina, in 1956 (No. 17) published an article devoted to the 24th anniversary of the White Russian "Provisory Siberian Government" (1918-1922), in which we find the following statements: "It was no mere accident that the Provisory Siberian Government was formed in the Far East of Russia in April 1918. It organized a special White Russian army for the purpose of overthrowing the Bolshevik Government in Moscow that seized power by usurpation. The Provisory Siberian Government at the same time intended to conclude a military alliance with Outer Mongolia in order to help its Mongolian partner to annex her external territories of Inner Mongolia together with the province of Sing-tian... Since Outer Mongolia was weak from the economic and military point of view, it could not oppose the mighty White Russian army and would therefore be obliged to allow the army of the Provisory Siberian Government to manoeuvre and struggle against the Bolshevik armies in the vast Mongolian territories"... These statements by the above-mentioned White Russian newspaper prove that Russian imperialist expansion towards the Far East (Mongolia, China and Korea) continued even after the Russian Communists had overthrown the tsarist regime (1917); for many centuries Russia has thus endeavoured to annex China, Korea, Mongolia and Japan, and to subdue America, too, via Alaska and Canada. After having been deprived of their power in Russia, the Russian monarchists moved southwards, — to Ukraine and the Don territory, where they organized an army and ransacked these two countries. Other Russian monarchists moved to Siberia (Omsk-Volochevsk) for the purpose of occupying the Chinese and Mongolian territories by force. Their plan was quite simple; should it prove impossible to overthrow the Bolsheviks in Moscow, the Russian monarchists could form a "new" Russian state in Siberia and extend its boundaries by annexing numerous Chinese, Korean and Mongolian territories. The so-called "manoeuvres" of the White Russian army on the territory of "Mongolia which was weak from the economic and military point of view" would open the door for Russian imperialism in North China.

As was already pointed out in the preceding issue of the "A.B.N. Correspondence", Russian imperialism during the tsarist regime, from the very beginning of the existence of the Muscovite (Russian) state, advanced undeterredly towards the Far East, in order to subdue numerous Asian states, above all, however, China. But has the imperialistic policy of Russia in the Far East changed at all since the overthrow of the tsarist regime?

We should like to comment on this policy by quoting Bolshevik sources which refer to the Russian expansion in the Far East. The contemporary Russian Communist encyclopedia comments on the existence of the "Provisory Siberian Government" as follows: "In April 1918, a Russian provisory bourgeois government was formed in the Far East, being supported by the Chinese, Japanese and American intervention circles. The Chinese government intended to use the opportunity of the civil war in Russia in order to annex the external Russian territories in the Far East (Amur and the other Far Eastern territories). This intervention lasted till October 22, 1922, and was liquidated by the Red Army: the political workers and the Party members who were stationed in these regions together with the Red Army, established friendly contact with the Chinese revolutionary movement. This contact strengthened the Chinese revolutionary movement to such an extent that a Chinese Communist Party could be organized in China" (Encyclopedic Dictionary, Moscow, 1953, vol. I, p. 687).

It is obvious from the above that the Russian Bolsheviks, immediately after the overthrow of the tsarist government (1918), sent a specially trained political apparatus, together with the Russian Red Army, to the frontiers of the Chinese state. This political apparatus was ordered to foster inner revolts in the Chinese state, to orga-

nize a Communist party there, to help this party to undermine the power of the legitimate Chinese government and, in this way, to subjugate the Chinese population, numbering 500 million, under the pretext of a proletarian revolution. Thus, the Russian Bolsheviks in no way renounced the imperialistic tsarist expansion aims as regards the Chinese state.

After having been defeated by the Red Russian army in the Far East, the White Russian army, its commanders and part of its soldiers fled to China and Mongolia. And together with these armed White Russians, the Russian Communist agency (that worked secretly in the White Russian army) also "fled" to these countries. Not only this "red" agency, but also the White Russian refugees disseminated a deceptive propaganda in favour of Red Russian imperialism or of Russian imperialism in general, amongst the Chinese population. In order to accelerate the old Russian plan to seize China, the Russian Communist agency infiltrated into the ranks of the Homindan, a fact which later caused its split. All these facts are corroborated by the "History of the all-Russian Communist Party", passages from which we should here like to quote in brief:

"... The October revolution in the Soviet Union meant a great deal to Sun Yat-sen. The Chinese Communist Party that was formed in 1921 received *brotherly help* (agency would be a more fitting word, — the Editor) from the Russian Communist Party. In accordance with Lenin's suggestion, the Russian and the Chinese Communist parties helped Sun Yat-sen to reorganize the Homindan in 1923-24... Headed by Sun Yat-sen, the Homindan concluded a treaty regarding the help of and collaboration with the government of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party, too. Before his death, Sun Yat-sen sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which he expressed the hope that China would be liberated from colonial enslavement and from the imperialistic clique thanks to the help of the Soviet Union" ("History of the all-Russian Communist Party". Published by the State Printing Office, Moscow, 1953, p. 276). The same "History" points out that the President of Free China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, is such an imperialist.

The Red Russian "brotherly help" for China consisted solely in the officers of the Homindan being trained in the Red Russian officers' training schools (from 1922 onwards) in order to become members of the commanding staffs of the Chinese red army later on. In Kyiv, for instance, a two years' training course for Chinese officers was organized in 1924. About 400 officers, sent there by the Homindan, were trained there every year. Similar training schools for Chinese officers also existed in Leningrad, Moscow and Odessa. A special political group was at work amongst the Chinese officers in the Russian military schools for the purpose of trying to persuade them to join the Chinese Communist Party. In this way many officers who came to Moscow during the years 1924-1928 without belonging to any party returned to China as members of the Chinese Communist Party. In addition, a special training course for high-ranking Chinese officers was also held at the Military Academy for the staff officers of the Soviet Army. The Military Political Academy in Moscow trained commissaries and political functionaries for the future Chinese red army. At the Academy for staff officers, incidentally, there was a special faculty for Asian military affairs. The present Minister of War of the Soviet Union, Malinovsky, and General Blucher, who was executed by Stalin, attended this faculty.

The author of this article was once present at a typical discussion between the head of the military school in Kyiv and Party member, the Russian Klonov, and some officers. The question, "What is the political purpose of the training of Chinese officers in the Soviet military schools and especially in our school?" was answered by Klonov as follows: "We are marching toward the proletarian revolution of the whole world. We are training officers for the Chinese red army. Accord-

ing to Lenin, it will not be long before Soviet rule is established in China; in other words, Russia and China will become the joint and most powerful Communist state of the world".

It is obvious from these quotations that imperialistic Russia endeavoured to subdue China from 1917 onwards, and not merely by means of Russian military aggression; she also tried to subdue China by the fraudulent means of a "proletarian revolution" in China, which was to be realized by the Chinese Communist Party and by the Red Army as well. And, indeed, this was what happened. The above-mentioned encyclopedia contains the following statements on page 82, vol. II: "In 1924-1928 a Chinese red army was organized by Mao Tse-tung. Its commanders maintained friendly contact with the Soviet Army in the Far East (Blucher, Yegorov, Shaposhnikov, Mekhlis). This enabled the Chinese red army from 1924 to 1939 to struggle successfully against the Chinese-Japanese imperialists and to liberate two-thirds of the imperialistic aggressors."

Step by step, imperialistic Communist Russia carried out the old Russian tsarist plan to subjugate China.

Although the seizure of power by the Chinese Communists (who are nothing but the servile hirelings of Moscow) in 1949 was part of Moscow's far-reaching plans, Red Russia did not, however, succeed in annexing China directly. That was why Moscow then endeavoured to subdue China by more fraudulent means. According to a statement by the Italian press agency, "Agenzia Continentale", Khrushchev in his secret speech delivered at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union blamed Stalin for having failed to appreciate duly the Russian position in Asia. "Because the position of socialism and the events in Asia, above all in China, were not duly appreciated, we were in danger of losing our positions of socialism in the Far East. The Korean war proved this best; we have lost South Korea... Because of Stalin's false policy, we have partly lost our influence in the Chinese National Republic, too. Comrades, we must not commit such errors in the near future."

This passage in Khrushchev's speech proves that the Red Russians are trying to interpret the treaty concluded between Moscow and Peking in 1950 in an entirely new way. This treaty was to promote a friendly cultural, economic and political cooperation between Moscow and Peking; in addition, Moscow promised the Red Chinese government a loan amounting to 300 million dollars and a yearly subsidy amounting to 120 million dollars, but these promises were only made by Moscow for the purpose of facilitating the further aggression of Red Russian imperialism in China.

Already in 1924 Moscow seized Mongolia and set up the so-called Mongolian People's Republic (its first satellite). Mongolia was particularly important for Moscow since the Red Russians planned to intensify their expansion towards China, Japan and Korea. The White Russian army under the command of the Russian general, Ungher, fled from Mongolia; and during the years 1924 to 1928, most of the soldiers of this army joined the Chinese red army. In 1951, incidentally, Russian refugees who came to Argentina from China declared that they had joined the Chinese red army allegedly for dollars.

After the conclusion of a treaty with China in 1950, when Moscow's role in Mongolia had decreased and the role of Peking had become more important, Stalin decided to set up the buffer states of Manchuria and Mongolia between China and the Soviet Union. When Mao Tse-tung, however, refused to approve of this plan, Moscow on June 1, 1951, using the occasion of the celebrations at Ulan-Batory to mark the so-called 30th anniversary of the Mongolian revolution, made the proposal that a Greater Mongolian People's Republic should be created. This Republic was to include the autonomous Buriat-Mongolian Republic, Outer and Inner Mongolian and Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang). In this way Russian imperialism intended to consolidate its position by means of the bayonets of the Soviet Russian occupation army. This plan to form a Greater Mongolian People's Repu-

ble was the subject of considerable controversy at the Russian-Chinese conference in 1952 and also during the negotiations of Bulganin and Khrushchev in Peking in 1954. And that is why Khrushchev in his secret speech blamed Stalin for not having duly assessed the events in Asia and, above all, in China.

Even this brief survey of all the endeavours and aims of contemporary Russian imperialism — according to the Bolshevik sources quoted — suffices to prove that Moscow has always tried to seize the Chinese state and incorporate it, and will continue this policy towards China in the near future, too.

A surprising change in Russian policy during the 6th Five Year Plan, which aims to strengthen the military economic system in the Far East and in Siberia, once again proves that the Kremlin is preparing to set up a powerful system of military bases in the Soviet territories of Asia for the purpose of seizing Asian states, including China and the Pacific Ocean.

The present emphasis placed on the eternal friendship between the Russian and Chinese peoples by the Kremlin is nothing but a cunning endeavour on the part of Russian imperialism to deceive the peace-loving Chinese people as to the real Russian plans. The Russian imperialists — whether “white” or “red” — have never abandoned their plan to subdue China. And this fact becomes clearly evident if one studies the articles on Chinese affairs published by the “Posev”, the press organ of the Russian solidarists in exile, who support the idea of an indivisible Russia and are organized in the so-called National Work Union (N.T.S.). In one edition of this paper the following statements are made: “A distribution of the spheres of influence between Moscow and Peking was effectuated. Peking received south-eastern Asia

and Moscow Eastern Europe . . . But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is slowly losing its influence and will not be able to lead the Communist bloc for much longer. It will be replaced by Red China, which will lead world Communism . . .” Continuing, the “Posev” then writes as follows: “China is already interfering in the inner affairs of the Russian satellite states. Hence, the yellow peril is already on the West European frontiers. What do the Russian people say to this? The Chinese Reds are already exerting their pressure on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, whilst the Russian people are silent . . . The Russian anti-Communist movement of the N.T.S. organization must realize that if the yellow peril were to overrun Russia, the position of our steady advance towards the Far East would be lost for ever . . .” These insane statements on the part of the “Posev”, or rather of the Russian N.T.S. organization, prove quite clearly that the Russian imperialists are afraid of the existence of a free national China and of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people against Russian imperialism and its Red agency in Peking. These Russian imperialists are likewise afraid of the revolutionary national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people who are also subjugated by these same Russian imperialists. The Ukrainian people are struggling — in the interests of world democracy — to destroy the Soviet union, this prison of nations. Only the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the formation of independent national states on the ruins of the Soviet Union, only the united struggle of the Chinese people together with other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union against Russian imperialism and the Red Communist system in China, will bring about the victory of the watchwords of the A.B.N., — “Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!”

Major A. Mykulyn.

The Anti-Communist Fight in Free Vietnam

It is a well-known fact that the national state of South Vietnam was called into being on July 7, 1954, under extremely unfavourable preconditions. Hardly two weeks after the big Vietnamese patriot, *Ngo Dinh Diem*, formed the first national government in Saigon, the country was split in two at the fatal first Geneva Conference (arranged by that unscrupulous “neutralist” opportunist, P. Mendès-France) by an infamous compromise between France and the Communist Vietnam. The protest voiced by the national Vietnamese delegation, who refused to recognize this ironical mockery of the recently proclaimed sovereignty of Vietnam, proved in effect unsuccessful.¹⁾

The tragic fate of the northern part of the country, which was subjugated by Red China and its Communist satraps, is well known. And the internal situation in the formal national and sovereign state of South Vietnam, too, was sad enough in the summer of 1954; it was a situation of political and economic chaos, where remnants of the French colonial regime and capitalism, a lot of half-criminal secret organizations (most of them disguised as “religious sects”) and, above all, Communist gangs and terrorist groups fished in troubled waters to their heart's content, — all of them, of course, equipped with their own “private armies”. And, in addition, in the course of a single year, namely from 1954-1955, this country, which had been ravaged by guerilla war for ten years, was obliged to give shelter to about 900,000 refugees from North Vietnam and find a place for them in its economic system.²⁾

The most important stages which, in the course of two years, marked the rapid political, economic, social and spiritual reconstruction of the young national state, were the People's Referendum of October 23, 1955, which proclaimed Free Vietnam a democratic republic and definitely put an end to the shadow government of the former Emperor, Bao-Dai, a hireling of the French and the representative of the egoistic interest of a corrupt and reactionary feudal aristocracy, — and the People's Elections for the first National Assembly on March 4, 1956, which strikingly confirmed the complete political unanimity of the overwhelming majority of the free Vietnamese people and their unreser-

ved confidence in the foreign and home policy of the President of the Republic and national hero of Vietnam, *Ngo Dinh Diem*. South Vietnam is today — like Free China (Formosa), South Korea and the Philippines — one of the most progressive and best governed former colonial territories of East Asia, and its admission to the United Nations, which has already been suggested three times, is only prevented by the veto which is constantly interposed by the U.S.S.R. The fact that all the successful results achieved by the *Ngo Dinh Diem* government are not of a temporary or opportunist character, can best be seen from the amazing improvement which has taken place in the educational system, which represents a firm foundation for the progressive development of the younger and youngest generations. We may readily accept the opinion expressed by a Nationalist Chinese statesman, who after a lengthy stay in Free Vietnam said that,

As regards national education,

“the *Ngo Dinh Diem* government has realized within a year's period what the Chinese government would have to do in 10 years.”

We do not intend to quote official reports and statistics, which prove the rise of this young state beyond all doubt, since all the necessary data in this respect is systematically listed in the “Record of Governmental Achievements: July 1955 - July 1956”, published in Saigon. But what are the main reasons for this unexpected rise to prosperity?

Naturally, the financial, economic and technical aid given by the USA has facilitated many of the measures which have been introduced and has, in fact, made them possible. But this applies almost exclusively to the Vietnamese “economic wonder” (at the most, too, to the foreign political sphere, where *Ngo Dinh Diem's* government was constantly supported by the USA, namely in 1955, against French intrigues and trickery). There can be no doubt about the fact that — as the official “Record” states — “the successes in all fields . . . must be attributed to the revolutionary patriotism of a whole people determined to fight and win, and to the methodical and particularly efficient initiatives of the Government”. We leave it to the Vietnamese

people themselves to decide whether the other statement is correct, namely that “the main factor of success is undoubtedly the enlightened leadership of President *Ngo Dinh Diem*”³⁾. What deserves to be stressed in particular, however, is the mass and active participation of the Vietnamese population (incidentally, of the Chinese population, too, and the Chinese represent amongst the urban population of Vietnam a politically active minority that must not be under-estimated) in the universal fight against Communist terrorism, infiltration and propaganda. On this subject the above-mentioned “Record” reports as follows:

“After the partition of Vietnam into two parts by the Geneva agreements, the people of Free Vietnam violently protested against the betrayal act of the Communist Viet-Minh. Since then, they were determined to denounce all the Communist subversive manoeuvres with a view to defending the Independence of the Fatherland and building a new democracy. From this is born the people's movement of Communist denunciation which was transformed later into a genuine anti-Communist campaign. This people's anti-Communist movement has a great repercussion over the neighbouring countries such as the Republic of Korea, Malaya, the Philippines, Japan, etc. . . . Vietnam has thus become

A vanguard nation of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League.

A people's steering commission of the campaign of Communist denunciation has been formed in order to carry out the anti-Communist campaign . . . The movement rapidly extended in all the administrative organizations of the State and in all the people's strata from the great urban centers to the remotest villages of the mountainous regions.”

We do not intend to deal in more detail with this successful internal activity, without which the amazing reconstruction of the Vietnamese national state would be quite unthinkable; on the one hand, there is much in this activity which is specifically adapted to the East Asian mentality and which, without detailed commentary, is hard for the Western reader to understand; and, on the other hand, all important data on the history and methods of this all-embracing national movement are to be found in the report entitled “Achievements of the Campaign of Denunciation of Communist Subversive Activities”, which was published in Saigon in May, 1956, by the People's Directive Committee for the C.D.C.S.A. (Republic of Vietnam). We should merely like to stress that this is not a temporary campaign, but a large-scale undertaking which includes every sphere of social and spiritual life and is to contribute to a very considerable extent to the retraining of the entire nation on the basis of the political and ethical ideas of President *Ngo Dinh Diem*. These ideas, incidentally, are formulated clearly and concisely in a very interesting pamphlet (“President *Ngo Dinh Diem's* Political Philosophy”, special edition, published by the Review “Horizons”, Saigon, 1956), but this is a subject which we shall deal with separately at a later date.

As regards the anti-Communist fight of Free Vietnam beyond its frontiers, a decisive factor is, in the first place, Vietnam's active participation in the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), and it was precisely for this reason that the Third Annual Conference of the APACL (from

¹⁾ But, incidentally, the senseless Geneva decision which bound both parts of the country to hold a “joint” plebiscite within a year's time (a plebiscite which was not to be guaranteed by a democratic controlling body, but was only to be “observed” by an international commission, two-thirds of which were pro-Communist) was likewise merely expressed on paper: the British government itself which was one of the 2 co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference, recognized later, in a memorandum addressed to the U.S.S.R., that the government of Free Vietnam is not juridically bound by the Geneva agreements.

²⁾ The fact must be mentioned that of these refugees, who were forced to leave North Vietnam because they feared and hated the Communist regime, 75 per cent are peasants and 85 per cent are Catholics; the extremely strong and beneficial influence of the Catholic Church in Vietnam, namely in the rural areas, too, is no doubt one of the best factors left over from the days of French colonial rule.

³⁾ This, incidentally, is also the opinion of none less than the US Secretary of State, Mr. John F. Dulles, who, speaking of the opening session of the Vietnamese National Assembly, said, “This admirable success is due to the efforts and sacrifices of the people of Free Vietnam under the energetic leadership, full of initiative, of President *Ngo Dinh Diem*”.

Dr. V. Gyls, Consul General of Lithuania

Evil Legacy of the Two World Wars

From the Speech at the A.B.N. Meeting in Toronto

It is with deep appreciation that I have accepted the kind invitation of the A.B.N. to address this meeting of representatives of the enslaved nations of Eastern and Southern Europe on the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the three Baltic Republics, Ukraine, Finland, Poland, Byelorussia, the Caucasian and certain Asiatic Moslem peoples. I welcome this opportunity to express my sympathy to you and all nations whom I consider our allies in common adversity, struggling against Bolshevik oppression.

The Bolsheviks' wily plans must fail, as the denial of freedom to the enslaved peoples is doomed. The firm determination to fight for liberty and our own culture endures in the hearts of the subjugated nations and our steadfastness serves as the basis for our final victory.

We are witnessing one of the greatest tragedies of humanity; no nation wants war but dreams, rather, of everlasting peace in some form of world alliance. Since the time of the ancient Greeks, poets, philosophers and politicians have expounded their plans of world alliance, but none of these plans have been successful.

In this century the Bolsheviks are making great efforts to forcibly unite the world under the yoke of Communist Russia. Such subjugation would be the most terrible, and the possible danger of Communist rule in the free world has united all democratic countries in organizing a common resistance and has resulted in an enormous expenditure for national defence.

It is indeed sad to think that in the 20th century some two hundred million inhabitants of this world are still living close to the starvation limit, have no legal protection of their rights and are not participating in the progress of human culture and civilization.

Only once in the long course of human history did Western Europe have a single government, namely when the Roman Empire ruled for three centuries all that was of value in European life. But later the greatest of calamities happened, when peace was destroyed by the Teutonic world. The Roman Empire perished, leaving behind it the greatness of Virgil, Cicero, Horace, St. Augustine, the institution of the Roman Church and Roman law. Since then, the freedom of Europe has been lost and civilization has had to be built up again amidst barbarism. Papacy, the strongest of the institutional forces in the Middle Ages, was unable to preserve peace among the combative peoples, among society split up into small factions at war among themselves. To the ecclesiastical rupture between Greece and Rome there was added the schism between the Catholic and Protestant faiths. The religious wars of the seventeenth century and the colonial wars of the eighteenth century were followed by dynastic wars. In the 18th and 19th centuries man's way of thought was profoundly influenced by the humanitarian ideas of the French Revolution, but the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars left Europe exhausted and only with the idea

of a permanent Concert of Powers against a constant danger.

The tragedy of the Great War in this century was that it was fought between the most civilized nations in Europe, and their main problem now is how to avert the danger of new catastrophes.

At present we are experiencing the most troubled period of human history. Europe has reached a point at which its destiny is at stake. The progress of scientific achievements is at our disposal: to use or to abuse. We may enter into a period of highest prosperity, or we may reduce civilization to ruins.

The two World Wars have left us an evil legacy. The moral unity of the Western powers attained during these wars has been broken. The solidarity of democratic nations against the invasion of ruthless Russian Bolshevism has been challenged. The result of this conflict is that all East European nations have fallen a prey to Soviet Russia and our peoples have been the first victims and guinea-pigs for the cruel experiments carried out by the merciless tyrants.

According to the views held by the Russian Tsars, three cities were chosen by Providence to be in turn a world empire: Rome, Constantinople and Moscow. Such was the historical logic of Ivan the Terrible and such were the beliefs and aspirations of the Russian emperors and high dignitaries of the Russian Church.

At present, Stalin's successors, such as Khrushchev, Bulganin, Voroshilov, etc., together with all the high-ranking generals, consider themselves to be the executors of the will of the Russian Tsars. It is significant that the Russian Tsars, emperors, statesmen and politicians — monarchists or liberals, socialists or Communists — all repeat the same demands, namely that Russia needs the Baltic and Black Seas, Constantinople, the Straits of Dardanelles, the Balkans, Suez, etc., for security reasons, or in order to obtain an outlet to all the oceans. The Russian Church for centuries has appropriated the mission of protection of all orthodox religions in Western Europe, Palestine, Turkey and elsewhere. The Russian Tsars justified their intervention on the national and ideological grounds of Russia's mission to rescue and protect the Christians from Islamic imperialism. The Bolshevik rulers have changed their alleged mission of protecting the orthodox peoples, and have substituted much larger aims, namely those of supporting all working classes all over the world against their own elected governments.

Today, the Soviet Union is trying to use all the opportunities created by the present Middle East crisis. The Communists proclaim their mission in the Middle East as to rescue and protect Moslem from "Judeo-Christian capitalist imperialism".

During the past months, the Russians have succeeded in launching two artificial satellites and, in this way, have really impressed the free world. The Moscow rulers, presumably, do not want a world war, but they do wish to impress the Western

world with their technological progress and to intimidate the free countries in order to make them submit to the terms dictated by Moscow. The US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and President Eisenhower, too, on a later occasion, met the Bolshevik threat with a frank declaration to resist Communist aggression with all available means in close collaboration with the Western allies.

To expect the Russians not to make full use of all these means and weapons would be folly. We must face the knowledge that the pressure will continue and that this is a struggle for survival.

Soviet Russia is powerful, arrogant and very aggressive. Everything that has happened on the international stage for years has in some way been connected with the Kremlin's trickery. This year the Russians have intensified their efforts to gain an outlet to the Mediterranean and have attempted to cut the supply of oil from the Arab countries.

In World Wars I and II the democratic peoples gained a victory through an alliance based on North American and British cooperation. The independent nations are now stronger, but only if united. The two systems, democratic and dictatorial, cannot co-exist without dangerous conflicts. Therefore, the free world must put its entire moral strength behind the United Nations, which has world opinion on its side. The United Nations should be transformed into a world alliance of free countries. It should be a league of defence, not a world government. The Moscow dictators are not a free elected government, nor do they represent the will of the peoples subjugated by brutal force.

At this turning-point in history the peace-loving nations have the moral power to introduce international discipline and collaboration in the scientific, military, political and economic spheres of all the anti-Communist forces.

Our countries, overrun by Russia, have made enormous sacrifices in defending Europe against a Bolshevik invasion. On the other hand, the Major Powers have already realized that in the coming decisive struggle for European freedom, for the "to be or not to be", the closest cooperation of all the anti-Communist forces is an inevitable premise, a *conditio sine qua non*. Only such coordination of all efforts can bring victory to the democratic alliance and ensure lasting peace and freedom to all captive nations in Europe and elsewhere.

A Message from the Other World

The Western world recently made a lot of fuss about the dog in the Red Russian satellite, "Sputnik". People demonstrated in front of the Soviet Russian Embassy in London and elsewhere in protest against torturing a poor dog in this way. A little later, a broadcast from the Vatican informed the same world that a bird of passage had been shot in Sicily and that a message had been found tied to the bird's foot, — not from a dog, but from living human beings in another world, namely from 300 Italian soldiers who were captured by the Russians 13 years ago. These soldiers are working as prisoners in Soviet mines near the North Pole. And in their message they begged that something should be done to help them.

The news of their message did not, however, affect the Western world deeply, since it was not topical news. There were no loud commentaries, no lively discussions about the sad fate of these men from Verona, Padua, Fiula and Rovigo. No one demonstrated in front of the Soviet Russian embassies in the Western world in protest against the tortures inflicted on the Italians in the Soviet Russian concentration camps. Why not? No doubt because there are many societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but no such societies that protect human beings from being tortured.

It is not the first time that the people of the Western world have remained indifferent to the criminal atrocities committed by the Soviets. From the very beginning of the Red Russian revolution, during the artificially created famine in Ukraine, and up to this day, the people in the Western world have kept silent as regards the countless victims of the Red Russian regime. Hence, it is not surprising that the Red Russians today threaten the entire civilized world. The Reds have swallowed up so many nations without having encountered any protest on the part of the Western world, that they are now ready to swallow up the rest of the free world, too.

March 27th to April 1st, 1957), in which the delegation of the ABN (in the official role of an "observer") took an active part, was held in Saigon. Material on this Conference has also been published in Saigon, under the title "Important Documents of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League Third Annual Conference", by the above-mentioned Steering Committee for the C.D.C.S.A. This excellently edited and lavishly illustrated publication, however, unfortunately only contains the lectures, declarations and resolutions of the plenary sessions (and these not always in extenso), whereas — as our readers will know from the reports on this Conference which were published in the "ABN Correspondence" — the most interesting discussions and ideas were, above all, expressed in the course of the work of the individual committees. In addition, it must be pointed out that the text of the numerous "Messages Received" has been subjected to systematic cuts and, as various dashes clearly reveal, precisely the demands expressed by the peoples subjugated by

Moscow, namely that *the Russian imperium should be disintegrated into independent national states*, have been left out. Some persons may possibly interpret it as a not very encouraging example for the international cooperation of anti-Communist organizations!

On the other hand, however, the importance of the participation of the ABN in the International Exhibition of Documents on Communist Atrocities, organized and held at the same time as the Third APACL Conference, was deservedly appreciated both in the above-mentioned report (in a special appendix) and in the French daily press of Saigon ("Journal d'Extreme Orient", "La Gazette de Saigon", etc.); and as this exhibition was organized as a more permanent and movable type of exhibition, it is to be hoped that it will help to weaken the negative influence of the Russian anti-Communist — but not anti-imperialist — emigrants and to modify the corresponding "no predetermination position" of the responsible Vietnamese statesmen.

W. D.

Demands of Ukrainian Prisoners of the Russian Concentration Camps

The mighty processes which are in progress behind the Iron Curtain are proof of the systematic downfall of the Communist system and its iron fist, the Russian imperialism. In an attempt to rescue what can no longer be rescued, the Kremlin rulers have thought up a story about de-Stalinization, so as to cast all the blame onto Stalin; but this measure has proved futile. As early as July 1953, a large-scale strike, organized by Ukrainian political internees and actively supported by Lithuanian prisoners, began in the concentration camps in Vorkuta and was only put down by the brutal force of the Muscovite army. A German eye-witness, who returned to the West, gives the following report as regards the demands addressed to the free world by the prisoners who went on strike:

"Conversations with the military leaders of the resistance groups at Vorkuta give one a clear picture of their idea of the most desirable form of such cooperation, between themselves and the West. This can be summarized as follows:

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to prisoners to call a general strike.

2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southwards.

3. Immediate formation by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 1,500 mile railway line at given points.

4. Creation of a separate republic independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Neither tanks, aircraft nor artillery can operate effectively in this gigantic partisan terrain.

5. Intensive radio propaganda to the Soviet from this independent republic with the aim of bringing about:

- A peasant rising under the traditional slogan 'Land for the Peasants'.
- A workers' rising under the slogan 'Factories for the Workers'.

6. Proclamation of national independence for Ukraine, the Baltic States, Byelorussia, the peoples of Caucasus, Turkestan and the Far East.

7. Ultimate creation of conditions similar to civil war by an aggravation of the tension between the hard core of the army and the peoples of the Soviet Union."
(From "Vorkuta" by Joseph Scholmer, p. 194)

It would be desirable to remind you of the additional following facts:

"June 6th, 1953, Norylsk. A big revolt on the part of the prisoners in the concentration camps, which was led by the Ukrainians, was put down by Muscovite tanks. A Ukrainian officer of the Soviet army, by the name of Poltava, tried to protect the prisoners and perished with them."

"June 17th, 1953, East Berlin. Demonstrations organized by German workers blocked the streets of the town and attacked the office buildings of the East German Communist Party, the SED. The revolt was put down by Soviet tanks. Eighteen officers and soldiers, most of them of Ukrainian nationality, including an N.C.O., A. Cherbyna, were shot for refusing to fire on German workers."

"May 6th to June 26th, 1954, Kingir. Moscow sent troops and planes to deal with the insurgent prisoners of the concentration camps. Five hundred Ukrainian girls and women were crushed to death by the Muscovite tanks."

"June 28th, 1956, Poznan. The inhabitants demonstrated in crowds in the streets of the

town, demanding bread and freedom. With the aid of tanks and machine-guns and artillery fire, Soviet Russian troops put down the revolt in a brutal manner."

And, finally, the big revolt in Hungary, in the course of which, according to reports in the press of the free world, 15,000 Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet army and a considerable number of Byelorussians went over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters, whilst the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) impeded the Soviet Russian tank divisions at the frontier in the Carpathian Mountains.

Designation of the Grand Mufti of National Turkestan

National Turkestanian
Unity Committee
The President
V. Kajum-Khan
P. O. Box 8066
Düsseldorf

29th January, 1958

His Excellency
Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko
President of the Anti-Bolshevik
Bloc of Nations
München 8
Zeppelinstr. 67/o
Excellency,

I hereby beg to inform your Excellency of the following resolutions:

The NATIONAL TURKESTANIAN UNITY COMMITTEE (National Government in foreign countries) has confirmed the resolution of the Council of the Turkestanian Ulama's dated the 30th July, 1957, as well as the resolutions of the General Assembly of all Turkestanians, dated the 24th and 30th July, 1957, concerning the request

The Fortieth Anniversary of Lithuania's Independence

On February 16, 1958, it will be forty years since Lithuania by proclaiming the Lithuanian State Council became an independent state. The war was not yet over, and it needed considerable courage to proclaim a future order. But the determined efforts of a people to obtain their freedom could no longer be curbed, just as little as the constant proclamation of the liberation of Lithuania at the present time can be prevented. The liberation of Lithuania is bound to materialize some day — in some way or other.

It is a widespread historical error to designate Lithuania as one of the "young states", which in the course of the post-war situation, as it were, came into being as "border states" on the Baltic Sea. Lithuania is not a "young state". Its history as an independent state can be traced back about seven hundred years. There was already a Lithuanian state before there was, for instance, a united Germany or a United States of America. And what is more, Lithuania centuries ago was a leading major power in Eastern Europe. And this statement, incidentally, must not be regarded as boasting but as historical fact. The Lithuanians do not base any special claims for the present on their former historical position. But they are not willing to see their country written off as a "seasonal state", whose incorporation in the Soviet Union is passed over as a matter of insignificance on the agenda. Those who do this are not good Europeans. A graveyard peace at the expense of whole peoples would be the most tragic peace which the West could ever attain.

of designation of the known Ulama Sayed Mahmood Tarazi (Altin Han Tora) of Turkestan as Grand Mufti of National Turkestan and Chairman of the Religious Administration, and the National Turkestanian Unity Committee has appointed His Excellency Sayed Mahmood Tarazi as Grand Mufti of National Turkestan and Chairman of the Religious Administration.

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee apprises your Excellency that the Mufti as well as the Religious Administration nominated in Turkestan by Soviet Russia, against the will of the Turkestanian People, have been refused by these resolutions and branded as pure Sovietic propaganda arrangements, and that the Soviet-appointed Red Mufti and Religious Administration have no right to represent the Turkestanian Muslims, either in the homeland or in foreign countries.

The national Grand Mufti, His Excellency Sayed Mahmood Tarazi, as a Member of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, as the Religious Superior of millions of Turkestanians living in the exile and as the Chairman of the national Religious Administration, on the contrary, is entitled to contact in religious affairs all Governments and Islamic organizations for the welfare of the Islamic peoples and of Turkestan.

The Office of the Grand Mufti and the Religious Administration are joined to the National Turkestanian Unity Committee.

Yours faithfully,
V. Kajum-Khan
President

of the
NATIONAL TURKESTANIAN
UNITY COMMITTEE

Premier Diefenbaker of Canada Defends Enslaved Nations Behind Iron Curtain

OTTAWA, Dec. 21. — Prime Minister John Diefenbaker said the NATO conference had taken "striking decisions" in the military, economic and scientific fields that would strengthen the unity and purpose of the alliance.

In the debate in the House of Commons after his return from Paris, Premier Diefenbaker defended the decisions of NATO and spurned those who said that nothing new had been decided. He concluded:

"To give hope to those people behind the Iron Curtain who have kept glowing the flickering flame of freedom in the Ukraine, in Hungary, in Poland and in East Germany and the Balkan states, a paragraph was included in the communique assuring them that the light had been seen by the free world."

Dr. Ludwig Liptay

Vice-President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement

The Price of an Understanding

The end of the year brought a noticeable change in the tone of politics, mainly on the part of the West, a fact which will in all probability sooner or later be expressed in deeds. It is plainly evident that this change of tone is due to two facts, — the appearance of the "Sputnik", on the one hand, and Bulganin's letters and the recent statements and hints made by Khrushchev, on the other.

Immediately after the Hungarian October Revolution and, indeed, for some months after this event, the Western politicians definitely rejected the possibility suggested by the Russians on various occasions of a "peaceful coexistence". Russia was twice sharply criticized and censured by the UNO. It is true that the resolutions passed by the UNO in this connection remained empty words which were never expressed in deeds, but no one could deny the moral effect of the UNO's attitude in this respect. Politicians all over the world talked quite openly about the great significance of the Hungarian insurrection and it was generally acknowledged that the Hungarians had also fought for the freedom of all peoples.

But why fight if a peaceful coexistence is acceptable?

Nowadays, incidentally, one no longer talks about the heroic fight, but all the more about an understanding.

It is true that peace has always been one of the most valuable and vital possessions of mankind and today, after two dreadful world wars, it has become of even greater value to all peoples. For this reason it must be regarded as a matter of course for politicians and statesmen to strive to preserve peace. Indeed, it is their duty to do so.

But a policy which aims to obtain peace at any price seems to us to be just as wrong as a policy which is intent upon provoking a war.

Has the West forgotten that the ultimate aim of the Marxist-Leninist ideology is to attain world-dominion? Or does it seriously believe that the Bolsheviks would honestly abandon this aim in favour of a temporary "coexistence"? Why does the West refuse to realize that this world-conquest aim is the fundamental and guiding principle of Communism as a means of Russian imperialism, and that, consequently, to abandon this aim would be suicide as far as the Bolsheviks are concerned?

The lords of the Kremlin are masters of the art of tactics when it comes to trying to achieve a certain appeasement. And the means they resort to in this respect are, on one occasion, the working out of a plan for an atomic-free zone and neutralization plans for certain Central European territories, and, on another occasion, the condemning of the use of nuclear weapons, the cessation of atomic bomb tests, the cessation of the armament race, or disarmament. The melodious tunes played by this political orchestra are numerous. Now and again, the Asian and African peoples are allowed to play in this orchestra, but, of course, only under the leadership of the Russians. And it is possible to increase the effect of this music by the thundering beat of a rocket and thus wear out the nerves of the peace-loving peoples.

Thus, appeasement and intimidation, side by side, have become well-trying methods. And, accordingly, the Russians have succeeded in making the world talk less about the danger of Communism and more about the overcoming of ideological differences and about an understanding with the Kremlin.

We do not wish to deny the fact that it is imperative that the utmost effort should be made to achieve a genuine peace and thus guarantee the freedom of the peoples. But freedom cannot be limited merely to certain peoples or to certain territories. And the guarantee of freedom for the West cannot be bought by sacrificing the freedom of the peoples at present subjugated by the Soviets. Is there any possibility of this happening? Unfortunately, the answer is yes, if we take into account all that has happened during the past decades.

The leading statesmen of the West foolishly and

thoughtlessly fell into the trap of Russian Communist astuteness at the conferences of Moscow, Teheran and Yalta during the war and also at Potsdam after the war. And it is only in this way that the present situation in Europe has ensued. Due to the thoughtless political game of the West, the Red Chinese managed to gain control of the whole of China. The unfortunate and disastrous partition of Korea and Vietnam is further proof of this policy on the part of the West.

Five or six years ago, one still rightly regarded the Arabian peoples as radical opponents of Communism. The Western powers rightly recognized the importance of Africa from the point of view of the military and the political situation, but they acted in such a way that it now looks as though Russian influence might quite possibly sooner or later gain the upper hand in Africa. Is it not the indecision of the West which has brought about this alarming situation?

For years the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain were encouraged to continue their resistance and the hopes they set in the West were strengthened again and again by various radio stations. But when the courageous people of Hungary put up an open resistance, the West simply left them in the lurch and in this way not only missed a favourable opportunity, but also undermined the significant strength of this people by disappointing them.

In view of all these bitter experiences there is every reason to fear that the West will have to pay a heavy price if it reaches an understanding with Russia. Knowing how unscrupulous the Communists are, is an effective control over an atomic-free or neutral zone at all conceivable? Or an effective

control over disarmament in the vast Soviet territories? And, incidentally, can one believe that the Russians will permit free elections in the East Zone of Germany? Or will the Western powers, for the sake of reaching an understanding with Russia, negotiate with the Pankov government, too, and even accept Mr. Grotewohl's terms?

It is true that one can negotiate with Russia; indeed, one should miss no opportunity to do so, but, first of all, the Western powers must be united in their plans and aims.

Unfortunately, they are at present far from being united in this respect, for cunning Soviet policy has succeeded in confusing their ranks more than ever.

But unity could easily be restored, since the Western powers have one and the same aim; the only thing they must do is to draw the right conclusions from the lessons they have learnt in the past.

The aim is to ensure a genuine peace. But a genuine peace can only be based on justness and freedom. It is thus obvious that an understanding can be reached if the Russians set free all the peoples whom they have subjugated. But if they do not do so, then there can be no possibility of reaching an understanding, for in that case there is neither justness nor freedom. The Russian imperialism must be disintegrated into independent states for all the subjugated nations.

What are the prospects for an understanding? It is true that the role of a prophet is a thankless one, but we are inclined to doubt whether the Russians will prove compliant. And if this assumption should prove true, may God protect the world from an "understanding" of this kind!

From Behind the Iron Curtain

GRIM PARTISAN WAR IN WESTERN REGIONS OF SOVIET UNION

Under this headline the Austrian paper, "Tiroler Tageszeitung", of December 31, 1957, published the following informative article.

During the past few days, several Soviet newspapers have unexpectedly admitted the existence of armed underground organizations in the Western regions of the Soviet Union. In this connection the "Sowjetskaja Latvija" mentions the existence of "national movements" in Ukraine, the Baltic countries and Byelorussia, and this report can be regarded as particularly significant since it is based on official information received from the Soviet state security service in Latvia. A similar report is published in the paper "Sowjetskaja Estonja", which also talks about the "annihilation of numerous partisan groups".

The "Utschitelskaja Gazeta", the organ of the Soviet Ministry of Propaganda, mentions active and passive resistance in Bessarabia, Kirghizstan and "other parts of the U.S.S.R." In this connection the chief of the Soviet state security service, General Serov, exhorted the Party to the greatest vigilance in a message published in the Moscow "Pravda" at Christmas, in which he said: "At the moment, the entire activity of our security organs is concentrated on frustrating the activity of foreign espionage services and other enemies of socialism!"

A further admission is to be found in the Soviet periodical "Woprosy Filosofii", which only has a very small circulation and is only available to a select circle of functionaries. This periodical reports on a secret congress held in Moscow by leading atheistic propagandists, who, apart from the failure of their anti-religious propaganda, ascertained that there was a very violent active and passive resistance against the state — likewise mainly in the Western regions of the Soviet Union,

in the non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R., in Ukraine, etc. This increased resistance and the revival of religious activity — and in this connection the "great activity of the Catholic Church" is mentioned for the first time again after a long interval — go hand in hand, according to the "Woprosy Filosofii". In one and the same breath the periodical affirms that those who are allegedly responsible for this armed and unarmed opposition are the "capitalists" and the "Vatican", who, according to a statement made by the Central Committee member, Mitin, at the secret congress are in future to be censured particularly severely. Mitin has during the past few years made a name for himself in the Eastern countries as the chief editor of the Cominform journal. He is at present a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

THE EXTERMINATION OF THE KALMUCKS

Information has now been received once more, after a long interval, regarding the fate of the Kalmuck people, whose autonomous territory was liquidated by the Kremlin in 1942, and of whom 30,000 families, numbering about 136,000 persons, were at that time deported to Siberia. It has been estimated that about 14,000 Kalmucks left the Soviet Union when the German troops retreated. About 120,000 Kalmucks remained in the U.S.S.R.

Now, after the restoration of the Kalmuck territory, the First Secretary of that country states in a report published in the new paper, "Sowjetskaja Kalmuckia", that during the first ten months only 9,300 Kalmuck families, that is about 40,000 persons, have returned home to their country from Siberia. Of these, 10,000 persons are employed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, 500 in the motor-tractor stations, 1,500 on building sites and 3,000 in industry. About 20,000 Kalmucks are to return under the resettlement project. These figures reveal that about 55,000 persons of this small people perished when they were deported.

NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND MOVEMENTS CONTINUE

The head of the State Security Service of the Latvian Soviet Republic, Wewers, has admitted in an article published by the press that, as an aftermath of World War II, nationalist underground movements still continue to exist in Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries.

(From a report from Moscow published in the "Münchener Merkur", No. 308-301, 1957.)

Extracts from the Hungarian Press Communist Newspapers, Budapest

The Budapest daily, "HÉTFOI HIREK", states that during the Hungarian "counter-revolution" about 6,000 books were destroyed and that these books were for the most part works by Mozart, Bach, Heine and other classical literature.

The "KOSSUTH RADIO", Budapest, reports that the Kádár government has set up a "council" which has been entrusted with the task of constantly controlling and censoring all the Hungarian papers published for children and young persons.

The "HUNGARIAN POST OFFICE" on November 7, 1957, issued a special commemoration stamp bearing Lenin's head and Picasso's dove of peace on it.

The "HUNGARIAN CHIEF OF PRESS OF THE UNO" reports that Foreign Minister Horvath Imre held a reception in New York, to which 26 guests were invited, including the Secretary-General of the UNO, Dag Hammarskjöld.

The paper "NEPSZABADSAG" insists that it is time the enemies in Hungary were liquidated, as attempts are still being made to prevent the movement of the productive cooperative society from spreading.

The paper "MAGYAR NEMZET" reports that Szabó Miklos, who has returned to Hungary from Austria, recently stated at various press conferences that if the Hungarian "revolution" had been victorious, the emigrants would have set up a Fascist government. Szabó affirmed that the strongest Fascist movements are led by Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak and Anreás Zákó and that the legitimists, former officers and politicians, only discuss tactics pertaining to social questions.

In reply to an anonymous letter, the "KOSSUTH RADIO" said that it had been ascertained from letters received from refugees that, as compared to the richest capitalist states such as America and Sweden, social conditions in Hungary were good. It was further affirmed by this radio station that since 1945 the economic situation and the welfare of the workers in Hungary had improved to a far greater extent than was the case in the capitalist states, and it was stressed that although technical progress in the West had been great, the capitalists there would always remain capitalists and the proletarians proletarians.

Hungarian Emigrant Newspapers

Recent refugees report that things have still by no means quietened down in Hungary. Shooting incidents frequently occur and the internment camps are full of prisoners. A year ago, when it was ascertained that the police had only arrested young persons, students, workers and farmers, orders were issued to the police to arrest 10,000 to 15,000 intellectuals and former officers as well, as quickly as possible, and to intern them together with the freedom fighters, in order to make it look as though the revolution had been started by the Horthy Fascists.

The refugees also report that a worker at the Csepel factory recently made a speech in which he said that the Kádár government had so far only been recognized by the West, but not by the Hungarians themselves.

During the Hungarian revolution the building of the Communist Party on the Square of the Republic (formerly called Tisza Kálmán Tér) was completely destroyed. The Communists rebuilt it and on October 30, they held an opening ceremony. On this occasion a huge crowd assembled, not only on the square itself, but also in all the streets nearby. The Communists were greatly alarmed as they feared another revolution, and so they hurriedly mobilized the entire police force in Budapest.

Various grand speeches were held, but no one applauded, for the crowd that had assembled was a silent anti-Communist demonstration. For half an hour after the opening ceremony, the demonstrators remained standing in silence on the Square of the Republic.

A secret government order was later issued to the effect that no mass ceremonies were to be held in future. Even the celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of Bolshevism were called off, and it was only in individual districts and factories, etc., that celebrations on a small scale were permitted indoors.

It is also stated by recent refugees that the Russians are removing large quantities of uranium from Hungary and taking it to the Soviet Union. They put it in waterproof sacks which contain 50 kilograms and send it by express, in closed trucks bearing red and white freight bills.

In 1957, Hungary only sent 60 per cent of the agricultural products and manufactured goods stipulated in the goods exchange agreement to Russia. The Communist government affirms that the 40 per cent deficit was due to the Hungarian revolution.

The refugees likewise report that the Kádár government was greatly alarmed and worried as to what would happen on the anniversary of the Hungarian revolution. At the beginning of October, members of the Kádár government already began to hold threatening speeches and tried to intimidate the population by every possible means.

Caretakers of houses and other buildings were instructed to collect all flags and lock them away. Weeks beforehand, the police confiscated mourning veils and bands and black ties in the shops.

Orders were issued that not more than three persons were allowed to walk together in the streets. In addition, orders were also issued that no candles were to be lit in the windows because of the danger of fire (it was always customary in Hungary to light candles in the windows on national days of mourning).

The workers' militia had all their arms taken from them as the Communist government affirmed

that a revolution was no longer likely to break out and that therefore it was no longer necessary for the militia to be armed.

From October 23rd to November 4th, all the cemeteries were guarded by numerous police units and anyone who wished to enter was asked where they were going. Those who ventured to reply that their son had been killed during the fight for freedom were arrested and told that they would some day learn why their son had died.

During these days, incidentally, the streets, cinemas, theatres and other places of entertainment were entirely empty. Thus, a large-scale silent boycott was held in Budapest and throughout Hungary.

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The Hungarian paper, "Uj Hungaria", published in Munich, reported in its edition of December 6, 1957, that a very peculiar demonstration was held in Budapest. It was held by the Communists to show how strong they are. On October 6th, an AVO detachment, commanded by Major Kos, marched through the streets, escorted by a Russian tank battery. The AVO men kept shouting in unison: "Long live the brave Soviet Army!", "Long live the workers' and farmers' government!", "Long live Kádár!", etc.

Passers-by in the streets were surprised at this strange sight, and all of a sudden some men working on scaffolding and building sites began to catcall, and a few seconds later the whole street resounded with jeers. But not for long, because the Communists started shouting "rotten Fascists" and the pedestrians retorted "traitors", etc. Thereupon, a fight ensued between the civilians and the soldiers. The AVO detachment was forced to retreat, but at that moment the commander gave the order to fire and the Russian tanks began to attack the crowd. A large number of persons were killed and wounded. Sixty young men were taken away on a lorry. What happened to them is not known. All this happened at five o'clock in the afternoon. Soon the streets were empty save for the AVO heroes who stood there grinning and acting as though they were the victors.

BOOK-REVIEWS

DOCUMENTS ABOUT CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN RED CHINA

In September a "White Book on Slave-Labour in the People's Republic of China" ("Livre Blanc sur le travail forcé dans la République Populaire de Chine") was published in French, in Paris. It is a comprehensive report based on the minutes of the congress dealing with the question of the Chinese concentration camps, which was held by the well-known International Commission against the Concentration Camp Regime, in Brussels from April 20 to 30th, 1956. This congress was held in conjunction with the International Confederation of Free Syndicates, since the initiative in this respect was taken by the syndicates of Hong Kong and Kowloon and also by the Reverend Father Bonnichon, the representative of the 89 Catholic missionaries expelled from Communist China. The congress of the above-mentioned Commission (which, as is well-known, consists exclusively of former prisoners of the Nazi concentration camps, but during the past years has done much valuable work in exposing the Communist concentration camp system in the U.S.S.R. and its satellites) was presided over by the Dutchman, Cornelis Van Rij. The report contains all the oral and written charges and testimony submitted to the Commission, as well as the résumés of the representatives of the public prosecution, of whom the well-known anti-Communist and antagonist of Bolshevik concentration camps, the French writer, David Rousset, has in particular distinguished himself. The government of Red China, of course, did not even reply to the request addressed by the Commission to the Communist Premier Chou En-lai, to send a representative to the congress.

Below, we quote the decisive 34th (and last) paragraph of the resolution moved by the prosecution and accepted unanimously by the Commission:

"1) Inasmuch as the punitive system of the People's Republic of China most broadly defines the conception of a political delinquent and deprives the latter of every effective guarantee of his right to self-defence, it delivers up the citizen to the arbitrary power of the government. The new measures taken since the introduction of the Constitution of 1954 do not appear to be considered in practice at all, and they would, in any case, be inadequate to guarantee personal freedom in an effective way.

2) The slave-labour which the internees in the prisons and camps are forced to do and which constitutes a considerable part of the national economy, is performed under material conditions which are incompatible with the modern principles of criminal law.

3) The re-training of thought which is combined with the so-called re-training by work is far from bringing about a spiritual rebirth of the prisoners, and is actually a humiliating and degrading moral torture which ends in the worst possible form of human degradation, in the loss of all individuality.

4) These are all characteristics of an authentic concentration camp regime".

It is to be hoped that in the near future an abridged edition of this documentary work will be published and made available for more readers. The complete edition at present available can be obtained from the following address: Centre international d'édition et de documentation, 5, rue Daunou, Paris (2e). V. D.

Ihor Kameneckij: Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine 1941-1944. A Study of Totalitarian Imperialism. Milwaukee, 1950, pp. 101. Marquette Slavic Studies, No. 2.

The author examines the ideological and political reasons which made the East accessible to Hitler. Then follows an account of the various political ideas held by the German statesmen with regard to the East campaign and the occupation of the Soviet Union. German occupation policy in the East is branded as a purely enslavement and colonization policy. The refusal of the German government to cooperate with Ukraine led to the Ukrainian partisan activity (1941-1944). The German attitude towards Ukraine was the typical expression of a totalitarian imperialism.

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Conference in Mexico Paves the Way for Anti-Communist Congress

On March 20th the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" convened the Preparatory Conference of the Anti-Communist World Congress. At 9 o'clock in the morning, the delegates of the anti-Communist organizations of various countries assembled at the "Hotel del Prado" in the Mexican capital. The following countries were represented: USA, Canada, Mexico, Guatemala, Brazil, Argentina, the European countries, Korea, the Republic of Vietnam, Free China, Pakistan, El Salvador and Costa Rica. After the names of the delegates had been entered in the record, **Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens**, the Secretary-General of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, formally opened the Conference and outlined in brief its aims and tasks. The chief speeches were held by **Admiral Carlos Penna Botto**, the President of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, **Mr. Ku Cheng-kang**, the President of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, and **Mr. Wasyl Bezchlibnik** on behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) as **Jaroslaw Stetzko**, President of the Central Committee of the ABN, at this point was not yet present at the Conference.

Admiral Carlos Penna Botto drew the attention of those present to the necessity of taking up the fight against the danger of Communist infiltration and aggression in the whole world, since the Communist offensive has assumed world dimensions and aims to subjugate the whole world to Moscow. He stressed that it was the duty of the organizations that have set themselves the task of fighting this danger to found the Anti-Communist World League at last, and that it was the aim of this Conference to accomplish the preparatory work in this respect.

Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, who held his speech in Chinese, expressed his pleasure and satisfaction at the fact that the Conference had been convened and stressed that the anti-Communist organizations of the Asian peoples had already been working in this direction for a considerable time. He stated that the work of the anti-Communist organizations of Asia was directed by the following aims and tasks:

a) to check Communist infiltration in Asia;
b) to organize and carry out campaigns which would lead to a defeat of the Communist system in various countries and to the liberation of all nations.

The peoples of Asia, so **Mr. Ku Cheng-kang** stressed, definitely reject the idea of a compromise with the Soviet bloc. They do not believe in a "peaceful" coexistence. The Communist parties are merely the Fifth Columns of the Bolshevik centre in Moscow and Soviet colonialism and imperialism is much worse than the old West European colonialism.

Mr. Wasyl Bezchlibnik greeted the Conference on behalf of the Central Committee of the ABN and expounded the postulates of the ABN, stressing that Communism was the tool of Russian imperialism to subjugate the whole world.

After these three speeches, the representatives of various anti-Communist organizations greeted the Conference and expressed their views on its tasks. **Mr. L. C. Paik** (Pro-

following persons: **Admiral Carlos Penna Botto**, **Mr. Marwin Libmann**, **Mr. Bezchlibnik**, **Mr. A. Gielen** and **Mr. T. Pao**. The Conference lasted until March 25th.

On Saturday, March 22nd, the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, **Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko**, arrived in Mexico. He was greeted most warmly and enthusiastically by all the delegates present at the Conference. He immediately took part in the work of the Conference and presided over the Political Commission.

During the Conference receptions were given for the delegates by various ambassadors in Mexico.

Members of the Praesidium of the Conference with A.B.N. and Ukrainian delegates
Left to right
1st row:
Dr. C. M. Chang, **J. Stetzko**, **Admiral C. P. Botto**, **Dr. J. P. Laurens**, **Dr. S. Mendoza**, **H. Bilynski**
2nd row:
W. Duschnyk, **M. Rubinez**, **I. Bojko**, **W. Bezchlibnyk**, **Sosnowskyj**, **Dr. N. Prozyk**



fessor at the University of Seoul), speaking on behalf of the "Korean Anti-Communist Union", stressed the necessity of regarding the forces of the Communist bloc realistically in order to use their weakness to advantage. He added that the world needed a promising leadership in the organizing of the anti-Bolshevist crusade.

Dr. Nestor Prozyk, speaking on behalf of the "American Friends of ABN", pointed out to the members of the Conference the significance of the political principles of the ABN.

Mr. Sosnowskyj greeted the Conference on behalf of the "Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine". Greetings to the Conference were also expressed by **Mr. Alfred B. Gielen** on behalf of the "International Committee of Information and Social Action" (CIAS), which has its seat in Paris, by **Mr. M. Rubinez** on behalf of the "Liberacion Europea" with its seat in Argentina, and by **Mr. H. Bilynski**, on behalf of the "Organisation for the Defense of the Freedom of Ukraine". **Mr. W. Duschnyk** represented the "Ukrainian Congress Committee" in the USA at the Conference.

The programme of the Conference was drawn up by a committee consisting of the

The Mexican press devoted considerable attention to the Conference and reports on the same made front-page news. The Conference reached the decision to convene the World Congress this year, namely in October and in Europe. A committee, consisting of the following persons, was elected to deal with the preparatory work connected with South Africa and the Near East. The American, **Mr. Charles Edison**, and as members **Mr. Ku Cheng-kang**, **Mr. L. J. Paik**, representative of Korea, **Mr. Nguyen Huu Thong**, representative of Vietnam, **Admiral Carlos Penna Botto**, **Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens**, **Dr. Sergio Fernandez Larrain**, representatives of Latin America, **Mr. Fritz Cramer**, representative of Germany, **Mr. George Dallas** (Great Britain), **Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko** (ABN), **Gen. Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak** (ABN), **Prof. Lew Dobriansky** (USA), and one representative of South Africa and the Near East. The American, **Mr. Marwin Libmann**, was elected Secretary of the committee, **Mr. Francis McNamara** (USA) was elected Under-Secretary, and the following were elected Regional Secretaries: **Mr. Ernesto de la Fé** (Latin America, Cuba), **Mr. Alfred B. Gielen** (Europe, Germany), **Mr. Inamullah Khan** (Asia, Pakistan).

Niko Nakashidze

Forty Years of Russian Bolshevik Power

A Historical and Political Survey

The Structure of the 19th Century

Since the beginning of mankind there have always been social and political tensions and differences between human beings, but, at the same time, efforts have constantly been made, ever since the origin of the human community, to balance these tensions, to adjust man's relations to his fellow-men and to create a legal order of society based on the principle of justice. Both the legal code of Hammurabi, the King of Babylonia, and the ancient Indian legal code, the MANU, attest to the desire to establish the human community on the basis of man's inherent moral laws.

All thinkers and philosophers, the guides of the peoples, have been inspired by the idea of establishing a social order in which all men should enjoy equal rights and have a chance to attain prosperity. From the time of the renaissance onwards, that is after the Occident had freed itself from the fetters of the scholasticism of the Middle Ages, the era of free spiritual development and the intellectual life experienced an enormous revival. The enlightenment of the 18th century to a very decisive extent helped to permeate social and political life with new and progressive ideas.

The result was the great French Revolution which, to begin with, was inspired by ideal aims, but then developed into a terrorist system and later assumed extreme forms. This course proved extremely fateful for the whole of Europe; the subversive elements continued to make themselves felt and, indeed, are still active even today.

The 19th century was the era of technical achievements and of progress, of the invention of the steam-engine, the railway, electricity and telegraphy. This era brought with it an enormous stimulus to the economic system and the industrial development.

All this was made possible by scientific discoveries. Natural science celebrated one triumph after another and claimed that it was supreme. This was not without certain repercussions on the intellectual sciences, which were superseded by the exact sciences. All cognition which was not proved by experiments was regarded as untenable. Matter was regarded as the beginning and essence of all things, and it was held that the origin of all things could be traced back to matter. Empiricism was the crowning point of science. Life and Nature no longer held any secrets. Men's minds were obsessed with a materialist outlook and philosophy of life in general. Nothing was accepted as true if it could not be proved empirically. In jurisprudence natural law was rejected and its place was taken by positivism which has asserted itself up to the present day.

As a result of this technical and economic development, new social and political problems arose. There was as yet no social legislation to protect the working man. The entrepreneur was protected by the state and the working man was exploited. The latter thus felt that, from the social point of view, he was excluded from the national community, and his attitude towards this state, which failed to protect him against the arbitrariness of the entrepreneurs, developed accordingly. He regarded the state as his enemy. The peasants, too, felt that their rights and interests were prejudiced. The land was the property of the big landowners. The peasants derived no advantage from the technical achievements; they had as yet no benefit from this progress and were obliged to send their children to work in the factories.

But this technical progress brought certain important advantages in its train. Men, that is to say peoples, were brought closer to one another. The exchange of ideas, the furtherance of science and the speedier transmission of news were now made possible and contact and communication between the various peoples was facilitated very considerably. Thus, the peoples got to know each other and, accordingly, were drawn into the political and social trends. Relations between the peoples became closer and they all participated in the intellectual and economic achievements.

All this led to the peoples who had been forcibly incorporated in foreign empires and deprived of their states beginning to bestir themselves and assert their natural demands. A state of political ferment soon began to prevail all over the world.

The Colonial Empires and the Subjugated Nations

At that time the world was divided up into the empires of the major powers. These empires had been created by occupying foreign countries and subjugating the peoples of these countries. The few small states which still existed owed their existence to the differences and conflicting political interests that existed between these empires.

All the subjugated peoples of Europe and some of those of Asia were peoples with an ancient culture and civilization who for hundreds of years had had their own states. They had always been conscious of the historic past as nations possessing an ancient culture. They had always distinguished themselves by a strongly developed national consciousness and their pronounced national will and their yearning for national freedom had never flagged. But in those days the conception of the people forming a state was identical with the conception of the nation. And the science of international law was oriented in this direction; its principles were based on positive, valid law and this had been set up by the major powers concerned. In former times, international law was merely the statutory form of state and political factors and the resultant judicial relations. Its subject was the state and the people constituting this state. The subjugated foreign nations incorporated in this state constituted the latter's component parts. They were regarded either as a "minority" or as a "colonial population".

The position of the foreign nations in the Russian empire was particularly tragic. Whereas in other empires the foreign peoples were conceded certain national, cultural, political and social rights, the foreign peoples in the Russian police state were completely deprived of all national, political and cultural rights; and the main emphasis was on Russification.

Gradually, there began to be a ray of hope for the subjugated peoples, too. As a result of technical progress, the peoples established closer contact to one another. New political ideas of freedom rapidly developed and asserted themselves.

The human rights demanded by Christianity and then attained by political and social progress and recognized by the civilized world, helped to bring about the recognition of these principles for the nations, that represent the natural community of man. And thus the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples came into being. But many years elapsed before these ideas were realized in practice. In the 19th century, however, the disintegration of the peoples' and colonial empires already began. The ancient civilized peoples of the Balkans broke away from the Turkish empire and set up their own national states once more. But a long time was to elapse before other subjugated peoples succeeded in doing so. It was only after the first and second World War that these subjugated peoples regained their freedom. Some of them restored their former states, others set up new states.

The Russian — now Leninist-Bolshevik — empire alone continued to exist and not merely within its former boundaries, but it also began to subjugate new countries and peoples of Europe.

Karl Marx, the Harbinger of Evil

The socialist idea is not an idea of modern times. In ancient times, too, man already dreamt of a social order in which all men should enjoy equal rights and have an equal share in worldly possessions; a social order in which all men should be united in one community, voluntarily subordinated to this social order, in which there was to be no domination of any one community over another.

From time immemorial this ideal state was a dream cherished by many, and, in later times, Thomas More gave expression to these ideas in his "Utopia".

But when the Comte de Saint-Simon expounded his social and political theories, socialist ideas received a scientific basis and laid claim to recognition as a valid state and political doctrine. Later, they were then designated as socialism and their advocates as socialists. But all these ideologists and theoreticians were inspired in their views by humanistic ideals and set themselves as their aim a social order in which all men have equal political rights, all enjoy prosperity and all have an equal chance to acquire worldly possessions.

The political ferment which was the aftermath of the French Revolution had not yet abated when a man with a keen intellect and sharp sense of contemporary conditions appeared as the herald of a new historical, philosophical, economic, social and political doctrine, — Karl Marx. With the appearance of Marx, a new era in the social and political life of the peoples of all countries now began. The Marxist doctrine caused big upheavals all over the world; it did a great deal of harm, claimed many victims and caused much bloodshed. This process is still going on today and threatens the whole of mankind with the enslavement of the peoples who are still free and with the annihilation and destruction of the political, cultural and economic achievements of the civilized world.

Karl Marx is the founder of the so-called "scientific socialism"; that is to say he sets out to prove that socialism is not a desire or an ideal, but a state political and economic order which must unreservedly take the place of the capitalistic order. This is demanded by the development of history which inevitably leads to the socialist order of society. Marx expounds the materialistic doctrine of history, according to which the development of history is determined by the economic development. According to Karl Marx, the primary factor is class, whilst the nation, on the other hand, is the secondary factor. There is a constant struggle between the classes. There are only two classes, the propertied and the unpropertied, — the proletariat. National consciousness and national feelings are conceptions invented and artificially created by the ruling class in order to enable it to assert its rule; otherwise the proletariat is not bound to any one people or to any one country; it is internationally minded and its home is where its economic existence is ensured.

Marx denies man all the emotional qualities with which Nature has endowed him. In Marx's opinion there are no absolute moral principles and no higher ideals in life. Economic conditions are the basis for the moral, religious, political, social and lawful opinions of man; and the latter's consciousness must be oriented to these economic conditions. Thus, Marx dethroned the homo sapiens and degraded him to the level of an animal. He refuses to recognize any ideal motives in man's actions and maintains that they are all prompted by the instinct of self-preservation. To this we can but ask — what economic advantages prompt a person to sacrifice his life, or an ascetic to retire into solitude in order to discover the purpose of life, or what material factors determine man's greatest possession — love?

The proletariat seeks to attain power by revolutions and conflicts; its aim is the "expropriation of the expropriators". After the usurpation of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat is set up and asserts itself by terrorism. Production is socialized, and by degrees the transition to a classless society is effected; the state as such disappears. The watchword is: "Proletarians of all countries unite!"

Karl Marx's description of the dreadful conditions in the factories and the poverty and need of the workers was not based on his own personal experience and knowledge; he was never in a factory in all his life. He was a typical, arrogant armchair intellectual. He obtained the material for his arguments from the reports of the com-

First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation

Convocation

Through a careful and detailed estimate of the situation created by the International Communist Movement as an instrument of Russian imperialism — the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" as well as the delegates of the Preparatory Conference for the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation were led to the definite conclusion that the final objective of the Bolshevik imperialists of the Kremlin remains the same as it was since the ominous 1917 upheaval which brought the Communist regime to Russia, namely the establishing, as a result of a world Communist revolution, of a "World Federation of Soviet Republics".

The fanatics who insist on the Communist enslavement of peoples throughout the world may change their tactics occasionally but they will always adhere firmly to a single-purposed strategy which aims at reaching the domination of the old world.

Regardless of the many-sided internal crisis inside the Soviet Union and other subjugated countries which has occurred of late and is rapidly leaping to a "climax" in spite of the fake and misleading decision to call away the Cominform, and, notwithstanding the deceitful appeals for the so-called "peaceful coexistence", the fact remains that Moscow's rulers keep on putting their fate on a "World-wide Communist revolution" as the proper tool to bring about a final and decisive victory over the free world.

The internal serious crisis referred to, coming as an aftermath to 40 years of the object Marxist regime imposed by sheer force, presents, as marked features, *overall slavery* and a *low standard of living* for the people, which standard is even lower than that existing under the Tzars' rule . . .

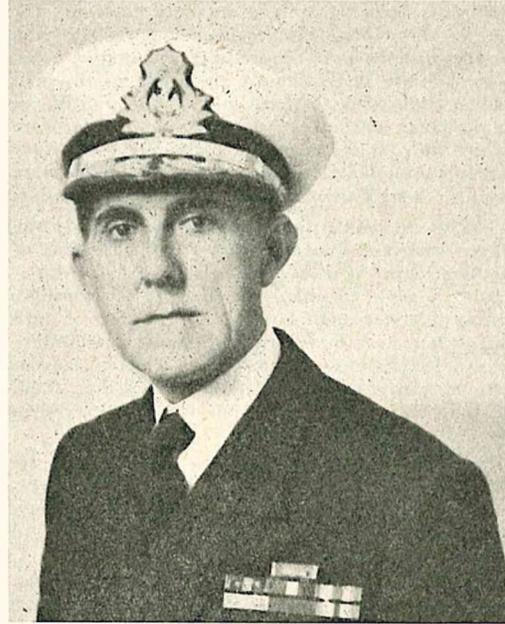
Far from being satisfied with having driven the enslaved peoples in the Soviet Union and of the satellite countries into the most unhappy situation prevailing nowadays, namely: — "moral degradation, under-nourishment, and a police-regime based on threat and terror" —, the Bolshevik *societas sceleris* tries hard to drag all the other freedom-loving peoples of the world into the whirling turmoil of outrageous Communism.

It must be admitted, though, that it could not have been otherwise, as the Kremlin rulers know only too well that slave-states can only endure if the world surrounding them is equally slave! And, furthermore, Lenin's strategy stresses that it is absolutely necessary, — due to what is called the *capitalist encirclement*, — to attack the imperialist nations by all possible means, using the USSR as a base and bridge-head for this onslaught; with the understanding that the Communist Parties spread all over the world remain under the strict obligation of fully devoting themselves to the task of maintaining and reserving that Bolshevik bridge-head stuck in the Free World's flank. That bridge-head was considered, by Stalin, in 1939, as solidly established.

Nobody should be misled any longer by the truly Communist ways employed by the Kremlin rulers. Under the Communist view-point peoples of the world escape the usual geographical and national yardsticks of comparison, they are measured by different standards; this because they all fall under one of the two larger classes: — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat: — with the full understanding that in every country the local Communist Party represents the "vanguard" of that proletariat. This is what makes it possible as it always has, for the Soviet Russian statesmen to adopt in their foreign relations an astonishing double-faced policy which may at the same time be offensive and defensive. Offensive in what relates to their dealings with the Communist party of each country to which they order the carrying out of sabotage, threats and of subversion, and defensive in what refers to official diplomatic relations with each country. In other words, the Soviet-Russian Government pursues defensive aims in its formal dealings with other governments, and aggressive aims using the Communist parties as its fifth columns with the ultimate goal to destroy the democratic way of life and to enforce the Communist despotic regime throughout the world under the direct control of Moscow.

Perplexity and utter confusion seem to dominate in the Free World, thus drawing a truly surprising, gloomy and dramatic picture!

Both, perplexity and confusion, flow directly from clever acting in international matters, on the part of the Soviet Russian government. Their procedure is based on threats to use force, which threats are strongly supplemented, on the other hand, by simultaneous psychological, ideological, economical and material propaganda.



Admiral Carlos Fenna Botto, President of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent

The Free World goes on blindly, walking with bandaged eyes towards the imminent danger which lies ahead. The Free World has stuck to a compromising mood, has been tied up to the defensive, always looking for appeasement and conciliatory solutions.

The recent lenient Russian attitude shown towards their victims came about under pressure of the national liberation struggle for independence waged by the nations enslaved by Russia. But, it must be stressed that this lenient attitude of Moscow which is due to a critical internal situation, does not mean that the Kremlin rulers have given up their firm determination to resort to and bring about a world Communist revolution.

Three main lines of action now envisaged by the Kremlin, namely: Coexistence, the false pax sovietica, and the belief in the possibility of peaceful adoption of Communism by the free world are but alluring and deceitful maneuverings serving the purpose of smokescreening the difficult situation they contend with internally, of gaining time, and of steaming the ever increasing discontent of the subdued and exploited masses under cruel Communist regime; on the other hand, of foiling, puzzling and confounding the free world, trying to bring it to believe in the lessening of global danger represented by Communism and Russian imperialism.

This new Soviet Russian plan dating before the outcome of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of USSR and confirmed later by the Congress — are — in spite of Stalin's posthumous downgrading, strictly in line with old Lenin's saying: "a step backward, to allow for taking two steps forward, later on".

These plans also adjust themselves very precisely to Lenin's well known legacy where he says that "Communist methods should be so flexible as to allow compromises even with the devil and the court".

The theory of "socialism in one country alone", which Communists keep on venting now, and also using as a stratagem, had its origin soon after the victorious revolution of 1917, when Lenin made the prediction that "a chain of well-succeeded revolutions would take place throughout Europe, following on the installation of Marxism in Russia".

The prediction having failed and as the chain of revolutions did not materialize, Lenin was forced, in order to save his face, to foster the would-be law: "of the unequal economical and political development". As a consequence of this law: "the possibility of adoption of socialism in various countries at different times and by different methods".

Of course, Lenin did not save his face at all because it was still in everybody's memory what he had said once, namely. "In no circumstances, under no possible conditions, can the capitalist countries be able to live at peace with the Soviet republic".

Peoples enslaved by Communism and Russian imperialism and bearing in their own flesh the bloody stains of the cruel regime, are beginning to rise up in revolt whereas, in the free world some people do not seem to realize the priceless gift of freedom and lean towards Communism . . . This shows, beyond any doubts, the high degree of confusion and misunderstanding prevailing nowadays.

Two facts account greatly for the ideological distress of many people living in free countries:

1. The Communist propaganda, skilfully and relentlessly made by the rulers of the Kremlin for the past 40 years, and

2. the unbelievably poor judgment of many people, whose lack of overall vision does not allow them to understand and to properly evaluate the evils of Communism and Russian imperialism.

One thing is easy to forecast: "the free world will have to fight sooner or later in order not only to safeguard its own freedom but also to liberate the enslaved peoples"; and the sooner it does it — the better, so the victory may be won less painfully and in shorter time.

The prevailing global situation has reached such a stage that will not authorize the display of words, of useless words alone. Force, sheer force must be applied. Let us cease conferences of the Geneva brand, or any meetings with the Soviet-Russian rulers, as they decidedly do lead nowhere. Nothing useful comes of them as the Soviet-Russian representatives excel in fencing with procrastination, false faith, distorted arguments, cynical proposals and dialectics.

After Stalin's death an open reaction against Communist regimes gained a new impact, but the Occidental powers let them pass by unnoticed.

In 1953 unrests among prisoners, initiated and conducted by Ukrainians, led to mutinies in many concentration camps in the Soviet Union (Vorkuta, Norylsk, Kingiri). In the same year (June 3rd 1953) an uprising took place in East Germany; in March 1956 popular unrest developed in Communist-ruled Tibet, Manchuria and southern red China; on June 28th, 1956, a fierce popular upheaval took place in Poznan, Poland, with the crowd shouting "Bread and Freedom", and shortly after that, on October 23, 1956, a heroic liberation revolt started in Hungary auspiciously as it forced the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Budapest, to be followed, unfortunately, on the 4th of November, by a renewed invasion of Hungary by armoured divisions sent by Moscow to crush those who were fighting to free their motherland from ruthless and savage foreign domination. The Hungarians bled to death and were doomed while the Western powers clung to their passivity.

The UNO failed altogether in the Hungarian case and deeply disappointed all those who had nourished any faith at all in her. That failure was to be expected, though, were it not for the single reason that among UNO's outstanding members could be counted the Soviet Union, armed furthermore with the right to use veto. It is worth remembering, that the League of Nations expelled Russia as an unbecoming member when she invaded little Finland, while UNO lagged far behind during the cruel Soviet-Russian onslaught on Hungary, confining its action to an ineffective, desultory condemnation which, unaccompanied by any moral, material or economic sanctions, was but symbolical and entirely unavailable.

In what concerns the United States and the Latin-American Republics, no less faulty has been their behaviour in opposing the Communist threat. Suffice it to say that they did not even go to the trouble of fulfilling decisions taken at the 9th International American Conference (Bogota), the

4th Meeting of Consultation of American Foreign Ministers, and the 10th International American Conference (Caracas).

One might be prone to believe, in the particular case of the United States, that they were not quite well informed about the real character of Communism as practised by the Soviet Russian government.

But this is not true, at least as regards the U.S. Senate. To prove it one has only to read the following conclusions reached by the "Internal Security Sub-Committee" and quoted verbatim from Document 85, which Document deals with Soviet Political Treaties and Violations:

"The existing regime in Russia is based upon the negations of every principle of honor and good faith."

"The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of adhering to such undertakings or carrying out such agreements."

"Joseph Stalin expressed the Communist diplomatic philosophy even more bluntly: 'Words must have no relations to actions, otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing—actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron'."

"Communism is not an evil thing only because it has been controlled by evil man since it first rose to power in 1917. It is organically evil. You must renounce 'bourgeois morality', you must become an evil man before you can become a good Communist. You must be a liar, a cheat, and probably a spy, before you can represent a Communist nation in international diplomacy. You must have no more regard for honor when you sign an agreement of behalf of your country, than a forger does when he puts a name on a check."

"I seriously doubt whether during the whole history of civilization any great nation has ever made as perfidious a record as this in so short a time." (Senator Eastland)

Taking due cognizance of all the facts referred to above, the Brazilian Delegation to the "Third Congress Against Soviet Offensive in Latin America" held in Lima (Peru), in April 1957, submitted a proposal stressing the importance of an Anti-Communist World League.

This proposal met with unanimous approval and

Forty Years of Russian Bolshevist Power

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mission appointed by the British government to investigate conditions in the factories and from the "Blue Books" published by the government. The government was anxious to do away with these dreadful conditions, and one of the warmest supporters of radical reforms in this respect was Ashley (later the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury). The Marxists are by no means justified in affirming that Marx was the first to demand that the social position of the workers should be improved. Later, too, there were a number of big non-Marxist supporters of radical reforms in this direction, as for instance J. K. Rodbertus and the so-called "Katheder-Socialists" ("Professorial Socialists"), such as A. Wagner, etc. And it was the conservative statesman Prince Otto von Bismarck who introduced the first social laws.

Prompted by a pathological hatred of human feelings and emotions, Marx exhorted the workers of the world to fight. His own adherents already noticed the untenableness and the errors of the Marxist philosophy of life and tried to correct it. The first of his adherents to oppose his doctrine with idealist and national ideas was Ferdinand Lassalle. Marx attacked him unrelentingly. Later on, E. Bernstein tried to spread his doctrine of revisionism, but he did not gain any influence. Marxism began to spread in many countries and the Marxist social-democratic parties grew enormously. But in the West European countries these parties did not assume a radical character and contented themselves with taking an active part in the parliaments and trade unions. Moreover, the social measures introduced by the governments in favour of the workers helped to weaken the radical trends.

The only country in which Marxism found a favourable soil to which it could be transplanted and where it thrived, was Russia. (To be continued)

in order to accomplish it, the Lima Congress decided to call a World Anti-Communist Congress as a preliminary step towards the ultimate goal.

That is why authorized representatives of the "Interamerican Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and of the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" met in Taipei, Taiwan (Republic of China) early in October 1957, for the purpose of drafting the general features of said World Congress. They signed the so-called Taipei Statement, from which are quoted the following excerpts:

1. The above-mentioned two international anti-Communist organizations, realizing that the ultimate aim of the international Communist bloc is world conquest and enslavement of the whole human race, agreed that it is not only necessary for peoples throughout the world, belonging either to the free nations or to those under Communist yoke, to coordinate and intensify their efforts directed against Bolshevik action, and, consequently, to employ real and effective collective measures to defeat the common enemy, but also very important that this intended effort should be capable of being exerted to its fullest extent, as soon as possible.

3. The above-mentioned two Parties, namely the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" and the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" decided, further, to issue immediately this statement not only to members of both Parties but also to all anti-Communist outstanding civic organizations of the United States, Canada, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, asking them to kindly express their opinion on the matter with the shortest possible delay.

5. Although statutes and the Agenda will be tasks to be fulfilled by the "Preparatory Conference", both Parties deem it advisable to lay down clearly, in this statement, the basic and underlying principles of the proposed World Congress.

The main objective is to stamp out Communism, to rid the world of the Marxist plague. That implies: (1) to liberate the peoples enslaved by Communists wherever that may be, in Europe and Asia; (2) to preserve the free peoples from being in the future enslaved by the Communists.

These two aspects of the fight against Communism are, nonetheless, to be considered *simultaneously*, as the fight should assume, for efficiency's sake, a global character.

In order to accomplish the aims in sight, the strategy is to be discussed at the World Congress, and, once approved, no effort will be spared to carry it out, until final victory is gained against the Bolshevik scourge.

In accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Taipei Statement this convocation has been written and unanimously adopted by the delegates of the preparatory conference for the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation held in Mexico City on March 20 to 25 1958, and is now being issued to all outstanding anti-Communist organizations throughout the world. They are cordially invited to attend the First Congress and join efforts aiming at the final overthrow of Communist regimes, the servants to Russian Imperialism.

Enclosed will be found the statutes and rules by which the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation shall abide. Particular emphasis should be put on the statements which follow.

"In the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation it will be our paramount endeavour as a broad and general outlook to adopt and fit to the actual world situation as regards Communism, the Declaration formally made at the 10th International American Conference (Caracas) by the U.S. Secretary of State.

That Declaration must be amplified and extensive due consideration made for national and local peculiarities to all peoples, both those already under Communist bondage and those under threat of becoming enslaved by Communist regimes.

Said Declaration which so clearly defined in 1954 the United States' viewpoint, was, in its original form:

1. "Identify the existing danger and reaffirm the will to face it, all together, all united for that purpose."

2. "Lend strong moral support to the governments whose responsibility is to expose and eradicate, within their frontiers, the danger represented by intrigue and foreign treason."

The first part of this Declaration may very well remain as it is, without any change whatever, but the second part should stand the following change:

"Lend strong moral, ideological, psychological, material and military support to the governments throughout the world whose responsibility is to expose and eradicate, within their frontiers, the danger of the Soviet-Russian offensive and, likewise, help and support the national liberation movements already existing within the sphere of Soviet Russian domination, also those national liberation movements which may be organized in the future.

To be quite clear and not to leave any room for misrepresentation, the following definitions and statements are accepted:

International Communism, is hereby defined as being the huge world-wide clandestine organization, directed by Moscow, which organization aims, acting aggressively, at enslaving all nations on earth under the vile inhuman Communist rule.

Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism with the clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international Communism and Russian imperialism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, now existing in the form of the so-called USSR and satellites, and the re-establishing of national independent states in the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and/or Central Europe and Asia.

Ukrainian Nationalists Feared by Moscow

The Bolshevik radio station at Lutsk (Volhynia) on January 18, 1958, broadcast a lecture for Soviet voters, which was entitled "The Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists — Fierce Enemies of the People". About the same time, the Russian paper in Kyiv, "Pravda Ukrainy", of January 15th and 16th, published a short story entitled "The Return" by a writer of the name of Ivan Holovchenko. The story relates how a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Fediz Hrytsiuk, breaks off his connection with the underground movement and humbles himself before the Soviet Ministry of State Security (M.G.B.). Hrytsiuk's moral collapse is also depicted in the story, when he says to his comrade Bodnaruk: "Neither of us can endure this any longer! People have turned against us! For years we have been rotting in this damp hide-out! — Hrytsiuk points to the open window of the hut. — What have we taken this hardship on ourselves for? For our leader Bandera? He's living in luxury and isn't worrying about us. He has bought a villa abroad and a car, too. He eats tasty food and sleeps in a warm room. And for whose money? For the money of the organization, that is for our money, too..."

Hrytsiuk's comrade knows what he means by all this.

"Oh, so you, too, have decided to confess your guilt to the Soviets! You intend to become a traitor!..."

In the end, Bodnaruk dies in the hide-out in the forest, and Hrytsiuk, regardless of the oath he swore when he joined the OUN, "does penance"...

What strikes us most about this lying propaganda is its primitive character: freedom fighters, who lie in hiding in the forest and thus risk their life every day, are supposed to be concerned about how "their" money is being used abroad! — And what is more, thirteen years after the war Moscow is forced to admit that Ukraine is still conducting its armed fight against the occupants.

The West's Greatest Weapon Against Moscow

Interview Given for A.B.N.

By: Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Associate Professor of Economics, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Question 1: In what way do you think it would be possible to overthrow the Russian Bolshevik imperium, if the leading statesmen of the free world are not prepared to give active support to the national liberation revolutions — as was the case in Hungary?

Answer: Rationally, in order to overthrow the Russian Communist Empire there is no other way possible than that of active Western support of all the national liberation movements in this vast and unprecedented empire and of the eventual revolutions which they necessarily imply. As entertained by Mr. George F. Kennan, the notion of a transfiguration of this empire through cultural erosion is based on a sophisticated miscomprehension of the totalitarian enemy and a dangerous misreading of contemporary history. Mr. Kennan has been wrong so many times and with such uncanny consistency that truly, for those who have followed his thinking closely, he has become notoriously unreliable.

The equally unrealistic notion of evolution toward freedom in this last remaining empire, as advanced by C. I. A. director Dulles and others, is only a phraseological variant of the preceding one. Those who intellectually cling to either of these notions are obviously most susceptible to the perilous ideas of accepting the status quo of the Russian Communist Empire and permanently (if it were at all possible) dividing the world into two broad spheres of influence. With some calm reflection given to this ideational generation one cannot but conclude that the only alternative is a liberationist approach which in essence precludes these wishful intellectual steps that in the end can only spell disaster for the Free World.

Now, the possibility of being forced to adopt this liberationist approach is real and promising. The force of objective circumstance rather than reason may compel our statesmen to support actively the patriotic movements. This could occur in short time. For example, should the patriots of Poland reach a breaking-point and the entire population revolt, it would be well nigh inevitable that this revolt would spill over not only into Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union but also into East Germany and West Germany, whereupon the West could not but assume the inevitable stand. Especially in the light of the Hungarian revolt, it would be foolhardy for our policy-makers to ignore this short-run, real possibility.

Question 2: Do you not think that the passive attitude of the Western major powers towards the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia is helping to hasten on the outbreak of a nuclear war?

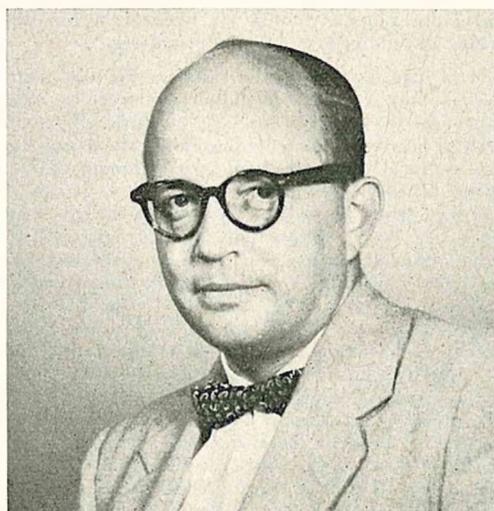
Answer: There is no logical doubt in my mind that this passive attitude maximizes the chances of a hot-war outbreak. By definition this passive attitude toward the liberation movements in the Russian Communist Empire, which fundamentally embraces Red China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and even Yugoslavia, means the absence of any implemented policy of liberation. This lack of implementation guarantees Moscow the freedom to consolidate its empire, to resolve almost any tension in the confines of its empire, to continue its long-range military planning at tremendous costs to the captive populations, to attain not only to military adequacy but even superiority in relation to the West, to incite at will and with initiative tensions in the Free World, and to strike first against the United States when the risks become well-calculated.

Taken in toto, these elements add up to the fact that time is on the side of our enemy, assisted negatively by us. Sheer containment and an arms race are no solution for the prevention of a third World War. On the contrary, at staggering costs they will build their own psychological momentum "to get the thing over with". They will in no way prevent several of the elements mentioned above from being fully utilized by the enemy. Aim-

less predictions of a cold war struggle for the next ten, twenty, and even fifty years are in the nature of mouthy utterances rather than results of reasoned analysis of the basic institutional factors at work. Again, the climactic paradox of our situation might well be the salvation of the passive West by the bold mass revolts of the patriotic populations in the Russian Communist Empire, as indicated above. If we are to drift with history, it might as well be along a right course determined by those who have least to lose materially.

Question 3: In view of the free world's inferior strength as regards classical weapons, how could it withstand a war of aggression on the part of Russia with conventional weapons, without being the first to resort to nuclear weapons, if it misses the only opportunity of destroying the Bolshevik imperium from within, namely by supporting the national liberation revolutions?

Answer: This question is more intricate in character than it appears. First, the initial proposition



DR. DOBRIANSKY RECEIVES COMMISSION OF LT. COLONEL IN ARMY

On January 2, 1958, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of Georgetown University and national Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, was commissioned Lt. Colonel in the United States Army Reserve. By directions of the Secretary of the Army and the President, Dr. Dobriansky was informed of his appointment as a commissioned Reserve officer of the Army.

Lt. Colonel Dobriansky (U.S. Army Res.) is attached to the 552nd Military Government unit stationed in the District of Columbia. The unit is a type A reserve which concerns itself with military government administration and supervision over countries with populations over 25 million people. It is the only reserve unit of this kind in this country.

on the inferiority of the Free World in conventional weapons is itself subject to serious question. Quality and innovations are more important considerations than sheer quantity. On these bases it is doubtful that at the moment the enemy enjoys any clear-cut superiority across the board in these weapons. Second, the possible choice between the use of conventional weapons and that of nuclear is a widely discussed problem, especially in connection with the possibility of limited wars. However, in the event of direct Russian aggression, no matter how effected, it is unlikely that much thought would be devoted to this choice since the war would

necessarily be unlimited and recourse to nuclear weapons would be spontaneous on the part of the West.

There is no reason to believe that with the act of war the United States and other free nations would then be inclined to place credence in Moscow's word not to use nuclear weapons. Moreover, in this situation there would be no moral restriction against the use of the best and most efficient weapons, namely the nuclear ones. The horrors result from their particular misuse, not from their general use which the horrible act of war itself justifies. It surely would be no crime to reduce the enemy as expeditiously and economically as possible. But by far less costly is the liberationist way of achieving this end without a global hot war. The captive nations are the West's greatest weapon against Moscow. Unfortunately, up to now only Moscow knows this best.

Question 4: Why does the free world not take part in the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia, seeing that Russian Bolshevik colonialism represents a grave menace to its own existence, too?

Answer: There are four reasons accounting for the neglect of the Free World to actively support the national liberation forces in the Russian Communist Empire. One, as concerns the formidable forces within the Soviet Union itself, is plain ignorance. Many in high places are simply uneducated in regard to the primary empire of Moscow. Some have been misinformed and a few even disinformed by anti-Communist but pro-imperialist Russian emigres. In the United States ignorance still is the chief enemy.

The second reason is the understandable fear of precipitating a global hot war. Carried to the extreme, this fear would lead to national self-paralysis and, individually, many are already in their minds at this point. The way some argue, it seems that nothing positive and offensive should be done for fear that this would lead to a hot war. Coupled with the first reason, this one largely explains a lack of understanding with regard to the aims, objectives, and art of the policy of liberation.

An unphilosophical materialism is the third reason. Assuming the absence of the two preceding reasons, it is evident that this third one, a reason of the will rather than intellect, is independently sufficient to account for the Free World's neglect. In brief, this reason holds life is short, let's enjoy what we have, just live and let live, and to do these things, let's be "realistic" and accept the status quo of Moscow's vast empire. This form of myopia and spiritual decadence is, of course, not new in history. Sufficiently generalized, it could again plunge a civilization into oblivion. However, it is a force today which must be kept constantly in harness.

The fourth reason is plain misguided thinking. Granted some degree of knowledge concerning all the captive nations in the Russian Communist Empire, it appears that many officials do not know what to do with it. Pointing to Western Europe and elsewhere, they see trends toward federation and supra-national organization and then, by some poor logic, react unfavorably toward what they consider a "balkanization" and "splinterization" of Eastern Europe and Asia. Ironically, these same individuals would be the first to oppose exploiting cartels and huge business monopolies, for example. The obvious point is the qualitative substance of the political or economic entity. There is a world of difference between a free federation of states and nations and a forced one. The U.S.S.R., for instance, is even worse than an involuntary association of nations. Under Russian domination it has sought to become a cemetery of nations.

Question 5: Is it not true that the only guarantee for a lasting peace and for the security of the whole world lies in the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent national states for all the subjugated

peoples, all the more so since Russia is the last and most terrible colonial empire in the world? For what reason is the disintegration of the British and French Empires approved of, whereas the idea that the Russian Empire should be preserved in the future, — too, — at least within the frontiers of 1939 — is supported?

Answer: Nothing is more powerfully true in the international realm today than the idea expressed in this question. Whether one reasons about this forward or backward, the predominant single guarantee of lasting world peace and security is the dissolution of the Russian Communist Empire. In point of fact, it is "the last and most terrible colonial empire in the world". To be sure, there would still be problems in the world — in Africa, the Middle East, in Asia and elsewhere. But with the decisive break-up of this Russian colossus, the environment and climate would be ideally compatible with the world's interests of lasting peace and security.

Taken solely in terms of power factors, it should not at all be difficult for one to visualize this international environment once the Russian colossus is destroyed and kept permanently so. If this should prove difficult, then one ought to reason out this problem backward, i. e. in terms of historical sequence. In the period of 1917-22, had the national republics of Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Azerbaijan, White Ruthenia, the Far East Republic, and others succeeded in resisting the Red Russian armies, would there have been a Soviet Union, followed later by an expanded empire? Obviously not. The course of history would have been entirely different and the particular problems confronting the Free World today would be non-existent.

This kind of historical analysis demonstrates, too, the unrealism in which the idea of restoring the 1939 frontiers of the Russian Empire is drenched. Aside from considerations of moral and political principle, the idea is patently naive when one considers the cumulative causation of East European history and the pragmatic military, political, and economic values of the additions to Moscow's empire since 1939. Often ignorance and disinformation underlie this advocacy of the 1939 frontiers, but the possibility of this being realized is as remote as the possibility of resurrecting the independence of the Baltic nations without the collapse of the Muscovite Empire. Finally, unless one operates on a double standard, compromising political principle, it makes no rational sense to approve the disintegration of the British and French Empires and at the same time approve the idea of the 1939 frontiers. In fact, the Russian Empire is incomparable in modern times for its tyranny, genocide, and dehumanization.

Question 6: Do you think that the state independence of Ukraine, Caucasia, White Ruthenia, Turkestan and other peoples forcibly included in the Russian imperium, as well as the independence of Russia within her ethnographical territory would liberate the world from fear and danger?

Answer: My answers to the preceding questions furnish in themselves the adequate answer to this one. Without doubt the independence of Ukraine, Caucasia, White Ruthenia, Turkestan and other captive nations in the primary empire known as the Soviet Union would liberate the world from fear and danger. However, in our advocacy of the independence of these captive nations we must hold out the prospect of easy federation of these and other states into compatible unions. For example, the nations in the Caucasus could gain immeasurably by this process. In our political thinking the impact of technology and economics and their integrating effects cannot possibly be ignored. There are multiple possible arrangements both in Eastern Europe and Asia, and these should absorb our thoughts at this stage to a marked extent.

However, before any free and democratic federation can be launched, there must necessarily be independent states, independent and sovereign to make the free choice of whether to federate or no, and if to federate, with whom and in what directions. Only in this way can the norms and principles of Western civilization be fulfilled. These after all, are basic and fundamental to our fight.

General Vladislav Skaricic

Croatia's Sacrifice for the West

It is obvious to every attentive observer that the present situation in Europe and in the Near East is the result of the political blindness and lack of foresight of certain Western diplomats. They failed to realize that the destruction of the old Danube monarchy by means of the first World War merely served the aims of the 250-year old imperialistic policy of Russia, although they should have been able to draw the obvious conclusions from the so-called testament of the Russian Tsar Peter I. For it was in this testament that Russia's most urgent task was defined, namely the conquest of the Balkan countries, together with Constantinople and the Dardanelles, in order to rule the Mediterranean. This was to be a stepping-stone to the further conquest of Asia Minor and North Africa. And for this purpose Austria-Hungary had to be destroyed in order to transform the Balkan countries into a Russian base.

Following up this train of thought still further, the Czech diplomat, Karel Kramar, as early as July 1914 handed over to the Russian ambassador in Vienna, Schebeko, a plan for the setting up of Greater Slav tsardoms in Europe under Russian rule. Tsardoms of Poland, Bohemia, Greater Serbia and Bulgaria were to be set up. Greater Serbia was to extend as far as the Danube bend, that is about as far as Pressburg, in order to form a continuous line from Constantinople via Greater Serbia, Bohemia and Poland as far as Petersburg.

It is true that this tsarist dream did not materialize, but further developments were a near approach to it. After the first World War the Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Albanians had foreign rule forced on them by the Treaty of Versailles, which was dictated by the West. It was in this way that "Yugoslavia" was created. This state from the start supported Russia's imperialistic policy, thus enslaving the other peoples and also the Croats, who are striving to gain their freedom and state independence. And rightly so, for from 925 to 1918, that is for almost a thousand years, Croatia had its own independent state. Despite the fact that it fought a grim fight against the advance of the Osman element and made the greatest sacrifices to save Christianity and Western culture, thus earning for itself the deserving title of "Antemurale Christianitatis" ("Bulwark of Christianity"), and despite the fact that it sacrificed itself in World War II in order to save the West from being destroyed by Communist chaos, it was unhesitatingly delivered up a second time by the West to Bolshevism and Russia's imperialistic policy in the Balkans. In this way the West enabled Communist Yugoslavia to become the open window and the Trojan horse of Russian imperialism in the south-east territories of Europe.

The Croatia Liberation Movement, headed by *Dr. Ante Pavelic*, came into existence in Croatia as early as 1928, after the assassination of the Croatian people's representatives in the Serbian parliament in Belgrade. The aim of this movement was severance from Yugoslavia, which at that time was still ruled by a monarch, and the restoration of the thousand-year old independent state of Croatia.

An opportunity to achieve this aim presented itself to the Croatian people when Hitler declared war on Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941. On April 10, 1941, the independent state of Croatia was proclaimed, namely under most difficult conditions, for it was immediately involved in the war against the Serbian troops advancing across the River Drina and the partisan hordes under Communist Tito, who was being effectively supported by the West.

In this connection we should like to stress a fact about which there must be no mistake: it is true that Croatia was fighting as the ally of the German people, but it was not fighting for the aims of either Hitler or Mussolini. It was fighting for its own freedom and state independence; it was fighting against world Communism and thus for the freedom of the whole of mankind, and not a single shot was fired against the British or American troops.

How great Stalin's urge to occupy Croatia was, can be seen from the following historical fact:

In the autumn of 1944, Stalin sent the following message to the Poglavnik (state head) of the newly re-established independent state of Croatia, *Dr. Ante Pavelic*:

"You want the state of Croatia. We have no objection, provided that you agree to our suggestion. We shall recognize the state of Croatia and shall not take any steps against it. We are not interested in your regime, and you will have our support. We need access to the Adriatic and, for this reason, transit through your territory, and this in such a manner that during the transit of our troops not a single shot is fired at them by you!"

The Russian troops were drawn up along the Danube in Hungary, opposite to the Croatian frontier.

Dr. Ante Pavelic was well aware of the aims of Russian imperialism on reaching the Croatian coast along the Adriatic. They would be as follows: occupation of Trieste, encirclement and occupation of the whole of Germany from the south, occupation of Italy and subsequently of France, too. For this reason he rejected Stalin's proposal with the following reply:

"Should Russian troops march into the territory of the independent state of Croatia, the entire armed forces of the independent state of Croatia under my command will oppose the advance of the Russian troops and will prevent their advance and transit to the Adriatic through the territory of Croatia."

On April 12, 1945, Russian troops crossed the Croatia frontier at Dolnji Miholjac and Vukovar.

Detachments of the Croatian armed forces launched a counter-attack and, with unexampled courage, in the course of fierce combats, in which they suffered great losses and which were for the most part fought at close range with bayonets, drove back the Russian troops across the frontier again and thus prevented them from breaking through to the Adriatic and saved Europe from catastrophe and from being Bolshevized.

Is the West aware of this fact?!

Does it not feel morally obliged to help the heroic and unselfish Croatian people to liberate themselves from the undeserved slavery inflicted on them, before it, too, suffers the same fate that they have suffered?

Burma for Active Resistance

The auspicious inauguration of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League was held under the banner of the Burma Democratic League at No. 295 U Wisara Uoad, Rangoon, on the morning of January 16, 1958, with Myabontha Sayadaw in the chair. A large number of non-members and members of the Democratic League participated in the founding of the new anti-Communist League, Burma Chapter.

The objective of the organization is to unite the peoples of the Union of Burma for active resistance against the Communists and the infiltration of nihilistic Communism; further, to join forces with all other freedom-loving peoples of Asia and elsewhere in the world, cooperating with their governments, too, in fighting Communist imperialism, and to bring about the immediate defeat of this common enemy and thus ensure freedom, prosperity, peace and security in Asia.

After the formal inauguration of the organization of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Burma Chapter, which was greeted with enthusiastic cheers and applause, Thakin Ba Sein was unanimously elected President of the organization. U Saw Aye Dwe was elected Vice-President; Payadaga U Maun Maun Saint, the well-known religionist and donor of the world's original Peace Pagoda of Rangoon, was elected managing-director of the Board of Directors, and Lt. Colonel (rtd.) Mway-Po Secretary-General, with U Nla Soe Lwin and U Tua Kyaing as his deputies.

Dr. D. Donzov

Defence Tactics — Tactics of Defeat

Attack is the best parade, — as the old saying goes. **Offensive tactics are the tactics pursued by Russia** and herein lies her strength as compared to the West, both as regards hot and cold war and also her propaganda methods. The West endeavours to stabilize every situation, however precarious it may be. Russia, on the other hand, tries to make every underground crisis explode to her own advantage.

In the 19th century two empires were undermined and were suffering from senile decay, — the Ottoman Empire and the old Habsburg Empire. Russia promptly realized and made use of this fact and, by degrees, brought about the downfall of both these empires. For this purpose certain explosive ideologies were coined by Russian publicists: the defence of "the true faith", the mobilization of the Orthodox Christians against Mohammedanism, Slavophilism and, later, Neo-Slavism, that is to say racialism, against the Germanic "urge to the East", subversive propaganda amongst the Slavs of the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. After the first World War, these two main opponents of Russia were swept off the map of Europe with the help of the West and by armed force, — the one completely, and the other completely save for a small strip of territory including Constantinople.

After the first World War and after the Bolshevik revolution, Russia, though defea-

ted, once again set about launching a new attack. The explosive ideology which was now adopted, — the battle-cry of this new campaign under Moscow's flag, was "Liberation of the proletariat!" and "Proletarians of every country unite!" And it was this ideology which enabled Russia to win over millions of workers, who had already been incited to oppose capitalism by Marx, and stateless intellectuals as her shock-troops in the service of her purely national imperialism in the midst of the European countries.

After World War II, which Russia only won thanks to the help of America, she went a step further. In her systematic campaign for the purpose of world-conquest, Russia invented a new explosive weapon, — the "liberation" of the allegedly enslaved colonial peoples from "Occidental imperialism". Thus, a fourth explosive ideological weapon — **anti-colonialism** — has now been added to the other three, — the **religious** ideological weapon (against Islam), the **racial** ideological weapon (against the Germanic element) and the **social** ideological weapon (against capitalism).

Russia has never regarded the existing social, state or international order as an inviolable status quo, but has always carefully studied the destructive processes in this order, so as to make use at every possible opportunity of the subversive forces which were part of her booty, for the furtherance of her aggressive policy. Russia has thus been able to pursue a policy of incessant aggression, a policy of constant dynamism, a policy of a constantly changing but ever explosive idea, a policy which by its very dynamism and percussive force has caused and is still causing enormous destruction in the free world.

Herein, in these invisible weapons, lies the secret of Russia's success, — the success of her policy of world-conquest. And this the West has so far failed to comprehend. In its fight (if one can call it a fight) against Russian aggression the West only resorts to conventional weapons, — to gunpowder and money. And these are terribly inadequate! Can one not fight the Russian gangsters with the same weapons that they use against the West? Of course one can! The Slavs enslaved by Russia regard the Russians, that is the Muscovites, not as their racial brothers, but as a motley racial mixture which as regards its culture and national character has nothing whatever in common with the Western and Southern Slavs (to whom the Ukrainians also belong). Has the West ever realized this fact and made use of it politically? No, never! On the contrary, ignorant or malicious "experts" in the West designate the entire population from East Germany to Kamchatka as one "Russian people".

The nations of the U.S.S.R. — the peoples of the Baltic states, Poland, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Caucasia, — did not fall under Muscovite rule until the 19th or at the end of the 18th century, and during the revolution they regained their political independence. Did the West ever take this significant fact into account in its policy towards the East? Never once, neither in 1812, 1854–55, 1917–21, 1941, nor later on. Malicious, well-informed, Russophil circles in the West, in their capacity as "experts" and journalists, were always ready to give the public a wrong idea of the established facts in this respect.

The Russians have enforced slavery on all these nations and have introduced the worst

form of colonial rule in their countries. Has public opinion in the West ever stigmatized this disgrace of our century? With but a few exceptions, no! The West has continued to look upon the regime of slavery in the U.S.S.R. merely as another form of democracy; a parliamentary democracy in the West, a "people's democracy" in the U.S.S.R., has been its only comment in this respect.

The U.S.S.R. is the domain of belligerent atheism and of those who oppose and fight Christian morals and principles. There are millions of Catholics living in the U.S.S.R. and over 40 million Orthodox Ukrainian Christians who have nothing in common with the "Christianity" of the Stalinist "Orthodox Russian Church"; there are 40 million Mohammedans living in the U.S.S.R. Has the Christian West realized this fact? Has it made use of the explosive force of this fact accordingly in its political fight against the realm of the Devil? No, not in the least! The West fails to realize all this because there, too, there are too many atheists, too many religious "neutrals", too many enemies of Christianity. Indeed, there are certain ecclesiastical and religious organizations in the West which, in their absolutely unfounded desire to convert Russia to their own religion, foster the cult of "Holy Russia" in order to stretch out a friendly hand to the Russians over the heads of Ukraine and Kyiv. The weapons of

To be continued page 12.

The Kidnapping of Traian Puiu

Roumanians in exile have suffered a blow by the kidnapping of Traian Puiu — lawyer and valiant fighter against Communism — from Vienna, on 20th of January, 1958.

Puiu was a Member of Parliament at the age of twenty-five, Mayor of Constanza at the age of twenty-eight, and has been consistently, all his life, in the front ranks of the struggle against Communism in Roumania.

In exile, as a writer; as President of the Roumanian Committee in Austria for many years; as foundation member of various international refugee organisations, Puiu's militant faith in the triumph of Western civilisation never wavered.

In recognition of his work in the field of social services for refugees, the Medway Foundation of the United States of America received him into its membership, while the High Commissioner for Refugees in the U.N.O. awarded him a Diploma of Honour.

In the face of all Communist attempts to discourage and demoralize refugees, Puiu — as few others — was the living embodiment of a creative political resistance. Therefore — in contempt of the basic human rights — in spite of solemn assurances to respect the neutrality of Austria and in flagrant contradiction of the campaign for Peace and Co-existence being waged by the Communist Bloc — they have decided to liquidate him.

Deeply shocked by the fate of Traian Puiu, we hope that this shameful event will put on their guard all those who were beginning to imagine that the Regime in Bucharest had already outgrown its phase of violence and arbitrariness.

The Roumanian Committee in Austria
Salzburg, Ignaz-Harrer-Straße 75

Communique

The Ukrainian community in France, profoundly shocked and indignant at the television programme entitled "The Schwarzbart Case" which was relayed on February 28, 1958, herewith protests most vigorously against the conduct of certain circles who knowingly wanted to defame the memory of Simon PETLIOURA, head of the Ukrainian State (1918–1921), and to prejudice the fight of the Ukrainian people for their independence. The Ukrainian emigrants in France, who number about 40,000, unanimously condemn the pogroms which took place in Ukraine during the revolution (the subject of the defamatory television programme), which were not the work of either the government or the regular Ukrainian army, and recall that the legal government of Ukraine and in particular the head of this government, Simon Petlioura, actively fought all anti-Semitic demonstrations in the territories which were actually under their control. What is more, by an appropriate legislation they granted the Jewish minority in Ukraine a very liberal autonomy.

A Committee for the Protection of the Memory of Simon Petlioura has been founded in Paris in order to counteract all anti-Ukrainian activity. On Sunday, March 2nd, a wreath was placed on the grave of Simon Petlioura in the cemetery of Montparnasse, in order to pay homage to his memory, which has been defamed by certain irresponsible and evil-disposed circles.

Comité de Défense de la Mémoire
de Simon Petlioura,
58, Avenue de l'Opéra
Paris — 2e.

Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wierer

The International Political Recoinage Of Our Aims

Attention has frequently been drawn to the persistence with which the old forms, aims and ideas are repeatedly glorified and stressed by emigrants. On the other hand, it is perhaps fitting, though not popular, to draw attention to a certain attitude of hopelessness and despondency found amongst the emigrants, an attitude which is, however, not always admitted. This group, which is steadily increasing in number, at least tends to hold the opinion that the present stage of world politics, which is very clearly characterized by an interest in the problems of the triangle Algeria, Egypt, Cyprus, or Algiers, Suez and Nicosia, is both directly and indirectly forcing the problems of the countries of East Europe into the background. Accordingly, to these sceptics the problems of our countries, at least in state political and national political respect, seem to be solved by the actual development of events.

In this connection we should now like to examine the problems of the Near East, that is of the Mediterranean countries, in order to be able to ascertain whether the present popular assumption found in our part of Europe of the entirely different problems of the Mediterranean countries and of the past or solved or settled problems is actually correct or not.

In the present neurgic international political triangle a powerful nationalist trend, both as regards ideology and power politics, is apparent, a trend which, in a manner less apparent to the broad masses of the European public, spread from Europe as it were to the countries which were formerly less nationally and politically conscious. In this respect Egypt is the only exception, for it has been giving Europe proof of its nationalism in a very concrete way for a considerable time. Nationalism can be traced right through all the struggles and quarrels which are meanwhile being conducted against protectorates, colonial rule, that is against actual dependence on Europe, and even in the form of republican opposition to a foreign "Egyptian" dynasty of Macedonian origin and Turkish language. In the second place, these struggles and quarrels show us the fairly clear outlines of the clash between the Greek Orthodox majority and the Moslem Turkish minority in Cyprus and also the symptoms — as yet, still nebulous — of the differences between the Arab Bedouin population and the Kabyles in Morocco. We hardly need mention the differences between the native population in the said countries and the European experts, economic authorities and colonial officials.

Unfortunately, the emigrants from East Europe for a long time regarded their central or main problems from the point of view of the Central European or East European perspective. The European character of these problems was proclaimed — and that only occasionally — rather than studied and systematically included in the aims of the emigrants. This outlook, at the most regional and European, likewise tallied with the propaganda disseminated by the emigrants all over the world. It is therefore not surprising that the Western public for the most part regards our problems as settled.

A thorough and critical analysis in the above-mentioned geopolitical triangle, however, shows that the problem which in our countries was solved apparently and temporarily rather than permanently, is coming to a head, namely the problem of the *ethnically heterogeneous state* or of the structure resembling a state. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the fact that in some countries of the Near East the said ethnical character is primarily determined by religious faith.

All those who have the ability and courage to see the future realistically, realize that there is an alarming possibility and, indeed, probability of attempts being made in the future to solve at least some of these problems of the Mediterranean countries by pushing them off on to someone else — to put it diplomatically — or by expulsion, to put it plainly. If we consider the problems of the old Ottoman Empire, we cannot help but recall the expulsion of the Cherkessens from Caucasia, the clashes between the Kurds and the Armenians, the

mass pogroms directed against the Armenians and against the exchange of population between Turkey and Greece, to a lesser extent before the first World War and to a greater extent after it.

No one who does not confuse objectivity and local politics, is likely to describe these perspectives as fantastic. Still less so, since the tendency of Russian policy to solve certain difficult problems by resettlement and by expulsion is fairly old. If we look beyond the said triangle further eastwards, we see similar ethnical differences in Syria, North Iran, Kashmir and other countries, not to mention the Far East, Morocco and the rest of Africa, which for the most part is not yet nationally conscious. Everywhere there are relative "majorities" against "minorities", which in many cases find support in the strong sympathies of their neighbours or fellow-believers.

From the concrete point of view one ought to tackle the problem of the ethnically heterogeneous state (or of the structure resembling a state) both theoretically and from the political programme aspect. And this would be particularly essential when dealing with the vital problem of the multi-peoples state, compulsory migration and the expulsion of national groups and its consequences.

Dr. Arin Engin

Member of the Turkish Historical Society (Turkish Academy)

Turkey and the Russo-Syrian Problem

If a nation were to achieve one of the reforms which Turkey has achieved during the last thirty-eight years, a bronze statue would be erected in its honour in every civilized country of the world. And what if a nation were to achieve all of them? What would be its reward? The answer is that its reward would be to live on for ever as an illustrious name in the memory of all humanity.

And this, indeed, should be Turkey's reward. She has reconstructed a new, modern order of society in the service of human ideals; she has set up a modern, national, democratic state in place of the almost mediaeval theocratic Turkish (Ottoman) Empire; and, in addition, she has introduced linguistic, religious and educational reforms of the greatest importance.

Thanks to the outstanding genius of Atatürk in the sphere of political, social and national potentialities and to his great insight in organizing and putting into practice all these reforms, there has since his death been practically no reactionary movement which in the least way might have been dangerous or successful.

Of these reforms, there is one which is of the utmost significance, — the military reform, which has brought with it a new national spirit, new organization and an entirely new Turkish terminology instead of the old Ottoman-Arabic terminology. The Turkish army today, in peace time, numbers 500,000 men. Its morale is excellent, so, too, is its material equipment, and it ranks as one of the best and strongest armies of free Europe. In the event of war its potential strength would amount to 3,000,000 men.

So much for Turkey! Let us now turn to the subject of this article, — Turkey and the Russo-Syrian problem.

Those who are acquainted with the Russian character are hardly likely to be surprised at the problems which have arisen out of Russia's relations with other countries. One of them and by no means the last is the Syrian problem. In considering this problem one must bear in mind that the chief trait of the Russian character is complete unscrupulousness, which knows no intellectual or political honesty and disregards all the traditional moral and human values which mankind has cherished and fostered throughout the ages. All through history the Russian character has been exactly the reverse of the Turkish character, for it knows and worships only one thing in life, — sheer, brute force. The Russians can only be subjected by force, not by principles, ideals or moral values. They will

A higher outlook would have to be adopted in connection with the intensified theoretical and political programme work, and the problems of the rising or maturing or, in some way, not yet conscious national, ethnical or religious groups would have to be taken into consideration. It is true that the work to be done in this respect would be difficult and considerable. But this difficulty should not deter the representatives of the emigrants from carrying out their mighty task. By this we do not wish to deny or disparage the actual expediency of a political programme for the present. What is needed most, however, is a broad and, as it were, universal programme for the future.

If one were to work out such an intensified theoretical basis and programme of aims, one could, on the strength of Europe's errors and omissions, to a certain extent show the Oriental peoples and their young and violent nationalism the reflection of the prospects of the very grim and dangerous clashes which might possibly occur in the future. On the other hand, however, the emigrants might be able to acquaint the peoples of the West with much that will perhaps threaten the West in its entire sphere of influence in the near future.

kneel down in submissiveness before those who are forceful enough to carry into effect what they say. In the course of all our historical relations with them, we have got to know the Russians thoroughly.

Forty million Turks are at present languishing under the cruel Russian yoke, and other fellow-nations of ours — the Ukrainian, Baltic and other peoples — are likewise suffering under this tyranny.

In an article which was published in a previous issue of the "ABN Correspondence" I mentioned the treacherous methods resorted to by the Russians in order to subject Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Azerbaijan and Crimea to their despotic and imperialistic rule. Russia only thinks in terms of force and violence; she is not in the least influenced by human values.

It was for this reason that Turkey took precautionary steps on the Syrian border, when the Russian Communist conspirators stepped in with the intention of creating another Egyptian crisis, — this time not on account of the Suez Canal, but on account of the oil pipelines which pass through Turkey's southern territory.

The Russian Communist conspirators are preparing a new world-conquest war, and their chief means of guaranteeing the success of this war is to deprive the free world of its valuable oil supplies from the Middle East. Success on their part in this respect would mean Turkey's death-knell. And for this reason we are taking precautionary steps in keeping with the above-mentioned Russian character; that is, to be forceful enough to counteract the deceitful aims of these criminal conspirators and to avert every possibility of another world war, at least for the present. Turkey has saved the free world, with the help of her allies, from the danger of a new war by the steps she has taken, which, incidentally, have to some extent already borne fruit, inasmuch as Khrushchev abandoned his threatening attitude when he appeared at the celebrations held at the Turkish Embassy in Moscow to mark the thirty-fourth anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

The Russian imperium today is a cancerous growth in the human organism. Either it must be cut out by a surgical (military) operation, by supporting the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain and helping them to achieve their aim to set up their independent, national democratic states, or this Russian imperial cancer — whether red or white — will destroy human society and all the moral values which make life worth living.

Jaroslaw Stetzko

A Year of Disappointments

The Hungarian revolution evoked a considerable response all over the world. The immediate reaction of the Western communities was excellent. The trade unions demanded the severance of all connections with the imperium of tyranny and a general boycott of everything connected with the Russian Communist peoples' prison. But before a year had passed, all had been forgotten. The statesmen of the West deplore the downfall of the same Zhukov who ruthlessly crushed the Hungarian revolution, inasmuch as they regard him as "better" than Khrushchev, and Khrushchev, on the other hand, who is just as much a hangman as Zhukov, for unfathomable reasons as "better" than Malenkov. As is well known, Malenkov was dismissed from office at the beginning of 1955 because he wanted to expand the light industries, namely at the expense of the heavy industries which Khrushchev considered of primary importance. Why then should the free world prefer Khrushchev to Malenkov? Why should it put its trust in this hangman of Ukraine, who affirms "urbi et orbi" that he is as good a Stalinist as Stalin himself? And why, on the other hand, should a Russian chauvinist and Moscow satrap such as Zhukov, whose ultimate aim was the final Russification of the Soviet imperium and a large-scale attack on the free world, be more acceptable to the latter than Khrushchev, who, incidentally, likewise aims to consolidate the Soviet imperium and also to fetter Titoslovakia to this imperium? And why should the possible formation of a new Cominform, whose task would be to continue its subversive activity in the countries of the free world according to plan and systematically, be regarded as proof of a love of peace?

Can it be that one has already forgotten the era of the NEP (the "New Economic Policy" of 1921-1927), when there were far greater "facilities" than is today the case? The NEP "thaw", however, could not be compared with the Gomulka regime, still less with the Khrushchev regime. But the question obtrudes itself as to whether this "thaw" was due to the "good will" of the Bolshevik hangmen and not rather to the necessity which faced them, of having to save themselves and their system from sudden ruin. But even today the West still sets its hopes on the Khrushchev regime instead of on those processes which force Khrushchev to veer in his course in order to lessen somewhat the ever-increasing pressure from below, that is on the part of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. But it all goes on as we forecast: during the past years Stalin's birthday was passed over in silence by the Moscow official Party organ "Pravda", but this year it paid homage to him as the "outstanding champion of the cause of Communism, as a loyal Marxist and Leninist and as an unswerving revolutionary". In Stalin's native town a museum is to be founded which delegations from all the countries of the Soviet Union and from abroad are to visit. Radio Moscow has announced that it will wage a "relentless war" on "all those who defame Stalin". Thus, Khrushchev's "de-Stalinisation" is formally coming to an end.

The free world rejoiced at Khrushchev's victory over his rivals, for this was supposed to be the beginning of a "peaceful course". Meanwhile, Khrushchev stabilized his monocratic power by eliminating those rivals in the Party Praesidium who had any ideas of their own and in this way might cause internal differences of opinion. Surely, the elimination of rivals and the equalization of state power is not so much proof of the weakness of the Party but rather of the centralization of the will of the state, which, rid of all opposition, will concentrate on the annexation of new territories with even greater energy. In this respect it is immaterial whether Khrushchev happens to be the last descendant of the old worthies. In any case, the process of consolidation in the Party Praesidium has increased. But is this to the advantage of the West? It is surprising that the open rejection of the suggestion of the NATO Conference still allows the West to entertain further illusions regarding negotiations "on the highest level" (which is what Khrushchev is trying to force on President Eisenhower). On what basis? Exclusively on that of the status quo. This means that the Soviet Russian

imperium would continue to exist not within its framework of 1939, but within that of 1957, that is to say with the inclusion of its "zones of influence" in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, as it sees fit. This is nothing more than a demand for the complete capitulation of the free world. And it is indeed disgusting that in this connection the press of the free world talks about the "successes" of the NATO policy so far and about those of the free world. In the NATO resolutions this time, not a word is mentioned about the *satellite states*, nor about *Poland*, for whose sake the war with Hitler was started, nor even about Hungary, for whom crocodile tears were shed.

And what about "Sputnik"? It is true that it is an outstanding scientific achievement. But is the fact borne in mind that this achievement has cost the blood and sweat of millions of slaves? Could this invention have been achieved without starvation for scores of millions?

The world will fall into an abyss, unless at the last moment men are found who have the courage to shoulder the responsibility for bold decisions in an uncompromising fight against Bolshevism and who will not content themselves with the status quo, but will face and fight tyranny. The sooner this happens, the better. There is no possibility of a coexistence of long duration; only one side can be victorious, and to temporize is grist to the mill of Bolshevism. On the quiet, the West sets its hopes on the internal downfall of Bolshevism, without, however, making the least attempt to help to bring about this process; for if it does not support the national liberation movements in the U.S.S.R., it cannot count on the automatic collapse of Bolshevism. What, then, is it hoping for? It does not want to pursue an active policy of liberation; in fact, it agrees with the status quo, and it does not know how to counteract Moscow's aggression either in Asia or in Africa. *Kennan* once again recommends a suicidal policy on the basis of the capitulation of the West, inasmuch as he tries to make the free world believe in the fatal idea that a decade of Communist rule has changed the national soul of the peoples in the satellite countries to such an extent that they are no longer interested in establishing states in which the individual enjoys freedom, but have become accustomed to slavery and, therefore, must be crossed off the list of freedom-loving peoples and must be regarded as permanent slaves. Thus, neither the Hungarian revolution nor the Poznan riots, neither events in the Soviet concentration camps nor the two-front war of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) have taught the West a lesson!

It is true that the Hungarian revolution was crushed not solely because the West failed to help Hungary (for, in view of the character of the present leading political elite, its help could not be counted on at all), but for quite different reasons. Like every revolution that has been crushed so far, the Hungarian revolution was defeated because its internal revolutionary principle was too limited. Instead of turning to the indifferent West, one should concentrate one's attention on the East, on the peoples subjugated by Moscow, whom one could fire with such enthusiasm that they join in the fight. In order to be successful, the Hungarian revolution — and we do not wish in any way to disparage its unexampled heroism — should have placed *universal* national and social ideas, which would have fired other peoples, too, with enthusiasm and prompted them to join in the fight, in the foreground and should have had a strategic plan regarding the annihilation of the entire Soviet imperium and not solely a limited local plan which was only concerned with Hungary. The Hungarian revolution was neither a revolution of the French type from the ideological point of view, nor a revolution of the Bolshevik type as regards its extent and impulse. What was lacking in this revolution of heroes was a broad standard of discernment on the part of the leading political elite, who should have realized the organic connection between the Hungarian national fight for freedom and the simultaneous fight for freedom of Ukraine or Turkestan; hence its failure.

The fact that the other peoples subjugated by Moscow were not ready to fight, is another matter.

An immediate and decisive victory would only have been achieved, had a revolution broken out simultaneously in all the countries ruled by the Soviet Union; but the Hungarian revolutionaries had not yet acquired the political discernment needed to deal with such a question. And, incidentally, the Hungarian revolution was too spontaneous to have a broad political and strategic plan. Nor are the Hungarian national emigrants in any way to blame for this fact, for the tasks which confronted the Hungarian revolution outgrew the efficiency of the Hungarian people, who had never been faced by such far-reaching tasks, — just as the external world had never been as indifferent to heroism, martyrdom and the noblest ideas as it was on this occasion. And the Ukrainians, for instance, who have had an enormous lot of experience as regards revolutions, would probably not have behaved any differently in exile, if they had been faced by a similar situation. That is why the leading political class needs to have a revolutionary doctrine which it has not only worked out most carefully, but has also adopted as its own; but where could the inexperienced — but nevertheless heroic — Hungarians have got such a doctrine from?

Throughout Hungary national and social ideas — and also ideas of a heroic humanism — should have been proclaimed, ideas which would pertain to all peoples and not only to the Hungarians. Radio stations and all means of propaganda should have turned not so much to the West as to the peoples subjugated by Moscow, so that the latter, themselves having become insurgents, would then exhort all those who value freedom and human dignity to join in the revolution. It would be better to count on the non-Russian troops of the Soviet Army, on the Ukrainian, Turkestanian, Georgian and other insurgents rather than on American paratroopers, on Chiang Kai-shek, Ngo Dinh Diem and Syngman Rhee rather than on Eisenhower. The Hungarian revolution was defeated the moment Nagy, under pressure on the part of politically inexperienced revolutionaries, decided in favour of neutrality, namely when he announced Hungary's resignation from the Warsaw Pact. This was a gesture in the sense of Western orientation, a gesture which was to create a situation "acceptable to both sides", — something like the fantastic German neutrality according to Ollenhauer... In order to win over the other subjugated peoples to their side, the Hungarian revolutionaries should have exhorted them to join in the life and death struggle against Moscow; instead of which, however, their declaration of neutrality acted as an immediate damper on the desire of these peoples to support the Hungarian revolution. The peoples subjugated by Moscow were forced to realize that it was a question of a local fight without a wide horizon and without inclusion of national revolutions throughout the entire Soviet Union and in Moscow's sphere of influence. It is no good resorting to half-measures in such a situation; one must stake all, just as Cromwell, Lenin and Kemal Atatürk did, and just as Khemlnytsky did, who said, "Two walls will collide and one of them will collapse". The heroic Hungarian revolutionaries failed to realize this motto in its wider sense; and, actually, Nagy allowed the Hungarian revolution to become isolated from the fight for freedom of all the other subjugated peoples.

Indeed, it was a cardinal error that the revolution from beginning to end was headed by men such as Nagy, who, instead of having all sorts of Kadar adherents shot, calmly allowed out-and-out Rakosi supporters to demobilize the revolution. One is horrified, on reading General Kiraly's memoirs in the February number (1957) of "Life", to learn how very naive and trusting Nagy was as regards Moscow, how he believed right to the end that Moscow was acting sincerely, and how he forbade General Kiraly to fire on the Russian tanks when the latter — numbering 4,000 — had already begun to re-enter the capital. And how naive were such men as Maletor or Istvan Kovacz — undoubtedly men of outstanding personality, but trained in the Communist spirit — who believed the treacherous Russians when they affirmed that they would withdraw... No, national Communists will never be able to conduct a revolution

Increased Wave of Terrorism in Slovakia

On March 14th, the Czech Minister of the Interior, Rudolf Barak, from Prague, held a press conference in Bratislava, at which he violently attacked and calumniated the adherents of the prohibited Slovak People's Party, the Hlinka Guards and the Hlinka Youth Movement, as well as the Catholic priests. Among other things he accused the support units of the former Slovak army of having murdered 3,723 persons towards the end of World War II, when they were fighting against the Soviet partisans who had penetrated into Slovakia. Barak tried to make out that the former Foreign Minister of Slovakia, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, is one of the persons who must be held responsible for this crime. The former Foreign Minister is also the main butt of the agitation campaign of insults and intrigues which was launched, in accordance with orders from above, in the papers after Barak's "press conference".

For this reason, our correspondent put some questions to Prof. Dr. Durcansky in order to clarify the motives behind the new wave of Communist terrorism which is at present in evidence in Slovakia.

Question: "What have you to say to the accusations made against you by the present Czech Minister of the Interior Barak?"

Answer: "When Slovakia became the scene of fighting towards the end of World War II, the Soviet partisans posted there tried to facilitate the advance of the Red Army across the Carpathians. Thousands of persons were the victims of their terrorism and the murder of women and children was the order of the day. In particular they terrorized the members of the German national group, solely because of their national feelings. In other respects, too, they completely ignored all the primary principles of international martial law and behaved not as soldiers in the spirit of the Hague Convention, but as a horde of robbers and murderers. By terrorizing the population in this way, they intended to create the introduction of a Communist dictatorship in Slovakia.

Following the example of the most notorious political criminals, the Communists try to put the blame for the atrocities committed by themselves

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directed against Moscow successfully, for they are ideologically too dependent on Moscow.

There were obviously various other reasons for the failure of the Hungarian revolution, but we do not wish to discuss them here; our intention was to stress the facts which are usually overlooked completely and which are becoming more and more apparent when regarded in relation to the past year, — just as is the case with respect to the entire historical significance of the Hungarian revolution. As matters stand, even if the Hungarian revolution had pursued the course which we advised above, this would by no means have been a guarantee for its immediate and decisive success, that is to say for the collapse of the Russian imperium, which, after all, is the only possible way to achieve the genuine and permanent liberation of the Hungarian people and of the other subjugated peoples. No, the matter is not as simple as all that, and it is by no means out of the question that it was precisely the other peoples subjugated by Moscow who in the autumn of 1956 were not ready to start a simultaneous revolution. And yet, every national anti-Bolshevist revolution should aim to achieve this simultaneous outbreak: if it does so, its chances of success will be far greater than if it only appeals to the West for help, for political events in the world during the past year have gradually caused or, at least, ought to cause the West to have some doubts as to the wisdom of its choice of methods of "containment", "coexistence" and other compromises so far. Whichever part of the world one considers — Northwest Africa, Egypt, Syria or Indonesia — wherever Bolshevist infiltration has only or mainly had to face Western defense methods, it has had an easy game in this respect in 1957; for neither the Bolshevist nor any other form of totalitarianism can be defeated successfully by half-hearted and ideologically incomplete counter-measures.

on their enemies. Thus, with the mass murder of Polish officers in the forest of Katyn they thought to cast suspicion on the Germans, but this plot on their part failed because of the results of international investigations. There is, however, no such controlling factor in Slovakia today. And furthermore, in the Communist mock trials which are at present being held in the district courts in Zilina and in Banska Bystrica the accused are tortured until they "confess", and the witnesses, for fear of persecution, usually "testify" to all that is demanded of them. This spectacle is staged by Prague which in this way is endeavouring to accomplish its most urgent programme, namely to break the resistance of the Slovak people by terrorization."

Question: "What is Prague's object in intensifying its propaganda against the Slovak patriots?"

Answer: "By resorting to this propagandist clamour the Communists are trying to drown the voice of anyone who might have the courage to designate the trials staged by them as what they really are, namely as an undignified spectacle which bears no resemblance whatever to regular legal procedure. Proof of this can be seen from the fact that the members of the Slovak People's Party, of the Hlinka Guards and the Hlinka Youth Movement who are now being accused a second time, were tried years ago and were in several cases acquitted because their innocence was proved."

Question: "What are the other motives which prompt Prague in its action?"

Answer: "These motives can be seen from the fact that the press conference arranged by Minister of the Interior Barak was held on March 14th, — the anniversary of the proclamation of Slovakia's independence. In addition, it is also significant that on March 14th and 15th the union of Slovak journalists held a training course in Bratislava for journalists from all over the country, and that the subject of this course was the mutual relations of the Czechs and the Slovaks and its purpose 'to contribute in this way to the liquidation of the remnants of Slovak nationalism'."

All this clearly shows Prague's intentions to make Slovakia Czech and its determination to break the resistance of the Slovak people to the Communist system. The Slovaks defy Prague, and consequently Prague is afraid that revolts on the part of the people might break out in Slovakia as they did in Hungary and Poland. And, incidentally, Barak admitted this quite openly at his press conference.

The Communist leaders know only too well that, in view of the heavy economic obligations which they have undertaken with regard to various states of Asia, they are not in a position to keep their promise of an improvement in the standard of living of the population, but that, on the contrary, the discontent of the people will increase, the greater their need becomes and the more they are exploited. The Communist leaders are thus forced to break defiance and resistance before these factors might lead to a dangerous outbreak of the people's wrath.

This is the reason for the increasing terrorism, which the omnipotent Party Secretary, Bacilek, already announced at sessions of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party on January 9th and 10th. Prague is of the opinion that in this way and with the help of anti-Slovak propaganda it will succeed in making the Communists of Slovak origin more tractable, especially since many of them have already been replaced by Czech Communists."

Question: "What was Barak's idea in attacking the Vatican and the priests?"

Answer: "With the campaign that it has launched Prague is undoubtedly trying to substantiate the rigid measures against the Catholic clergy, in whom the Slovak people see their support in the fight against the foreign rule that has been forced on them."

Question: "Did Barak give any positive reason for connecting you with the above-mentioned murders?"

Answer: "No! — and he was not able to do so. For it is perfectly evident from various documents

which have been published that I had no political function whatever in Slovakia after the end of June 1940, as the result of measures taken against me by the National Socialist Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop. In addition, I was not an active member of either the Hlinka Guards or the Hlinka Youth Movement. Nor was I a member or a commanding officer of an armed or uniformed unit during World War II.

There is sufficient convincing proof in the documents of the Gestapo and the security service, which are now in the hands of the Allies, that I never had any contact with these two Nazi organizations. There can thus be no doubt whatever about the fact that the allegations made by the Czech Minister of the Interior are entirely unfounded."

Question: "Why do the Communists concentrate on attacking you in particular?"

Answer: "The reason for this lies in the fact that the Slovak people regard me as a symbol of the fight for the independence of Slovakia and of the anti-Communist resistance. Prague is of the opinion that my influence on the Slovak people would perhaps become less if Communist propaganda calumniates me and shows me in an unfavourable light as possible. It is perfectly obvious that Prague regards me as an enemy and, as is the wont of the Communists, considers itself justified in resorting to every possible means in order to put me out of action."

At the same time, these defamatory attacks are intended to bring disrepute upon me in the free world. For this reason, the Communists, without any foundation whatever, try to connect my name with the murder of French, British, American and Canadian soldiers. But in view of the above-mentioned authentic proof, it is hardly likely that any sensible person will be taken in by this trick, the sole purpose of which is to defame the Slovak liberation movement.

Minister of the Interior Barak, like the rest of the Communist clique, is doing his utmost to make out that every anti-Communist striving for freedom is the same as Fascism or Nazism, — tactics which are only too well known! And according to these tactics, every opponent whom Moscow and its hirelings fear is either a Nazi or a warmonger, — whether he be Eisenhower, Dulles, Macmillan or Adenauer!"

Question: "What is your opinion of the newspaper reports, which state that Prague is demanding your extradition?"

Answer: "In 1947 I was already condemned to death in my absence in a trial against the President of the Slovak Republic, Dr. Josef Tiso, and myself. During this trial Prague did its utmost to get hold of me. In 1948 it requested the Argentine government to extradite me, but this request was, of course, refused since it was entirely unfounded legally and morally. The fact that I am fighting against Communist tyranny for the freedom and independence of Slovakia is not a crime, but my right as a human being and my duty towards my native country. And, incidentally, all the world knows that law courts in the eyes of the Communists are merely instruments of dictatorship and not organs of jurisdiction. Thus there is no legal reason whatever for a constitutional state to consider seriously such a request for extradition. The Argentine government expressed this point of view by simply sending back the request unanswered, whereupon Prague let the matter drop."

As regards other persons mentioned by the Bratislava radio station, they either did not take part in the fighting in Slovakia during World War II or else they observed the rules of the Hague Convention on warfare as members of the Slovak army. Thus, they are entirely without blame.

In conclusion, I should like to add that I am not in the least surprised at the recent violent attacks launched against me by the Communists. They merely prove that I am on the right path. But I feel very deeply for the innocent persons who will be the victims of this increasing terrorism in Slovakia. The recent course of events there strengthens us still more in our conviction that we must overcome Communism, if we do not all want to become the victims of its inhumanity."

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice

III

The Game with the Sudeten-German Question

The fate of the Sudeten-Germans has likewise been looked upon by the Communists merely as a tool in their political game. Their attitude with regard to the right of self-determination of the Sudeten-Germans has changed several times, according to what point of view seemed to them to be most opportune.

Although the Sudeten-German Communists were, from the outset, in favour of the continuity of Czecho-Slovakia and merely advocated a change in its structure, the Comintern asserted its point of view and declared itself in favour of the self-determination and severance of all the minorities incorporated in Czecho-Slovakia.

The subsequent cooperation between Prague and Moscow found its expression in the attitude of the Communists, an attitude which was in favour of a centralized Czecho-Slovakia and against all concessions advantageous to the Sudeten-Germans, that is to say not merely against a severance. Thus, prior to and during the Munich crisis, Moscow was on the side of the Czechs and against the Sudeten-Germans. Later on, however, it recognized the incorporation of the Sudeten territory in the Reich. But when the war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union, Moscow declared itself in favour of the continuity of Czecho-Slovakia within the frontiers stipulated by the Treaty of Versailles.

During World War II Benes tried to persuade the Major Powers to consent to the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans, but at first his plan met with opposition on the part of Moscow. To begin with, the Kremlin despots refused to take on any obligations in this respect, since they were not sure whether they would not make a separate peace treaty with Berlin. It was not until Benes cited the consent of the Americans and the English as a precedent that the Kremlin gave its consent to the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans.

Now that Czecho-Slovakia has been degraded to the status of a Russian colony, the Soviet Union in its own interests is opposed to the return of the Sudeten-Germans. It is no secret that their return would virtually mean the repulse of Moscow's influence towards the East, a fact to which the Kremlin naturally does not agree. The Kremlin despots would possibly be prepared to agree to the individual return of the Sudeten-Germans in the hope that in this way the present gulf might be bridged and the preconditions created for a coexistence on the basis of the status quo.

By Partition to the Sovietization of the Whole of Germany

This opportunism was, of course, the decisive factor as regards the attitude of the Kremlin towards the problem of Germany as a whole. It is a well-known fact that Lenin had high hopes of furthering Communist plans regarding a world revolution very considerably and decisively, by the revolutionization of such a highly developed industrial country as Germany. For this reason, the Communists were anxious to win the sympathy of the masses in Germany. Moscow tried to use every possible opportunity to play off Germany against the powers of the Entente and to guarantee its own way out of the dangerous isolation. For this reason, the Communists opposed the Treaty of Versailles and the anti-German measures of the Entente.

The resolution of the 5th Congress of the Comintern contains the following statements: "The imperialistic war has in reality, as a result of the victory of the capitalistic group of states, led to an aggravation of national differences and national subjugation... A concrete example of this is Germany. As regards this country, Entente imperialism has not contented itself with open annexation — carried out on the strength of the peace treaties — of territories inhabited by Germans. It has also endeavoured to dismember Germany by resorting to camouflaged forms of annexation, in the shape of the farce of 'national self-determination' (occupation of the Rhineland), or in the form of undisguised predatory acts which exceed the limits of the peace treaties, and of this the Ruhr is an example."

The countless declarations of the Communists in favour of the right of self-determination did not prevent Moscow after World War II from advocating solutions which even surpassed the conditions of the treaty of Versailles as regards injustice. Since the men of the Kremlin realized that the Germans could not be won over to Communism by means of propaganda, Stalin, at the end of World War II, decided in favour of and advocated the policy of the partition of Germany, the detachment of large German territories and the expulsion of the inhabitants there, in order to profit by the desperate position of the Germans and create the preconditions for the Sovietization of Germany. And the Kremlin despots are firmly determined to retain the occupied part of Germany as a Communist Piedmont, for the purpose of achieving the Sovietization of the whole of Germany. It is obvious that Moscow intends to retain the occupied part of Germany permanently.

One must always bear in mind the fact that the Communists, it is true, have declared themselves in favour of the right of self-determination, but not because of the principle of this right, but solely in this way to make use of large national forces for the furtherance of their own aims. This was the reason why Moscow at the end of the war refused to agree to Benes' suggestion to expel the Germans from the East. By this step the Kremlin was able to make both the Czechs and the Poles dependent on Russia as regards matters pertaining to foreign policy, and managed to secure its positions against the West, to a very considerable extent. It is immaterial that this attitude on the part of the Kremlin is a contradiction of the national idea; what is important, is the fact that it serves Moscow's aims.

If one takes the opportunist change of attitude on the part of the Communists with regard to the national question into consideration, then it is no exaggeration to say that those who believe that the Kremlin despots can be persuaded to agree to a reunification by objective arguments and a friendly attitude, are making a big mistake. Moscow is determined to preserve the present partition of Germany until favourable preconditions are established for the Sovietization of the whole of Germany. The men of the Kremlin hope that, once the West has been exhausted financially by modern armament and an economic crisis, which will hit the Federal Republic of Germany harder than any other European state, has been created, the favour-

able opportunity will present itself, when the majority of the population of the Federal Republic will cease to oppose Soviet plans. The leading men in Moscow are convinced that, in view of the large number of Communist Party supporters in Italy and France, the Sovietization of the rest of Europe will follow automatically, once the Federal Republic of Germany is under Soviet control. It is therefore hardly likely that the Kremlin despots will relinquish their present positions and will agree to the reunification of Germany.

As regards the attitude of the Kremlin despots to the question of the right of self-determination, it is obvious that Moscow will only be prepared to yield in the question of the reunification if this is to its own advantage, or if it is forced to do so. Since the free world cannot consent to the immediate or future Sovietization of Germany, the only way to effect a reunification is by a policy of power. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, however, I should like to stress that in this respect I am not thinking of a war at all. On the contrary, what I am referring to, is the application of those same principles of the right of self-determination in favour of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, which Moscow applies in the case of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Only by mobilizing the forces of the nations enslaved by Moscow, within the framework of a large-scale policy of liberation, will it be possible to create the political preconditions for the reunification of Germany. Since this policy is consistently obstructed by the three Major Powers of the West, one is bound to doubt whether the latter, despite all their diplomatic statements about freedom, democracy and reunification, are really anxious to see these aims achieved.

I had intended dealing in more detail with the Communist game in the Hungarian, Croatian, Macedonian and Albanian question, but this subject cannot be dealt with comprehensively in a lecture. For this reason, I have confined myself to confirming what was already obvious, namely that the Communists are determined, wherever possible, to abuse national feelings and to exploit them for the achievement of their own aims.

Underground Movement in Ukraine Continues its Activity

News has reached us from reliable sources that the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) continues to be active in Ukraine. Proof of this is the fact that the anniversaries of *Bazar* and *Kruty* were recently observed. In 1921, 359 Ukrainians were killed at Bazar whilst fighting against the Russian invaders in Ukraine. In 1918, 300 Ukrainian students, who in order to defend Kyiv marched against the Murawjov army, died a heroic death at Kruty.

During the night from November 20th to 21st, 1957, leaflets addressed to the Ukrainian people were distributed in numerous towns and villages of Ukraine and also posted up in prominent places. These leaflets exhorted the Ukrainians to continue their fight for an independent Ukrainian state. In connection with the increased activity of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground, the MVD has increased its vigilance.

To mark the anniversary of Kruty, leaflets were also distributed during the night from January 28th to 29th, 1958. On this occasion, leaflets addressed to the youth of Ukraine and exhorting them to refuse to allow themselves to be forced to join the Komsomol and the organization of the pioneers, were also distributed.

Hans von Thünen

President of the League to Combat Communism

Bolshevism An Organized System Of Exploitation

Bolshevism is the most unscrupulous form of hyper-capitalism. Since private economic competition was abolished and transformed into a centralized and state-monopolized capital economy, it was possible to exploit hired labour unrestrictedly to the advantage of the new state capitalists, that is to say the profiteering holders of state bonds which were issued precisely for this purpose. This modern ruling class uses the state as an instrument of subjugation in order to sponge like parasites on the workers, who have been forced into the state collectives, and to keep the workers and peasants in a state of slavery from the material and social point of view.

This despotism, which is rooted in the Communist state economy, is further supported by the dictatorship of the councils — consisting of representatives of the only government party — with their entire apparatus of state institutions. This dictatorship is sanctioned by the supreme Party leadership that calls its system, which subjugates the entire population, the "dictatorship of the proletariat". (It would be far more fitting to call it the "dictatorship against the proletariat"!.) Thus, Communist Bolshevism is in every respect the phenomenon of a state system which is based on the ruthless egoism of a few upstarts, a system in which every form of freedom has ceased to exist and human individuality has been degraded to the lowest level.

But since man is not an animal that acts on impulses alone and without conscious reasoning powers, and as a result of these modern predatory methods, the class conflict between the state capitalists and the enslaved workers and peasants has been aggravated still more and the unpropertied proletariat has increased still more, has been reduced to poverty and deprived of all its rights and privileges.

This permanent betrayal of socialism finds its complement in the constantly increasing labour quotas, which in the private capitalistic state are branded as murder by the social democrats, but in the Communist regime are merely designated as "national duty". But the Communist promotions on paper to the rank of "heroes of work" cannot make up for the serious physical and psychological harm which ensues as a result of this unscrupulous system of sweating. Such are the effects of the pseudo-dogmas of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, — dogmas which are allegedly to bring freedom to the workers. Following their example, the Communist state leaders are so presumptuous as to want to take the place of God. Since their power has so far not been challenged, they regard themselves as modern "gods", whereas in reality they are only blood-sucking demons and vampires. They exalt work as a kind of substitute for religion, merely in order to be able to punish with fire and sword, like Grand Inquisitors, any failure to achieve the quotas set for the state, which in their opinion serves as a milch cow.

The Manifold Deception of the Communist Plutocracy

The upstart class, which has seized the government seats thanks to Communism, has regulated the exploitation of the working masses, inasmuch as it has done away with the competition of private capitalism which was an obstacle to its economic robbery and, having thus eliminated all competition, has driven the productive classes of workers and peasants into a suicidal competition of labour productivity. The increase in production brought about in this way guarantees increased profits for the state capitalists in the form of money accumulation and the increase of their share in the state business, in the centralized state-controlled profiteering and in the bonds and stocks of the state-owned enterprises. Through its authoritarian usufructuaries the state alone becomes the owner of labour and the fruits of labour. Under Communism the new ruling class of bureaucrats robs the working masses of the produce of their labour, in exchange for a current value which is fixed low intentionally, and sells these fruits of

labour with enormous excess profits to the real owners again through state corporations (trade organizations and cooperatives).

Under the Bolshevik state system Communism is really a caricature of itself, for the exploitation of men by the individual becomes the exploitation of the individual by the state, the state owners, the state capitalists, the new parasitic class of officials, councillors, shareholders and holders of bonds.

Personal Enrichment is the Purpose of the State System

Just as the *political* card-sharppers carry out deportations for the purpose of effecting a systematic Russification, the above-mentioned public enemies, for their own personal enrichment, make use of abductions of masses of the population for the purpose of labour which no worker under contract would voluntarily be willing to undertake.

Inasmuch as the authoritarian petty bourgeois good-for-nothings of the state make no attempt whatever to solve the social question not for itself, but from the other human aspect, Communism is clearly recognizable as an instrument of Marxist, Leninist and Stalinist state practice, — an instrument which gratifies the lowest selfish instincts of the usurping exploiters.

In this way the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union, of whom three-fifths are non-Russian and

who since 1917 and even earlier have been opposing Communism and Russian imperialism at the greatest sacrifice of their very lives, are also condemned to absolute slavery even at the present time. The Russian aggressors, however, are not content with this and they are only waiting for an opportunity to get the Western peoples who are still free in their power, too. The experimental methods of economic and labour exploitation tried and tested in the U.S.S.R. are also to be applied to these peoples, not taking into account in this connection the problems of moral, cultural and human destruction. It is not what an out-and-out enthusiast understands by Communism and how he would like to see it put into practice and interpreted, that is decisive, but the way in which the Communist state puts Communism with all its carefully planned consequences into practice. As regards the economic aspect, the free economic system in the free world, with its modern money and distribution system, as compared to the Communist Bolshevik system, ensures human dignity and prosperity to man.

In the future free world — after the overthrow of Communism and the disintegration of the Russian peoples' prison — the free peoples enjoying equal rights will join forces on the basis of economic ideas based on reason and in keeping with the demands of humanity, and, by mutual voluntary agreement, will achieve a solidary and mutual cooperation in peace and freedom — for the benefit and good of every individual.

Defence Tactics — Tactics of Defeat (Continued from page 7)

the weapons of freedom-loving nationalism against national slavery, the weapons of social freedom against the slavery of totalitarian socialism, the weapons of freedom-bringing Christianity against the enemies of every religion, — all these weapons have been cast aside by the politicians of the West in the life-and-death struggle against Russia. The physical weapons — money and the propaganda about the happy "way of life" in the West with material comforts and luxuries — are inadequate, inasmuch as they cannot bring about a decision in favour of the West in its struggle against Russia.

As a result of this attitude on the part of its leading circles, the West is constantly forced to take up a defensive position, — the position of the unskilled boxer with whom Demosthenes once compared the leaders of the Athenian democracy in their fight against Philipp of Macedonia; this unfortunate boxer merely tried to protect himself, without system or method, against his opponent's attack and made no attempt to attack back. Thus, the counteraction of the West has so far merely been a warding off, without any system or method behind it, — whether in Berlin, Korea, Persia or Syria, whether in Egypt or North Africa. Russia, on the other hand, always acts aggressively and dynamically and according to a carefully worked out plan. It is this dynamism on the part of Russia that has prompted the "admiration" of the duped lower classes of the West, the fear of the latter's political leaders, and also the malicious satisfaction of the numerous two-legged Western "Sputniks" (adherents) who are not persecuted by the state and who are a greater danger to the free world than the "celestial" Sputnik with its "Laika".

Long ago, when the West was consciously aware of its spiritual strength and superiority, the Russian imperium trembled before it, both spiritually and politically. The ideas of the French Revolution and of British political freedom to a very considerable extent undermined the power of tsarism in the days

of Nicholas (the December revolt of 1825 and the Crimean defeat in 1855) and also of his son, Alexander II, and finally, during the reign of Nicholas II, brought the Russian empire to the brink of ruin. That it was not annihilated completely in those days was only due to the help of the West, which preferred to see the restoration of the old Red tsarism in Europe rather than the founding of independent national states on the ruins of this monstrous empire. The consequences which this attitude have had for the West can now be judged by the West itself. The West, too, can now also answer the question as to why the freedom-loving ideas of the Christian Occident no longer have the same effective and overpowering influence on Russia as they had in the days of Nicholas I, Nicholas II and Alexander II.

In our opinion it is a self-evident political truth that Moscow's lust of aggression and expansion cannot be checked as long as the new leaders of the Occident persist in pursuing their bankrupt defensive policy in the East, as long as they fail to adopt a new strategy and a new aggressive plan, as long as they fail to rouse the old urge to fight Muscovite barbarity and fail to re-install in the hearts of their peoples a firm belief in Christian ideas, and as long as they fail to assert an active policy regarding the disintegration of the most terrible and only existing imperium of today. Otherwise a defeat of the West will be inevitable.

Or are the political leaders of the West really of the opinion that after the disintegration of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, after the partition of Germany, after the partition of Germany, after the defeat of Japan and after the beginning of the gradual dissolution of the French and British empires, the free world as the neighbour of an imperium which extends from the River Elbe to Alaska would be able to enjoy peace? It is perfectly obvious that the answer to this question can only be a negative one. The West needs new leaders.

Prof. R. Ostrowski visits the U.S.A.

From July 1st to December 12th last year, Professor Radoslaw Ostrowski visited the majority of the most important communities of the American Friends of A.B.N. in the U.S.A. and also Byelorussian emigrants in South River, Cleveland, Chicago, New York, Passaic, Stamford, Carlstadt and elsewhere.

On September 28th, in response to an invitation from the American-Byelorussian Council in Chicago and the American Friends of A.B.N., Professor Ostrowski addressed a meeting held in the hall of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Chicago. His subject on this occasion was "The International Situation and the Problems of the Nations Enslaved by Bolshevism".

In his extremely interesting speech, Professor Ostrowski described the self-sacrificing struggle fought by countless nations against Soviet oppression, and, by quoting many examples, showed the ideological crisis of Communism, which, he said, would no doubt lead to its catastrophe and ultimate downfall. He pointed out, however, that this process might be a lengthy one and that it was therefore necessary for us to double all our efforts and arm ourselves with patience.

On October 5th, Professor Ostrowski took part in the conference in Cleveland which was organized by the American Friends of A.B.N. In the course of this conference he gave a report on the successful work of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. in the international sphere and also on the activity of the A.B.N. Mission in Formosa.

On November 2nd, the large Byelorussian community in Cleveland solemnly celebrated the 37th anniversary of the Slutsk insurrection. On this occasion and also later in New York, Professor Ostrowski gave a lecture on "The Slutsk Insurrection against the Background of the Struggle of the Byelorussian People for their Independence".

During Professor Ostrowski's visit to the U.S.A., the 15th Plenum of the Byelorussian Central Council was held in South River (New Jersey). In



Prof. R. Ostrowski, Vice-President of the Peoples' Council of the A.B.N. and President of the Byelorussian Central Council

the course of the Plenum, Professor Ostrowski was authorized to continue to represent the Byelorussian Central Council in the A.B.N., and a resolution was also passed to the effect that the cooperation between the Byelorussian Central Council and the A.B.N. was to be increased.

On December 6th, the Ukrainian Liberation Front organized a meeting in New York, at which Professor Ostrowski spoke on the subject "Russian Imperialism and the Problems of the Nations Subjugated by Bolshevism". In the course of his speech, which lasted an hour, Professor Ostrowski

emphasized the aggressive character of the Russian nation, from its very beginning, namely from the time of the principality of Moscow to the end of the tsarist empire and right up to the present Red Russian imperium of Khrushchev.

During the latter half of his speech, Professor Ostrowski gave a survey of the situation of the enslaved nations and the policy of Western Europe. The meeting was followed by a conference, which was attended by the national representatives of the organization of the American Friends of A.B.N. Representatives of Ukraine, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Hungary, Croatia and Slovakia took part in the discussions. Current problems connected with the Congress of the American Friends of A.B.N., which is to be convened in April 1958, were also discussed.

On December 8th, the Byelorussian community in South River held a jubilee banquet to mark the 70th anniversary of Professor Ostrowski's birthday and the 50th anniversary of his social and political activity.

Professor Ostrowski was born on October 25, 1887, in Nyesvish near Slutsk in the province of Minsk. He was educated in Slutsk and later stu-

died at the University of St. Petersburg. His loyalty and devotion to Byelorussia and to the Byelorussian national cause have made him extremely popular among his people, both in his native country and in exile.

It was therefore not surprising that Americans of Byelorussian descent and recent Byelorussian immigrants took advantage of his presence in the U.S.A. to demonstrate their loyal support of him as their leader and their satisfaction at the fact that the leadership of the Byelorussians is in the right hands.

Among those present at the banquet were many who have fought side by side with their President in the unequal fight against Bolshevism and who today share the fate of their leader.

In deeply moving speeches, President Ostrowski was praised for his outstanding qualities as a man, friend, national leader, politician and statesman. All those present at the banquet wished him every success and the achievement in the near future of the aim which he has cherished all his life, — a sovereign independent Byelorussia.

A few days later, Professor Ostrowski left the U.S.A. on his return journey to Europe.

Russian Imperialism and the Problem of the Peoples Enslaved by the Soviet Russians

A Lecture given by Prof. R. Ostrowski at a Meeting of the American Friends of A.B.N. on December 12, 1957

The history of Russia is a history of perpetual aggressive wars waged by the Russians against their neighbours.

But whereas the process of the transformation of the Great Muscovite Principality into a powerful Russian empire continued for nearly a thousand years, the process of turning this empire at the time of the Russian revolution and civil wars into the present powerful Russian Communist imperium only lasted forty years.

What is the explanation of these processes? The main cause of them lies in the very nature of the Russians themselves, namely in the fact that they are a Slavonic-Mongolian hybrid. It is true that most of the early cases of Russian occupation were the result not so much of the Russians' desire to exploit the subjugated peoples and their territories, but of their desire to advance as far as possible. Later on, however, Russian subjugations pursued certain aggressive aims.

Without Russian support from the Muscovite-Russian Bolshevik centre there would be no Mao Tse-tung, no Tito, Gomulka nor Kadar. Without Russian interference there would have been no tragic uprising in East Berlin and no massacre in Budapest. Without Moscow there would have been no Korean War and no political crises in the Near and Middle East.

It is obvious that the successes of the Bolsheviks were favoured by the above facts, but also by other minor factors, the most important of which are the following:

1. The short-sightedness of the Russian tsarist politicians and statesmen and of the leaders of all the Russian political parties (from the monarchists to the socialist revolutionaries), too.

2. The imperialistic attitude of the entire Russian intelligentsia and lack of co-ordination in the anti-Communist armed campaign conducted by the so-called White Guardist movements under Yudenitch, Koldiak, Denikin, Wrangel and others.

3. Lack of co-ordinated action on the part of the independent movements of the non-Russian peoples, the aim of which was to achieve the liberation of their countries from the Russian yoke.

4. The support given to the Bolsheviks by the Western non-Communist powers.

I should now like to substantiate the above statements with certain concrete facts.

1. The Russian revolution was, in fact, not a revolution of the broad masses, that is it did not originate from the lower classes, but was merely

a revolt on the part of the upper classes and, as such, can be compared to the insurrection of the Dekabrist in the reign of Tsar Nicholas I. The broad masses did not join the revolution until after the overthrow and abdication of Tsar Nicholas II. The subsequent victories of the Bolsheviks were due to the inability of Kerensky's Provisional Government to master the situation and to restore order in the state system which had been thrown into confusion.

2. The history of the anti-Bolshevist movement during the years from 1917 to 1920 proves that the Bolsheviks might well have been liquidated without much difficulty, for at that time they had only succeeded in gaining the upper hand in two centres, Petrograd and Moscow, but not in the non-Russian countries, where independent national republics had been established and were waging war against the Bolshevik armed forces.

The anti-Bolshevist Russian armed forces had experienced military specialists at their disposal. These anti-Bolshevist Russian armed forces were, however, handicapped by two factors: the lack of co-ordination in their campaign and the imperialistic attitude which they adopted with regard to the non-Russian peoples who were anxious to establish their own national republics.

3. There was likewise a lack of co-ordination in the anti-Communist struggle of the non-Russian peoples. What was more, some of these peoples decided that it was expedient to help the Russians to subjugate other non-Russian peoples for the purpose of dividing the annexed Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories among themselves and the Bolsheviks. This applies above all to the Poles, who, at the most critical moment for the Bolsheviks, annexed the West Ukrainian and West Byelorussian territories by concluding the Treaty of Riga with the Red Russians. It is true that the Poles were later punished for this crime against the Byelorussian and Ukrainian peoples by the loss of their own national independence, but this, of course, does not exculpate them. On the other hand, however, we have no reason, in view of the great menace which threatens the whole world, to rejoice in the misfortune of others.

4. The greatest support was given to the Bolsheviks by the Western capitalistic world, which was eager to recognize the Bolsheviks de jure as soon as possible and to entertain diplomatic and commercial relations with them.

Generally speaking, the policy of some of the capitalistic countries towards the Bolsheviks at that

Anti-Bolshevik Rally of the American Friends of A.B.N. in Philadelphia

On Sunday, March 16, 1958, a big anti-Bolshevik rally of the American Friends of A. B. N. was held in Philadelphia. It was attended by numerous Americans and representatives of other nations.

After welcoming the guests, delegates of the allied nations and representatives of various organizations, the President of the above-mentioned organization, Mgr. Myron Utrysko, spoke briefly in Ukrainian and English on the present world situation and urged all those who are acquainted with the true character of the Soviet Union to tell the free world about this terrible menace. The Vice-president of the organization, Mr. Hnat Bilynski, presided over the rally. Dr. P.

Mirchuk spoke in Ukrainian and Mr. Michal Smaily in English. Greetings and good wishes were read by various national representatives.

The rally ended with the adoption of various resolutions dealing with the recent disgusting defamation of the late Simon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian State (1918-1921), by the French television.

The hall in which the rally was held was decorated with the banner of the A.B.N. and with watchwords in Ukrainian and English. The rally was attended by countless Ukrainians and members of other nationalities living in Philadelphia.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolutions

adopted by the Anti-Bolshevik Mass-meeting held on March 16, 1958 at Ukrainian Hall, 847 N. Franklin St. in Philadelphia, Pa.

1. The long experience of the United States and of the free world in general has proved that it is not possible to attain a lasting peace in the world through the policy of appeasement or of "peaceful coexistence" with Bolshevik-Moscow and with world Communism, but solely through the policy of total destruction of the Russian Bolshevik empire, which is the source of mortal menace to the free world.

2. This goal could be reached:

a) by the recognition of the Western Powers, and United States in particular, of the rights to independence of the nations enslaved by Moscow;

b) by the severing of economic and cultural relations with USSR;

c) by applying a thorough blockade of USSR;

d) by cooperating with the officials of enslaved nations in the free world and aiding the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain in their striving for liberation;

e) by the severing of all relations with the Russian emigré organizations which support USSR, directly or indirectly, and being imperialists, have not abandoned their policy toward dominating the world and refuse to recognize the right of the nations enslaved by Moscow to their independent nationhood;

f) by breaking off all relations with the Moscow Orthodox Church since it is closely collaborating with the atheistic Russian Communist regime as its tool, and is assisting it in destroying other religions and moral traditions;

g) by replacing the present delegations of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the United Nations with representatives of independent governments of these nations.

3. In general, we are of the opinion that the hope of some political circles of the Western Powers that USSR is undergoing at the present time an evolution toward democracy, has no real foundation. De-stalinization and a momentary "thaw" were forced upon Red Moscow by the internal and external situation in USSR following the death of Stalin. At the present time Khrushchev is growing to be a new dictator who is returning to the previous terroristic regime, notably within the territories of the enslaved nations. Lenin's slogan "one step back in order to take two steps forward" is meant to mislead not only the enslaved nations, but similarly the whole free world.

4. The so-called "National Communism" in Yugoslavia and Poland, as well as in some other countries, is self-contradicting and calculated to deceive the free world. The Russian Bolshevik center was compelled to recognize it but temporarily, since it is unable to subdue it in the present international situation. These "National Communists" will never give up their collaboration with red Moscow, for thus they would destroy the basis of their existence. Their playing between East and West merely serves to ease Moscow's subversive activities in the countries of the West and brings fatal results of imagination amid the naive circles of the West.

Russian Imperialism and the Problem of the Peoples Enslaved by the Soviet Russians

Continued from page 13

time was the same as it is nowadays. At present, almost all the Western countries recognize the Soviet Union and its satellite states and are eager to engage in trade with them as far as the so-called "non-strategic materials" are concerned. But what is the dividing-line between strategic and non-strategic materials? Nobody knows. It is generally admitted that wheat and agricultural machines, for instance, are just as much military strategic materials as for example tanks or uranium, from the ore of which atomic energy and atomic bombs can be produced.

All protests in this respect on the part of the enslaved nations to international organizations, to the effect that such a questionable trade with the Bolsheviks must cease, have, we regret to say, met with no success. And this, unfortunately, also applies to the numerous protests made by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), which represents all the peoples subjugated by Red Moscow.

I should like to stress the fact that the Western world remains silent, even in the face of such terrible tragedies as East Berlin and Budapest. It was only the Soviet Russian "Sputnik" that had a certain effect on the political mentality of the free world. And this "Sputnik" epoch ought to make the free world think carefully about the erroneous policy which it has pursued so far with regard to the Soviet Russians.

We should, however, not be afraid of Soviet Russia's scientific successes, for it was not the Russians but other nations that invented such things as radar and atomic weapons. The Bolsheviks realized their inferiority in the scientific sphere during World War II, when they were only saved thanks to the very considerable material support which the Western world gave them. We for our part deplore this fact, for, by supporting the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. have helped the Red Russians to enslave about 100 million people of various nationalities in East Europe.

5. The planned "summit" conference of Western Powers with USSR, even if it should be prepared in advance and in detail, may bring a propagandist and political advantage for Moscow, but the West may suffer a loss because red Moscow does not desire, or need, any real peace. What it needs, is "breathing-time" on account of internal difficulties, as well as in order to mislead the public opinion of the West, and to rob the enslaved nations of every vestige of hope to break their fetters and win independence.

6. The signing of an agreement about the so-called "cultural exchange" between the United States and USSR is a great blunder, because it will serve as a perfect occasion for the swarms of Moscow's agents to enter the United States disguised as scholars, technicians, students, artists, singers,

sportsmen and so forth, to perform their task as agents and spies.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is an international organization for the joint struggle against Russian Communist imperialism. It embraces the most active organizations of several national organizations, representing their emigrants throughout the free world. It is combatting Communism and its imperialism in USSR. Up till now it has already achieved great successes in its actions, has made connections within the free world, and is cooperating with numerous anti-Communist forces in the free world.

Having realized their backwardness in the field of science and technicals, the Russian Communists have, however, within a very short time made good this backwardness, and the result has been their technical surprise in the form of a "Sputnik".

Although these Soviet Russian experiments have not harmed anyone except the poor dog in "Sputnik", we should not, however, ignore Soviet Russia's technical achievements, for they may lead to a serious production of inter-continental weapons in the near future. And in that case it would then perhaps be too late to prevent the catastrophe.

Conference of Ukrainian Political Parties in Melbourne, Australia

DECLARATION

On the 23rd of February, 1958, a Conference of Ukrainian political parties and organizations was held in Melbourne, Australia. The following were represented:

1. The Ukrainian National Council (UNRada)
2. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad (ZCz OUN)
3. Ukrainian Royalist Movement (SHD)
4. Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP)
5. Ukrainian Socialist Party (USP)
6. Ukrainian National Union (UNDS)
7. The Federation of Ukrainian Associations (SUOA)

The subject under discussion was the provocative conduct of the Russian imperialistic group "Narodno-Trudovoj Sojuz" (NTS) which usurps the right to speak for the Ukrainian people. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

1. The representatives of Ukrainian political parties and organizations in Australia strongly protest against the conduct of the Russian group NTS and other Russian parties and organizations, which do not recognize the right of the Ukrainian people for a Ukrainian Sovereign State.

a) The NTS or any other Russian organization has no right to speak for the Ukrainian people. This right belongs exclusively to the Ukrainian organizations in the free world, which accept the principle of a Ukrainian Sovereign State.

b) The so-called "Ukrainian Liberation Movement" supposedly representing the will of the Ukrainian people is a fictitious organization created by NTS and consisting of a few irresponsible people, who have no support among Ukrainians.

c) The Ukrainian people proclaimed the independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Republic by the State Acts of January 22nd, 1918, and January 22nd, 1919. Under the leadership of a democratically elected government the Ukrainian people fought for three years against the Red and White Russian aggression, thus proving that it does not consider itself as a people of Russia.

2. The representatives of Ukrainian political parties and organizations in Australia strongly protest against the use of the terms "Peoples of Russia" or "Russian peoples". There are no Russian peoples, but only one Russian people, and non-Russian peoples, such as Ukrainians and others, who are enslaved by Russia, and who are continuously fighting for their national independence.

By refusing to accept the principle of national sovereignty for the peoples of the USSR, the NTS is strengthening the positions of the Kremlin rulers.

3. After enslaving many countries of Europe and Asia, Russian imperialism is attempting to dominate the countries of Africa. Russian chauvinistic imperialism will only cease to be a danger to the world when the Western Nations actively support the subjugated peoples of the USSR in their struggle for national independence.

From Behind the Iron Curtain



Several refugees who have recently succeeded in getting through the Iron Curtain state that German experts who constructed the long-range rocket are living in Sukhum. They number about 170 persons and include the famous expert, Baron Manfred. It is interesting to note that the newspaper "The Red Star" (No. 16, 1958) officially stated that Baron Manfred had been deported to the USA.



The Kadar government has executed Major Palinkas Antal, who liberated Cardinal Mindszenty in Felső-Petény and took him to Budapest in his armoured car.

There is still a strong Russian occupation force in Hungary. Prior to the liberation revolution there were 4 Russian tank divisions stationed in Hungary; now there are 10 such divisions. In addition, there are also numerous Russian air force units in Hungary and thousands of Russian soldiers are being trained there. About 160,000 Russian soldiers are stationed in Hungary at present, that is to say 1 Russian to 50 to 60 Hungarians.

The damage caused as a result of the Hungarian revolution amounts to 22 million forint. The Russians prevented the complete collapse of Hungary by advancing a loan of 1 milliard roubles. The other satellites have also had to help Hungary.

From 1959 onwards, Hungary will again have to contribute her share towards the Russian colonial exploitation system, which, incidentally, behind the Iron Curtain is designated as "mutual economic support".

Hungary is controlled by a Russian military administration. All orders and decrees are simply issued to the Kadar government either by General M. I. Kosakov, the commander of the Occupation Army, or by the chief of his general staff, General Jegerov. The government only has one task, — to carry out the Russian orders or to pass them on as Hungarian government decrees.

All the chief posts in the Ministries and even in the less important Hungarian administrative departments are held by officials of the Russian military administration, as the Russians do not trust any of the Hungarians.

There is no independent, internal, political life whatever in Hungary.

Radio Budapest reports that the Russians intend erecting a monument in honour of the "immortal Soviet" in Budapest again. Instead of the Stalin monument which was pulled down, they are going to put up a Lenin monument this time.

It is further reported by Radio Budapest that someone has stolen Ducio's famous painting on wood, "Esiás Profet", of the 16th century, from the Primate's Museum in Esztergom.

As a result of the predatory economic system of the past twelve years, 40,000 acres of forest land have been destroyed in Komitat Nograd.

To a foreigner who visits Budapest, life there appears to be extremely busy and active. There is a great deal of traffic; the shops are full of goods, and the cinemas, theatres and restaurants are crowded. But a foreigner does not see the internment camps and prisons which are full of innocent persons; and, as an outsider, he will not be aware of the indescribable discontent of the people, their hatred of the Russians, their distrust of the West, their bitter feelings and their poverty, etc.

The masses in Hungary cannot buy the goods on display in the shops; they cannot even afford to buy the most essential foodstuffs.

Actually, one does not see many Russian soldiers in the streets, but as soon as there is the least sign of any unrest the streets are filled immediately with soldiers and tanks.

A foreigner visiting Budapest will not be aware of the fact that the Hungarians at present live from hand to mouth and are poorer than they have ever been. Indeed, a Western person will find it

difficult to visualize such poverty as theirs. The average wage people in Hungary earn amounts to 1,000 forint, that is 50 Deutsche Mark a month.

One could write volumes about what is only outward appearance and what is reality and truth in Hungary.

*

Deportation of Hungarians who are accused of having taken part in the Hungarian revolution in 1956 to northern Russia continues. In June 1957, over 10,000 Hungarian workers were deported to Russia, allegedly only for six months' internment in concentration camps. This period has now elapsed, but the Hungarian deportees have been informed that they are to remain in the concentration camps indefinitely.



Gomulka has warned the Polish miners not to demand higher wages in 1958, since the present state of the Polish economy does not permit an increase of this kind. Gomulka suggested that they would be able to save if they cut down their living expenses.



The compulsory collectivization of the agriculture of Slovakia is rapidly progressing. During the period from January 1st to March 4th this year, over 24,000 farmers in Slovakia were forced to join the kolkhozes. This means an average of 400 new kolkhoz workers per day. During the same period, 107 new kolkhozes were set up in Slovakia. The total number of kolkhozes there has thus increased to 2,179 with a total acreage of 1,271,007 hectares. By March 3rd this year, the Communist regime had thus achieved the collectivization of 58.1 per cent of agriculture in Slovakia.

The chief organ of the Communist Party in Slovakia, the Bratislava "Pravda", admits that anonymous letters are constantly being sent to the editor, which express the opposition of the Slovak population not only to the Communist system, but also to the artificial and compulsory state structure of Czecho-Slovakia. The editor of the "Pravda" is highly indignant at the fact that the writers of these letters praise the free Slovak Republic.

The well-known Slovak writer, Milo Urban, who after the war was placed under police surveillance because he was known to be a supporter of the idea of national independence for Slovakia and who was not allowed to continue his literary activity, was recently forced by the Communist dictatorship to write a novel attacking the Slovak Republic. Pressure was brought to bear upon him, he was threatened and coerced. He had to alter the manuscript of the novel, which he was forced to write, several times in order to make it conform to the directives of the Communist Party, before the Communist propagandists finally decided that it was ready to go to print. Despite the fact that he was forced to negate his own personality and past completely in this novel, which was published in Bratislava under the title of "Extinguished Lights", it has been reviewed fairly unfavourably by Communist critics. The author is reproached with not having criticized the Slovak Republic and its former representatives sharply enough.

Urban's latest novel is not the only "novel" attacking the Slovak Republic which has been published under the "People's Democracy" in Slovakia. On previous occasions and also this year various other "novels" have been published, in which the main tendency is to defame the independent Slovak state and its former representatives, but none of these novels have been written by such a well-known writer as Milo Urban, but by Communist dilettantes.

Attacks directed against the Slovak emigrants are becoming more and more frequent in the Communist papers in Slovakia. Scurrilous and defamatory attacks are directed in particular against the

former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic, Professor Dr. F. Durcansky. Professor Durcansky, who now lives in Munich, is the President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee and also the President of the Peoples' Council of the A.B.N. The Communist press in Slovakia resorts to every type of lie and intrigue in order to defame and discredit him, the Slovak Liberation Committee and, in fact, all the Slovak emigrants. It even goes so far as to attack American citizens of Slovak descent who, like the Slovak emigrants, support the idea of national freedom and independence for Slovakia.

The following is a typical example of one of these many abusive attacks by Communist propagandist circles. In its edition of February 14, 1958, the Bratislava "Pravda" published an article which bore the sensational title "Who Stole the Gold Reserve of the Slovak State?". The author of the article tries to make out that this gold reserve was in the possession of some Slovak emigrants, who by now have used it up for their own aims, and that the Slovak emigrants are now quarrelling about this embezzled "treasure" or rather about the little that is now left of it. Actually, the gold reserve of the Slovak Republic, which was worth about 20 million dollars, fell into the hands of the Prague "People's Democratic" government after the war, and this "treasure" was the only gold reserve of the forcibly re-established state structure of Czecho-Slovakia! It was thus with the theft of Slovak gold that the Red government of Prague and the so-called state of Czecho-Slovakia, which it represented, began its administration. And now, almost th
Communist
thieves hr
stop thief!"



The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan was held in January this year in Ashkabad, the capital of Turkmenistan. In the course of the Congress it was stated that work on the cotton collective farms had recently been somewhat unproductive. In a lengthy speech the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan stressed that the Party authorities should intensify Party control over the collective farms.

The newspaper "Kasakstanskaya Pravda" (Nr. 21) reports that construction has begun on a new strategic railway in the country. This railway is to connect Sintzian (Red China) with the chief town of Kazakstan, Alma Ata. Many of the workers engaged in building this railway, who only arrived in Kazakstan recently, have allegedly declared of their own free will that they wish to settle down in Kazakstan permanently. During construction of the railway a film is to be shot which will later serve as a historical document propagating the "friendship" of the Chinese and the Soviet population.

It is planned to cultivate 14,235,000 hectares of land in Kazakstan in 1958 in order to enable the newly organized Soviet collective farms in the hitherto uncultivated areas to deliver 1,000 million puds (1 pud = 16 kilograms) of crops to the state authorities. An additional 277,000 hectares of hitherto uncultivated land will have to be cultivated in order to satisfy the demands of the state. The newspaper "Kasakstanskaya Pravda" states that the harvest in the newly cultivated areas was very poor in 1957 and that the grain crop was destroyed by drought and insect pests. This fact was, incidentally, confirmed by the newspaper "Pravda" in its edition of January 21, 1958. At a conference of the directors of the newly created Soviet collective farms it was stated that the average harvest in 1957 amounted to 6 cwts per hectare (that is to say, a very poor crop). Only a few labour brigades managed to harvest 8 to 9 cwts from one hectare. The Minister of Agriculture of the Soviet Union, V. Matskevych, delivered a lengthy speech at the conference, in which he stressed that in 1958 more emigrants would be coming to Kazakstan. Hence, the deportation of the non-Russian peoples that are subjugated by Moscow and, above all, of the Ukrainians will continue in 1958, too.

According to the "Kasakstanskaya Pravda" (No. 16, 1958), the River Ural and other rivers in Ka-

zakstan are drying up very rapidly since huge areas of the virgin lands have been cultivated. This is the reason why the shoals of fish in the rivers of Kazakstan are rapidly getting less and less. The newspaper pointed out this fact to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

UKRAINE

The factory at Kuybishev in the district of Khmelnytskyi recently turned out a considerable number of automatic pneumatic hammers which were then exported to India, to meet the needs of a metallurgical combine there that is managed by Red Russian engineering experts. The electrical engineering works in Sutyskovo, which makes electric motors for cars, recently manufactured a large number of spare parts for motor cars, motor cycles and motor trucks and these were exported to Roumania, Albania, Red China and Hungary.

The newspaper "Komsomolska Pravda" (No. 29, 1958) reports that many of the young persons and grown-ups employed in the factories and pits in the Donets Basin have ceased attending evening school. The reasons for this are an excessive amount of work during the daytime, poor wages, the fact that the workers are overburdened with social duties in various voluntary societies, the lack of school textbooks and untenable conditions in general.

It was reported by Moscow Radio in January, 1958, that layers of the metal titanium had been found in South Ukraine. These strata are so abundant that the metal can be raised very easily. In this atomic age titanium, which melts at a temperature of 1.8 degrees Centigrade, is very important to Moscow, especially for the construction of long-range rockets.

According to the Five-Year plans for Ukraine, 8 million tons of petroleum are to be raised by the end of 1965, instead of the 981,000 tons raised in 1957. In this respect the leading part will be played by the petroleum industry in the area of Stanislaviv, where the new layers of Dolyna are located.

According to a report in the "Robitnycha Hazeta" ("Workers' Gazette"), a scientific expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union has discovered rich layers of sulphur in Rozdil. At present, a sulphur-industry combine is being hurriedly erected there, as well as a large settlement for workers. It is planned to produce sulphuric acid there, which is needed for the armament and chemical industries of the USSR.

The "Robitnycha Hazeta" (No. 29) also states that the reserves of iron ore at Kryvorizhzhza are gradually being exhausted as a result of bad management. Larger deposits have been discovered at a considerable depth, but raising of the ore in this case involves various difficulties. For this reason, two huge combines are at present being erected in Kryvorizhzhza. At the same time, new pits are being opened up in order to accelerate the exhaustion of the iron ore reserves there.

A museum for the flora and fauna of the Black Sea has been opened in Sevastopol (Crimea). Incidentally, it is interesting to note that there is a Russian biological station but not a Ukrainian one in the Crimea, despite the fact that this country was taken from Ukraine by Moscow and then "presented" to Ukraine again in a solemn ceremony! The new museum is controlled by Moscow, not by Kyiv. The independence of Ukraine which was proclaimed by Moscow with so much fuss is thus merely fictitious.

During a Party conference of the Crimean region which took place recently, a speech by the First Secretary of the regional committee, Komiakov, was discussed. In the course of the discussion the activity of the regional professional organization was severely criticized. It was further stated that the workers are unwilling to take part in the social competition in many of the enterprises and in the Soviet industrial concerns, and that the directors ruthlessly violate the contracts concluded between the workers and the administration. In numerous cases this violation is even supported by the professional unions, which, it was said, have done very little towards furthering cultural and ideological instruction and training amongst the workers.

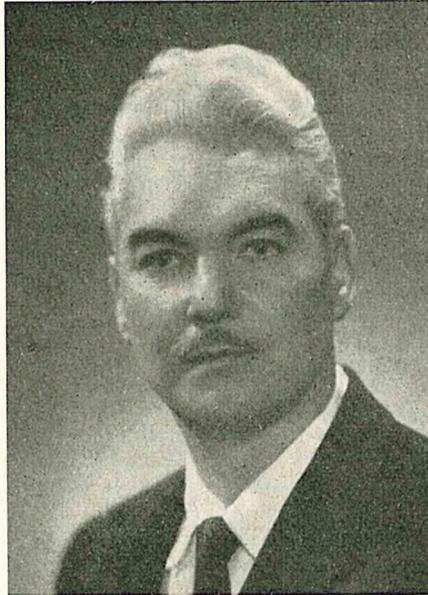
BOOK-REVIEWS

Milan D. Shijachki: *The Red Mata Hari*. A novel based on actual events in Yugoslavia during World War II. Illustrated Exposition Press, New York, 1957. 357 pp.

The events of World War II were especially tragic in Yugoslavia, where the Russian Communists found excellent spies among the inhabitants of this southern Slavonic state, who did not hesitate to betray their own native country in the name of so-called world Communism, which, incidentally, is merely a camouflage for Red Russian imperialism all over the world.

In this book Dr. Shijachki, a loyal Serbian patriot, gives an account of the life and career of Vera Pesic, a lovely Serbian, who was a Communist spy par excellence, and he has succeeded in painting a true and authentic picture of this fascinating young woman. He also explains Vera Pesic's background as one of the reasons that prompted her to accept the Communist ideology. She was "the illegitimate daughter of an unscrupulous erstwhile harlot who rose to undercover power in Balkan politics".

Vera Pesic was, indeed, the Red Mata Hari, for she succeeded in establishing contact with the leading men



of the Nazi occupation authorities in Yugoslavia and obtaining secret material. Men such as Dr. Karl Kraus, chief of the German secret police (Gestapo) for the Balkans, became her lovers and virtual slaves. Incidentally, she later married Dr. Kraus, in spite of the fact that she had become unquestioningly at the orders of the Party. General Bader, Nazi Commandant of Serbia, Tasa Dinic, Minister of the Interior of the quisling government of Serbia, and Major Radoslav Djuric, an important Chetnik officer, were none of them able to withstand the physical wiles of Vera Pesic. But in spite of all these liaisons, she remained "true" to the Communist leader, Milivoje Perovic, who plays an important part in the present hierarchy of Tito.

Other prominent men, famous and infamous alike, are also depicted in Dr. Shijachki's book, as for instance Hitler, who described Vera Pesic as the "most meritorious National Socialist of the Balkans", and Himmler, General Mihailovic and Tito. According to the author, Tito on one occasion told Vera Pesic that she would become "immortal in the glorious tradition of the great Anna Pauker".

In the introduction to the book the author gives us some typical details of the life of this evil woman, namely that she was the product of her mother's love affair with a Bulgarian officer whilst her husband was away at the war. According to the author, "in young Vera's rebellion against the stigma of illegitimacy can be traced her ultimate rebellion against society. Moreover, in her mother's policy of pure expediency and unscrupulous opportunism she found the pattern for her own personal ethics —, and these ethics coincided most gratifyingly with those of the Communist Party".

When she was eighteen, Vera became one of the most prominent members of the Yugoslav Red underground. She remained a loyal Party member all her life and became one of the most successful spies for international Communism that history has ever known. Her admirers rightly called her the "Red Mata Hari". Vera Pesic attained power "through her monstrous machine fed by three sources: Communist brains, Nazi power and quisling obedience."

Though she was the wife of Dr. Karl Kraus, the organizer of the quisling puppet government in Serbia, Vera at the same time remained the secret mistress of her one real lover, Dr. Milivoje Perovic, the commanding officer of the Communist units of Jablanica and Toplica. On the whole, however, she took other lovers as Party purposes required. During her love affair with Radoslav Djuric, one of Mihailovic's leading officers, she played her part so cleverly that she succeeded in becoming a trusted political and tactical adviser of Il. M. British Military Mission that was attached to the Yugoslav Resistance Forces.

Vera Pesic intentionally stirred up the German occupation forces in Yugoslavia against the national resistance forces (the Chetniks), in order to weaken the national underground forces and strengthen the Yugoslav

red partisans who were fighting the Chetniks. She compiled lists of traitors to be imprisoned and executed, and did not hesitate to give the names of hostages who were also executed.

It was due to her insidious plotting and scheming that the valiant and patriotic Chetniks, deserted by the Allies and exposed to heavy attacks by their red enemies, were compelled to disband in the spring of 1945.

The national tragedy which ensued was the result not only of the external attack carried out by the Nazis, but also of the internal betrayal which was inspired by the Russian Communists. And the leading person in this tragedy was the unscrupulous Serbian spy, Vera Pesic, whose evil character can best be seen from her words: "There is a medicine for everything when you know the type of sickness. To some, a little lie is enough; to others a bitter pill; many will be calmed only with lead . . . And for me, there won't be a last day without a combination of all these medicines" . . . (p. 95).

Vera had been working systematically and tirelessly on General Bader in an attempt to help Perovic's Communists against the national forces, especially as the Yugoslav government-in-exile in London had meanwhile promoted Colonel Mihailovic to the rank of General and made him Minister of War, thus officially recognizing and supporting the Serbian national forces. In the end, however, the national forces captured the Red Mata Hari and shot her. But her death came too late to remedy the dreadful devastation which she had caused.

Those who would like to know more about the intrigues of Russian and international Communism, which aims to overthrow the social order all over the world by Red Russian global imperialism, as indeed the tragic events of World War II have clearly shown, will find this book well worth reading.

We should above all like to stress that the author gives an excellent picture of social and political conditions in Yugoslavia during the war, of the extremely difficult position of the Serb and Croat population, of the insidious methods used by the Communists to stir up strife amongst the Serb and Croat population and of the Communists' successful attempts to play off people against each other.

Prof. W. Oreltzky

"La Revista Croata" ("Hrvatska Revija"), Buenos Aires, 1957.

The Croat refugees scattered all over the world continue their struggle for the liberation of their native country, Croatia. They are not willing to accept the Communist Titoist regime which has been imposed on Croatia. The Croat emigrants who have settled in South America and, in particular, in Argentina publish a "Croat Review" ("Hrvatska Revija"), a lavishly illustrated magazine, in which the illustrations depict the life of the Croat people at home and abroad. The leading articles of this magazine are frequently published in Spanish for the purpose of enlightening the South American peoples on the aims of the Croat liberation struggle against the Yugoslav Communist rule of Tito in Croatia. Some of the writers who regularly contribute articles which appear in the "Croat Review" are non-Croats, as for instance Yakiv Hnizdovsky, the Ukrainian writer, who lives in Paris, and others.

The "Croat Review" contains articles on various topics, as for example world events, recent political events in Croatia, the role of Croatia in world politics, the economic system in Croatia, art and other cultural aspects of Croat life. In addition, it also contains poetry and book reviews, etc.

A particularly interesting publication by the "Croat Review" is the book "Pod Tschuzim Nebom" ("Under the Foreign Sky"), a collection of Croat emigrant poetry of the period 1945-1955. This book was published by Vinko Nikolic in Buenos Aires in 1957 and contains poems by many of the Croat poets who were obliged to leave their native country owing to political events in Croatia after World War II. On the whole these poems are written in a pessimistic and mournful strain, but they are nevertheless incomparable as regards their spiritual quality and value. Like the "Croat Review," this book, too, is lavishly illustrated.

We should like to congratulate our Croat friends on the above-mentioned publications, since we know what insurmountable difficulties they are obliged to confront when publishing such excellent works.

Prof. W. Oreltzky

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The Common Front of the Fight for Freedom and Liberation

The problem of the common fight of the free and enslaved nations against Communist tyranny and domination, especially against Muscovite imperialism, found its first practical manifestation in the Conference for the preparation of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation, which took place on March 20-25, 1958, in Mexico City, Mexico.

The Preparatory Conference was called jointly by the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was invited to active participation.

Representatives of the following international and national organizations took part in the Conference:

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League representing anti-Communist organizations from 14 Asian countries (Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, President).

The Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent representing organizations from 20 countries of the Western Hemisphere (Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, President).

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) representing the liberation organizations of 20 nations (Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, President).

Committee of Information and Social Action, representing anti-Communist organizations of 12 nations (Mr. A. B. Gielen, Secretary-General).

The following countries were represented by separate delegations: Free China, South Korea, South Vietnam, Pakistan, Argentina,

I. Bilinsky); Ukrainians in Argentina by the Ukrainian Inter-Organizational Committee (Delegate: M. A. Rubinez). Hungarians were represented by the Hungarian Liberation Movement (Delegate: Dr. S. Sandor); Latvians were represented by the Latvian National Federation in Canada (Delegate: H. B. Atoms) and Czechs were represented by Delegate: Dr. V. Laska.

tives of various delegations then greeted the Conference.

The second plenary session was held on March 21st. In the meantime, a Programme Commission had already got to work under the guidance of Admiral Botto. It was the task of this Commission to fix the exact agenda of the Conference, to ascertain which delegations were present and to which organi-



Left to right:
Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko,
Admiral Carlos Penna
Botto, Dr. Jorge Prieto
Laurens



Mr. Ku Cheng-kang

Brazil, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Cuba, Mexico, the U.S.A. and Western Germany.

The national organizations of Ukrainians, Hungarians and Czechs from different countries were also represented. Ukrainians in Canada were represented by the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (Delegates: I. Boyko, M. Sosnowsky); Ukrainians in the United States by the Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine Inc. (Delegate:

The American Friends of ABN and ABN-Canada were represented by separate delegations (Delegates: Dr. N. Prozyk, W. M. Bezchlibnik).

In the Conference over 50 delegates took part, together representing 65 nations: 44 from Asia and Australia, 15 from Europe and including Israel, Japan and South Africa, 22 nations from North and South America, and 12 nations enslaved by Moscow.

The purpose of the Conference, which was headed by the presidium composed of Admiral Penna Botto, head of the Inter-American Confederation, from Brazil, the secretary-general of this organization, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, from Mexico, and the president of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang of Formosa, was to lay plans, the political principles and the platform and basic foundation for the establishing of statutes, resolutions and a program, on the basis of which will be organized and carried out the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation in October of 1958, in one of the European countries.

The Conference considered these problems for five days. The preparatory work took place in separate commissions, and later at the general sessions these preparations were discussed and projects of the commission were approved.

The first plenary session on March 20th began with the initiators of the Conference defining their attitude to the aims and tasks of the Conference and of the intended World Congress. In short speeches the representa-

tions they belonged, and to determine their rights and the order of voting. After an exchange of opinions had been held, all the delegations invited were conceded the right to vote on all the questions which were to be dealt with by the Conference.

On the same day, the delegates took an active part in the celebrations held to mark the anniversary of the introduction of political and social reforms in Mexico by the President at that time, B. Juarez, and placed a wreath on the tomb of the Mexican national hero.

During the afternoon session the programme of the Conference which had been submitted was accepted and two commissions were set up, — the organizing and the political commissions. At the same session the date of the World Congress was also fixed. It is to be held on October 23, the anniversary of the Hungarian revolution. Three capitals were suggested as the place at which the Congress should be held, — Ankara, Lisbon and Athens. The final decision is to be left to the Committee.

The Saturday session was devoted to the tribunal of the organizing commission, which submitted the results of the preparatory work of the Congress, membership, etc. The Conference then determined the exact designation of the World Congress. It is to be called the "Anti-Communist World Congress for Freedom and Liberation". In addition, discussions were also held regarding the budget, the amount of the various items in the budget were fixed, and the various delegations were instructed as to their obligations.

In the evening the political and statutory commission continued its work. It was the task of this commission not only to determine political principles, but also to draft the basic statutes and regulations, in particular with regard to the Secretariat-General of the Executive Committee and to the seat of the Secretariat-General. During the work of this commission various differences of opinion arose concerning certain statutory and political ideas.

During the night from Saturday to Sunday, the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), **Jaroslav Stetzko**, arrived in Mexico. He immediately took part in the work of the Conference and attended the fifth plenary session. To begin with, he outlined the principles of the ABN in a short speech and was thereupon invited by the President of the Conference to join the Praesidium.

During the fifth plenary session, the programme of the political and statutory commission was submitted to the delegates, and a lively discussion ensued. There were two groups in this discussion; some of the delegates were of the opinion that the Conference and the Congress should only be conducted from the aspect of the fight exclusively against international Communism as a force which seeks to destroy the democratic freedoms. The ABN delegates opposed this opinion and branded Communism as the tool of Soviet imperialistic Russia, which seeks to dominate the whole world.

The majority of delegates took a lively part in this discussion. The speakers on behalf of the ABN and Ukrainian Delegation were **Jaroslav Stetzko**, **Bilinsky**, **Bezchlibnik**, **Sosnowsky**, **Rubinez**, **Duschnyk** and **Prozyk**. After the well thought-out argument expounded by the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, **Jaroslav Stetzko**, voting was carried out with an overwhelming majority in favour of the ABN. To a large extent the victory of the idea of freedom and national independence for the subjugated peoples was due to **Admiral Carlos Penna Botto** and the Secretary-General, **Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens**, who, with political far-sightedness, a true sense of justice and genuine understanding of mankind, wholeheartedly supported the idea of the liberation of these peoples and the restoration of their independent states. They were supported in their views by the other members of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, by the German delegation and by other noble-minded members of the Conference.

Towards the end of this plenary session,

General J. F. Fuller On The National Idea

"... the stressing of national freedom, without which there can be no peace in the world... The underground movements have intensified and are intensifying psychological warfare by substituting ideas for bullets in the mortal conflict against Bolshevik Imperialism. Also that it is faith and not force, heroism and not economic security, which are the mainstays in a struggle in which there can be no compromise... Only the unity of the Western nations and their agreement with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain can ensure final victory. This will take time, and until the West realizes that the mightiest of all weapons is the national idea, the flag of liberty must be kept flying by the subjugated nations and peoples. They are the Jeanne d'Arc in the enormous struggle of Freedom against Despotism. Once in the fosse of Orleans, Jeanne cried: "Be ready, when the flag-end of my banner touches the boulevard". And, when it did so, her doubting soldiers shouted: "Jeanne, it touches it!" Thereupon she called back: "All is yours — enter!" So may it be with the doubting West, led by these who, having suffered most, have dedicated their lives to freedom."

two further commissions were set up, — the nomination and the Convocation commissions. **Jaroslav Stetzko** was elected as president of the Convocation commission, which is to draft the platform of the intended Congress.

In the evening of the same day, the members of the Conference were the guests of the Mexican delegation, headed by the Secretary-General, **Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens**.

On Monday, the plenary session adopted the proposals of the nomination commission with regard to the setting up of the Steering Committee with fifteen members and the secretariat-general. The former Governor of the State of New Jersey, **Mr. Edison**, was elected President. The Steering Committee further includes the following members:

Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, Asia; **Dr. L. George Paik**, Asia; **Mr. Nguyen Huu Thong**, Asia; **Admiral Carlos Penna Botto**, Latin America; **Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens**, Latin America; **Dr. Sergio Fernandez Larrain**, Latin America; **Mr. Frith Cramer**, Europe; **Mr. George Dallas**, Europe; **Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko**, ABN; **General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak**, ABN; **Mr. Charles Edison**, U.S.A.; **Dr. Lev Dobriansky**, E.E.UU.; **Mr. Marvin Liebman**, Secretary-General, New York; **Mr. Salvador Diaz Verson**, Secretary, Cuba; **Mr. Francis McNamara**, Deputy Secretary-General, Washington.

ABN President greets the Conference

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) I have the pleasure and honour to greet the Preparatory Conference of the Anti-Communist World Congress — on the hospitable soil of Mexico, the scene of one of the oldest civilizations and cultures of the world; and I do so with all the more satisfaction, since the Secretary-General of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, **Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens**, during his stay with us in Europe showed that he was a true and sincere friend of our revolutionary fight for freedom and independence, who holds the same views as we do.

We trust that this Conference in Mexico will become a historical turning-point in the universal anti-Communist fight and will lead to a union of the aims of the free world with those of the nations subjugated by Russia and by Communism, namely on the basis of the recognition of the rights of every nation to its national state independence, in particular as regards the nations incarcerated in the Russian Bolshevik peoples' prison. May Mexico become a symbol of freedom for all the nations of the world! This would be in keeping with its great tradition in the fight for freedom and independence. May the statue of Freedom, which we gaze upon in this illustrious capital, become a symbol of freedom and independence for all the nations of the world after this Conference! May the resolutions which are passed here arouse the enthusiasm not only of the free nations of the world, but, above all, of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, who are waiting for wholehearted support — on the part of the free world — of their fight for freedom and independence against enslavement and tyranny!

It is imperative that the free nations become conscious of the superiority of their moral, cultural and social values as compared to the regressive system of Communism, which is a means of Russian colonialism.

It is imperative and high time that a universal movement was started, a movement of resistance against the infiltration of Communist ideas, against the depreciation of the highest values of the free world, the values based on the organic and spiritual elements of every nation, — of every religion, tradition, social reform and universal freedom of the individual.

It is imperative that the faith of the free communities in the highest values of life should be

Regional Secretaries:

Latin America: **Mr. Ernesto de la Fé**, Havana, Cuba; **Europe:** **Mr. Alfred B. Gielen**, Bonn, Germany; **Asia:** **Mr. Inamullah Khan**, Karachi, Pakistan.

On Monday evening, the Chinese Embassy in Mexico held a big reception for the delegates, to which the members of the Corps Diplomatique in Mexico were also invited.

The last plenary session was held on March 25th. On this occasion the communique drafted by the press commission was approved. The Convocation commission read out its programme which was unanimously accepted. (The text of the programme was published in the "ABN Correspondence", No. 5/6, 1958.) The principles of the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism as a world menace are clearly defined in this programme.

At the end of the Conference, concluding speeches were made by various delegates. The speakers on behalf of the international delegations, the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), were **Mr. Ku Cheng-kang**, **Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens** and **Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko**.

M. Sosnowsky

re-awakened, that they should be mobilized to protect the eternal values of mankind which are endangered, and that a leading intellectual class should be called into being, which in every nation should take the initiative in preserving the eternal values of mankind and of its own nation intact and should represent the idea of the liberation of the subjugated peoples in the common fight against Russian colonialism and its means of power — Communism.

It is imperative that all the free peoples of the world should be made to realize the terrible danger of Russian imperialism, which uses Communism as its means of power and which, as long as it continues to exist, will not desist from its predatory policy of conquest until it has conquered the whole world.

The cunning tactics of the Kremlin as regards the so-called peaceful coexistence must be unmasked, for its aim is to lull the vigilance of the free nations in order to crush them unexpectedly.

The inseparability of the interests of the free and of the subjugated world in their common fight against Communism must be stressed, and the fact that the subjugated nations are merely left to fight their unequal struggle against Bolshevism alone, must be opposed.

The free world must be made to realize the vital significance of the fight for freedom of the subjugated nations as regards the defense of the civilization and freedom of the whole world, for these nations are preventing the Soviet Russian offensive against the nations that are still free.

The common ideological and political principles of the anti-Communist fight of the free nations and of the nations subjugated by Russia and by Communism must be formulated.

The basic principles for a joint political strategy and liberation idea must be drawn up, and a co-ordination centre of the liberation policy must be formed, namely as regards the cooperation of the national revolutionary organizations of the nations subjugated by Russia and by Communism with the anti-Communist organizations of the free world.

There must be wholehearted, including military, support on the part of the free world for the revolutionary fight of the nations subjugated by Russia for their freedom and their national and state independence.

There is no other way of avoiding an atomic war but to take an active part in wholeheartedly supporting the revolutionary fight of the subju-

Political Statement

Adopted at the Preparatory Conference for the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION, held in Mexico City, March 20-25, 1958:

The delegates to the Preparatory Conference for the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION, representing 65 nations, after deliberating and discussing the means and ways of combatting the totalitarian Communist threat and, after adopting a series of resolutions calling for a convocation of a WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION, which in turn will promote the cause of the final liberation of all enslaved nations and peoples now living under the heel of the totalitarian Soviet Russian imperialism and Communist regimes directed from Moscow, do unanimously adopt the following statements:

I. Appeal to President Eisenhower of the United States of America

The United States of America, as one of the principal leaders of the free world must vigorously exercise its moral and political leadership which has been seriously endangered by the abandonment of Hungary's fight for freedom a year and a half ago. Therefore, we respectfully appeal to you as a great champion of freedom and of the fundamental principles of your great country, which are freedom and self-determination for nations, to hold fast the standards of international decency, which do not allow bartering away of other peoples' lives or their freedom and independence, for temporary gains and opportunistic expediency. Our concern for missiles and atomic weapons today should not throw us off our balance regarding the frightful realities existing under the Communist domination in Europe and Asia, where the enslaved peoples are fighting and dying for the cause of freedom and independence.

We pledge, subscribe to and support an enlightened policy of liberation as enunciated by you and responsible officials of the United States Government, with specific stress on national self-determination and independence of all nations enslaved by Russian Communist imperialism and its subservient puppets, and also a policy directed at assisting all free nations in dealing with domestic Communist infiltration, and thus preserving their freedom.

It now becomes apparent that another meeting of the heads of the United States, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union, is imminent. Such a meeting is being generated by the vast propaganda machine of the Russian Communists who are endeavoring to stampede the leaders of the free world into another "Summit Conference". The resolution to hold such a "Summit" meeting was adopted at the recent meeting of Communist leaders in Moscow, which they believe would serve as another step in their drive to psychologically disarm the West and to further Communist aggression everywhere.

The Russian tactical campaign of threats and intimidations is accompanied by a skillfully planned drive which offers the West "peaceful coexistence" as the only alternative to further Russian Communist aggression through atomic warfare. None other than Nikita Khrushchev stated in his address in Minsk a few weeks ago that one of the conditions of such a new "Summit" meeting would be the acceptance of the *status quo* as it now exists, by the West. Thus, the West is being now

ABN President greets the Conference (From page 2)

gated nations, and to do so with the firm resolve to take the risk of an open war upon oneself, if needs be!

The Moscow centre of conspirators must be opposed by a centre of the joint action of the free world and the subjugated nations, on the basis of the just ideas of the independence of the nations, the freedom of the individual, social justice and preservation of religion.

It is in this spirit that I greet the Preparatory Conference and wish it every success.

Jaroslav Stetzko, President.

invited to extend *de facto*, if not *de jure* recognition to Russian Communist occupation of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia. It is patently evident that the leaders of the Kremlin are seeking such a meeting in order to force such a recognition from the statesmen of the free world.

We, therefore, believe that the free world can gain nothing from another "Summit" meeting, inasmuch as Moscow has convincingly demonstrated time and again what little faith it has in any meetings and conferences with the Western powers. But such a new "Summit" meeting would,

nations enables them to concentrate their industry more on the production of war materials.

Large-scale trade in such goods enables the Soviet Union to blackmail free nations and obtain political concessions from them by threatening to suddenly cut off such trade and thus disrupt their economics.

Trade of all kinds is used by Communist states who are also trying to drive free world representatives out of certain markets and areas with the obvious intent of weakening them economically so that they can be more easily subverted by domestic Communist Fifth Columns.



Left to right: I. Bilinsky, Dr. J. P. Laurens, J. Stetzko, Eng. E. Hernandez, M. Sosnowsky.

on the other hand, enhance the prestige of the present Soviet Russian leadership not only in the eyes of the so-called neutral and non-committed nations, but in the eyes of the enslaved nations of Europe and Asia, which would see in such a meeting a final approval of their enslavement by the West.

Finally, a new "Summit" conference would pave the way for a policy of "peaceful coexistence", which entails the acceptance of the present political *status quo*, which is in Soviet Russia's favor and in the interest of the international Communist movement. Such a policy would surely lead to the final and irrevocable surrender to Russia, with the ultimate result of Communism dominating the entire world.

Therefore, we, the delegates to this Preparatory Conference for the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION must regard a new "Summit" meeting as a scheme of Moscow to disarm the West, and we call on all anti-Communist organizations the world over to oppose most vigorously these maneuvers of Moscow.

II. Trade with the Communist Bloc

Communist trade is Communist aid. Economic and trade warfare is just one aspect of the TOTAL WAR Communism is waging against the free world, but it is a most important one. Communist victory in this phase of the struggle will pave the way for Communist victory in all other fields — political, psychological and military.

All materials, including those not directly associated with the waging of military warfare, are strategic in the cold war.

The shipping of consumer goods to Communist

These facts make it apparent that the free world, for its own protection, must take the offensive in the economic trade war with the Kremlin. It must do all in its power to drive Communist states out of all world markets and to weaken the Communist bloc by depriving it of vital materials of all kinds.

It is ridiculous to give weapons to one's enemy in any battle. But the free world, through trade with the Communist bloc, is doing just that at the present time. Moreover, with the passing of each year, it is giving more and more aid through trade to Communist nations. It is now considering a further loosening of its already seriously weakened embargo on trade in strategic materials with the Soviet bloc.

The Preparatory Conference for the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION deplores such action and calls upon the free nations of the world, as soon as feasible, to end trade of all kinds with Communist nations.

III. Exchange Delegations

During the past two years the Kremlin has opened up a new offensive in the cold war — a so-called cultural offensive. Its aim is to disarm the free world by having carefully selected Soviet artists impress various peoples with the cultural achievements of the Communist world. Moscow hopes that the attention of the free peoples will thus be diverted from Communism's continuing crimes against humanity and its gross violations of accepted standards of decent behaviour in international relations.

Also, under the guise of removing the Soviet-imposed iron curtains, Moscow is exchanging with

Working Program

for the Convocation of the World Congress, adopted unanimously by the Mexico City Preparatory Conference

Realizing that the speedy convocation of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation is the prerequisite for the early establishment of a World Anti-Communist League for Freedom and Liberation to further consolidate the anti-Communist forces of peoples the world over, in our combined efforts to deal a blow to the aggression of the international Communist movement directed from Moscow and to guarantee freedom to all nations and to promote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we hereby adopt this working program for the convocation of the Anti-Communist World Congress:

I. Establishment of Preparatory Organs

1) To carry out the preparatory work of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation effectively, the Preparatory Conference shall set up a Steering Committee to be made up of eleven members, elected by the Preparatory Conference, to be fully responsible for all preparatory work for the Congress. The Steering Committee shall elect one of its members as Chairman, and two as Vice-Chairman.

2) The Preparatory Conference shall establish a Secretariat with a Secretary-General, to be

elected by the Preparatory Conference, who will be responsible for carrying out the decisions of the Steering Committee, and shall elect a Deputy Secretary to work with the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General will maintain liaison between Steering Committee members, members of the Preparatory Conference, and other anti-Communist organizations throughout the world and will carry out all necessary measures to ensure the success of the Congress. The Secretary-General shall organize, as finances permit, his own staff, to help him conduct his duties.

3) In addition, the Preparatory Conference will elect three Regional Deputy Secretary-Generals to assist the Secretary-General in maintaining international liaison.

4) The Steering Committee shall hold its meetings according to its own decisions. The Committee shall be available for emergency meetings on the call of the Secretary-General.

5) The Secretariat shall be located in the United States.

II. Date and Location of the Congress

1) According to unanimous decision of the Preparatory Conference reached on March 21st,

1958, the date of the Congress will be October 23rd, 1958, the second anniversary of the Hungarian uprising. It is understood, however, that the Steering Committee retains the option to change this date if circumstances indicate such change.

2) According to unanimous decision of the Preparatory Conference reached on March 21st, 1958, three countries were suggested as the most appropriate location for the Congress: Turkey, Portugal, Greece. It was further decided that final decision on the location of the congress should rest in the hands of the Steering Committee and be based on the cooperation of the Government concerned and consideration of current circumstances.

III. Communication with Anti-Communist Organizations and Individuals

1) The Secretary-General will proceed in making contact with the anti-Communist organizations of different nations and areas (such as Hongkong, Macao, etc.) without further delay. All member units attending the Preparatory Conference have the obligation to introduce the Secretariat to these anti-Communist organizations.

IV. Charter and Regulations of the Anti-Communist World Congress

1) The Preparatory Conference will adopt general principles which will govern the Charter of the Anti-Communist World Congress.

2) The Secretary-General will draft the Charter and submit it to the Steering Committee for their consideration.

3) The Steering Committee will make any amendment it believes appropriate.

4) The final draft of the Charter will be submitted to the full Congress for discussion and adoption.

V. Expenses and Budget

1) The estimated six month *minimum* budget for the Secretariat is US \$ 12,000.

2) It is of vital importance that this sum be guaranteed the Secretary-General if he is to fulfil his responsibilities. It is likely that the initial expenses of the Secretariat will be greater than the minimum estimate, but it will be the responsibility of the Secretary-General and the Steering Committee to meet these additional expenses from outside. To give all delegates of the Preparatory Conference the opportunity of sharing in these initial financial obligations, the following formula is adopted and all delegates pledge to abide by it:

a) Each multi-national organization represented at the Preparatory Conference will be responsible for a contribution of US \$ 750 each.

b) Each organization represented and voting at the Preparatory Conference will be responsible for a contribution of \$ 350 each.

c) The Secretary-General will be responsible for raising 35% of his budget or US \$ 4,200.

3) All multi-national and national organizations should do their utmost to make their contribution available as soon as possible and to indicate when their contribution may be expected at the Preparatory Conference. Contributions should be received no later than forty-five days after conference adjournment.

4) All Anti-Communist organizations and individuals *not* attending the Preparatory Conference will be given the opportunity of sharing initial responsibility by making a contribution to the Secretariat.

5) All delegates to the Preparatory Conference as sponsors of the World Congress shall be invited to participate in it with right of voice and vote in the same.

The Mexico City Preparatory Conference adopts this working program in full knowledge of the great responsibilities and with full confidence in the Steering Committee and the Secretary-General. All organizations represented pledge their full support to the Steering Committee and the Secretary-General in bringing about the convocation of the First Anti-Communist World Congress.

Political Statement (Continued from page 3)

free nations small, selected groups of specialists of various kinds — engineers, doctors, farmers, educators, etc. The purpose of this move is also to disarm the free world by creating the false impression that the Kremlin wants a full and free flow of information between the enslaved and free worlds and the friendliest of relations between them.

The Soviet Union has itself demonstrated — and is continuing to demonstrate — that this is a hoax. It is suppressing within its borders vital news about the free world and, at the same time, is promulgating false and vicious statements about various free nations. In addition, it has not permitted free world visitors access to all parts of the Soviet Union. Its satellite nations are still surrounded and cut off from the free world by barbed-wire barriers, electrified fences and armed patrols. This bespeaks the insincerity of the Communists' declared intention in the exchange program.

All phases of life in the Communist bloc are regimented. They are not free. The Preparatory Conference of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation therefore considers it violative of the high principles of free men to exchange delegations with Communist nations as long as this condition exists. Twice the United States major labor organization, the AFL-CIO, has been invited by Moscow to exchange a labor delegation with the Soviet Union. Twice the AFL-CIO president, Mr. George Meany, has refused, saying he will take no such action until the Kremlin permits the formation of a free trade union movement in all nations behind the Iron Curtain.

The Preparatory Conference of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation endorses this position as in keeping with the high principles all free men should live by. It urges all free nations — and all organizations within them — to adopt this same position on the question of cultural exchanges.

IV. Anti-Communist Refugees

A. Europe.

WHEREAS, there are in Europe today some 200,000 non-resettled refugees from the Communist sphere (this figure not including the ethnic German refugees); and

WHEREAS, each year some thousands of men and women sacrifice everything they possess to escape from Communist slavery to the free world; and

WHEREAS, each refugee who escapes is a living refutation of the Communist lie; and

WHEREAS, the refugees who escape have been encouraged in many cases by the promise of freedom which is implicit in Western propaganda broadcasts; and

WHEREAS, so long as this refugee backing exists, new escapees face the prospect of having to wait for years in the frustration and emptiness of camp life before they find an opportunity to migrate; and

WHEREAS, the proper reception of the refugees by the free world enhances its moral prestige and strengthens its position in the cold war — while inadequate reception plays into the hands of the Communist redefection agents; and

WHEREAS, a group of prominent Americans, all private citizens, having come together in the Zellerbach Commission on the European Refugee Situation, and having examined the refugee problem have arrived at the conclusion that a determined effort, similar to the international effort on behalf of the Hungarian refugees, could liquidate the problem in short order;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this Preparatory Conference for the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION urge the free nations to convene a conference for the specific purpose of planning a concerted attack on the residual refugee problem in Europe; and that it further urge the free nations to accept the refugee problem as a collective Western responsibility; and finally, that it urge them to make dispositions assuring the proper reception and speedy resettlement of the thousands of refugees who will every year escape to freedom — until the peoples today enslaved by Communism achieve their liberation.

B. The Far East.

WHEREAS, there are in Asia millions of freedom-loving people who have fled and are fleeing from Communist tyranny and have been separated from their families and relatives behind the Iron Curtain without means of livelihood and deprived of all moral and material assistance, NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this Preparatory Conference to the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS FOR FREEDOM AND LIBERATION urge the free nations to convene a conference for the specific purpose of planning a concerted attack on the refugee problem in the Far East; and that it further urge the free nations to accept the refugee problem in the Far East as a collective Western responsibility; and finally, that it urge them to make dispositions assuring the proper reception and speedy resettlement of refugees who escape to freedom — until the peoples today enslaved by Communism in Asia achieve their full liberation through the reunion of these divided countries.

Principles Governing the Organization of the Congress

In view of the fact that Communism is an evil ideology which militates against human nature and destroys the culture of the human race and of the fact that under the leadership of Soviet Russia the International Communist Movement is collectively making political infiltration, economic penetration and military aggression against the nations and peoples of the free world to achieve its ultimate objective of world conquest and enslavement of the entire human race, we, freedom-loving, democratic peoples of the world, will, for the purpose of ensuring and restoring national independence, freedom and democracy, and for the liberation of subjugated peoples from Communism and Russian imperialism, as well as for the effective destruction of the international Communist movement directed by Moscow, unite to form a World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation of all the races, nationalities, countries and creeds. Our supreme objective is to unify our programs, coordinate our work, and take progressive, concerted action directed against our common enemy.

In order to achieve our sacred objective, we, the delegates to the Preparatory Conference for the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation, held in Mexico City, March 20-25, 1958, from Central, South, and North America, Asia, Australia, Europe, and the Middle East, unanimously adopt these principles governing the organization of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation, and clearly state our pledges, program, and important principles, as follows:

I. Our Pledges

We believe that the erroneous theories of Communism, preached by the Communists for more than a hundred years, and the crimes and atrocities perpetuated under a Communist regime constitute a grave threat to the freedom of mankind and the security of the world. We further believe that unless we eradicate the Communist ideology and system, the entire human race will be destroyed by them. With such beliefs in view, we pledge ourselves:

A. To oppose the erroneous views of Marxism which exalts materialism, negates human nature, and stresses class struggle; and to express our deep faith in the dignity of the individual, the value of moral principles and mutual assistance and cooperation of mankind.

B. To oppose Communist totalitarianism, enslavement and imperialist aggression; and to support democratic government, sanctity of human rights, and the right to national independence, equality, and self-government of the different nations.

C. To oppose despotic, tyrannical Bolshevism and its atheism; and to cherish complete freedom in all scholastic research and expressions, and in religious beliefs.

D. To oppose the Communist system which monopolizes all the instruments of production, interchange, transportation and means of livelihood; and to uphold the belief that the human race can build a peaceful, prosperous world only on the foundation of free economy, free enterprise and free means of making a livelihood.

E. To oppose most vigorously the so-called "peaceful coexistence" with Communism and reject such policies as neutralism, disengagement and appeasement; and to reaffirm

that between freedom and slavery there is no possibility of coexistence and neutrality.

II. Our Proposals

In accordance with the above pledges, we propose the following:

A. We appeal to the different governments to expedite the creation of a united Anti-Communist front, to expand and consolidate all the regional Anti-Communist defense systems, to form a single unified system and to take unified action for the achievement of a common objective.

B. We should endeavor to convince the different governments and peoples of the necessity of taking measures for the prevention of, and for combatting Communist infiltration and subversion, for the outlawing of the Communist Party, and for the suppression of all the Communist activities, open or concealed.



Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, the Secretary-General of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent.

C. We expose the evil designs of Communist imperialism which seeks to expand Russian colonialism in the guise of nationalism. We strongly advocate national self-determination and equality of all the nations so that the enslaved peoples may all gain independence, and self-government in accordance with their aspirations.

D. We appeal to the governments of the free world to proclaim the Universal Declaration of Freedom for the nations of the world, a Declaration which would reject every form of imperialism and which would express the ideals and principles of national independence, personal freedom, and social justice in keeping with the noble teachings of religion, and the great traditions of international cooperation.

E. We urge the different governments to improve the livelihood of their peoples, strengthen economic cooperation among themselves, refuse to trade with the Communist bloc of nations, sever diplomatic relations with them, and to extend financial and technical aid to the under-developed areas to counter the economic penetration from the International Communist bloc.

F. We urge the different governments and peoples to promote cultural exchange and

mutual understanding in order to counter-attack the spread of the poisonous Communist ideology.

G. We should unite all the righteous forces in the world to render all the necessary moral and material support to the Anti-Communist liberation movements behind the Iron Curtains in Europe and Asia and closely unify all the Anti-Communist forces both inside and outside the Iron Curtains with the ultimate objective of liberating and restoring national independence, freedom and liberty to all the enslaved peoples on their ethnic territories.

III. Principles for the Organization

The World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation shall be organized in accordance with democratic principles, the important points of which are as follows:

I. The Congress is to be composed of the national and regional Anti-Communist organizations in the world.

2. In a country or region where there are two or more Anti-Communist organizations which wish to be represented jointly in this Congress, they may merge to become a single entity or form a liaison body while each retaining its own identity. The participating organizations should jointly elect a delegation to the Congress with the understanding that they should all share the responsibilities and privileges. The delegation shall have one vote only.

3. Recognized international Anti-Communist organizations which are composed of two or more countries may become members of the Congress. Such an organization shall have one vote only.

4. The highest authority of the Congress is vested in the General Assembly of the Congress which is composed of delegates from all the member units. Each member unit shall have one vote only.

5. When the General Assembly is not in session, the functions of the Congress shall be executed by the Executive Council, members of which shall be elected by the General Assembly. There shall also be a General Secretariat, which under the direction of the Executive Council shall carry out the decisions of the General Assembly and the Executive Council.

The Preparatory Conference for the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation empowers the Steering Committee to prepare a list of prominent leaders of the free world to be invited to become honorary patrons of the World Anti-Communist League for Freedom and Liberation.

From Convocation adopted by Mexico Conference

Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism with the clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international Communism and Russian imperialism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, now existing in the form of the so-called USSR and satellites, and the re-establishing of national independent states in the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and/or Central Europe and Asia.

AGENDA

I. *The Government of the Soviet Union directs and controls the International Communist Movement.*

- a) International Communism in Theory.
- b) International Communism in Practice.
- c) The policy of Imperialism and World Revolution of Soviet Russian Government.
- d) Methods used by the Russian Communist Party aiming at Infiltration and Domination.
- e) Expansion of Soviet Russia to-day.
- f) The Soviet Russian Empire is already at war (undeclared) against the Free World.

II. *Red Mainland China and the International Communist Movement in Asia.*

- a) Role assigned to the Chinese red government in the International Communist Movement, as a puppet of Russian Imperialism.
- b) The Communist offensive in Asia to-day.
- c) Possibility of the United States going "neutralist" and imminence of grave consequences?
- d) Free China's armed power as a big asset in the anti-Communist struggle.

III. *Offensive of Soviet Russian Imperialism in Free Europe, Africa and in the Middle East.*

- a) In Germany. Absolute need of an army in Western Germany. A divided Germany is absurd and atrocious.
- b) In Italy. Co-existence with the Soviets and its danger.
- c) In France, Spain and Portugal.
- d) In England. The mercantile policy of the pound sterling.
- e) In Turkey, anti-Communist stronghold.
- f) In Egypt, Syria and the Arabian world.

IV. *The enslavement of nations by the Soviet Russian government.*

- a) The Baltic captive nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.
- b) Other captive nations: Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania.
- c) Poland and Yugoslavia as particular cases. National Communism.
- d) The non-Russian nations incorporated in the Soviet Union: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, etc.

V. *Soviet Russia's offensive in Asia through Red China.*

- a) In Mainland China: the Communist regime to-day.
- b) In Free China (Republic of China). The stronghold of Taiwan.
- c) In Japan. Economic pressure. Japanese help needed in the anti-Communist struggle.
- d) Korea and Vietnam. Unstable half-way solutions.
- f) India's neutralism endangering the whole of Asia.
- g) In Pakistan and the Islamic world.

VI. *International Communist offensive in the Americas.*

- a) Brazil, International Communism's number one target in Latin America, and her vulnerability to Marxism.
- b) Bolivia, already in the throes of a half-Communist regime.
- c) Guatemala, once again facing the Communist threat.
- d) The vicissitudes of Chile and Argentina.
- e) Mexico, general headquarters for the Soviet-Russian propaganda and operations in Latin America.
- f) Uruguay, financial headquarters for the International Communist Movement in Latin America.
- g) Other American countries under Soviet-Russian pressure.

VII. *The highly unsuccessful "United Nations Organisation".*

- a) The UNO's great failure and its action has been detrimental and demoralizing.
- b) Statesmen's lack of political insight. Blunders and mistakes incurred by the Occidental Powers.
- c) The Soviet Union still a member of UNO in spite of having been condemned as unreliable, unworthy and criminal.

VIII. *How to combat the International Communist Movement.*

- A) *Assailing the central bastion — the Soviet-Russian Government.* (To liberate peoples enslaved by Soviet Russia.)

- a) Take full advantage of the critical situation of the Soviet government.

b) Increase demoralized conditions by denouncing "urbe et orbi" the cruelty of forced labour in all countries under Communist rule, which is a hideous outrage to twentieth century civilisation, also the deceitful theories of co-existence and Soviet-Russian peace.

c) Exploit to the fullest extent Communism's ordeal inside the Soviet Union, as evidenced lately by the cynical Khrushchev speech down-grading Stalin; by the cruel smashing of Hungary in her heroic struggle for independence; by the recent purges of five outstanding members of the Soviet Presidium; and by the false propaganda made to quiet down discontent in subjugated nations and lure the people into submission.

d) Exposure of the provocative meddling of the Soviet Russian government in Egypt and Syria and the stirring up of trouble in South-East Asia, the Far East and Latin America.

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

e) Expose the new tactics now used by the Soviets, specially in colonial and economically less developed countries, based on the false meaning of nationalism.

f) Use strong and persistent *offensive* against the Soviet-Russian government and puppet Soviet regimes in subjugated nations, psychological, ideological and material in character, backed up by force.

g) Carry out a thorough fight for the "human rights" and the "democratic principles" as well as national independence.

h) Protect emigres against the so-called *re-education campaign*, explaining to them the false and tricky appeal for *repatriation* made by the Bolsheviks.

i) Create and maintain in fully efficient condition a strong anti-Communist army in Western Germany, which might successfully react under the first impact of the Russians in case of a declared war.

j) Maintain always in complete readiness NATO plans (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) for either a "short of war" situation or an all-out declared war with Soviet Russia.

k) Further extend and develop the recently enacted "Eisenhower Doctrine", so as to make it possible to apply it to any nation asking for protection when facing Moscow threat or aggression.

l) Lend decided moral, psychological, ideological, material and military help and support to the national liberation movements. That help to be made available through NATO and other Pacts or Institutes of the Free World, should be pushed to the "short of war" point — and that would probably be enough — or to all-out war if imperative.

m) Act likewise towards all free and willing governments whose duty and responsibility call for repelling the Communist offensive.

n) Expel the Soviet Union out of the *United Nations Organisation*.

o) Disrupt diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet government, as diplomatic immunity serves them as cover for sabotage, blackmail, subversion, criminal activities, espionage and so forth.

p) And finally, as the best way to defeat *wrong ideas* is to have *sane ideas* to oppose them, let us arm ourselves with a superior concept, which we have, and which is the concept of *real democracy* and let us use it as a shield against hateful and enslaving Communism.

B) *Assailing the Red Chinese bastion — the Peiping Government.* (To liberate peoples enslaved by Communists in Asia.)

a) Keep and maintain in fully efficient condition the Armed Forces of Free China (Taiwan) — sea, ground and air forces.

b) Proceed likewise concerning the Japanese Armed Forces.

c) Attack the Red China mainland with armed forces based in Taiwan, in order to help and support the insurgent liberation movements whose military operations must conform with those of European insurgent liberation movements mentioned in VIII (A). Landing craft belonging to the Seventh United States Fleet are to care for the transportation of troops across the Formosa Strait.

d) Attack simultaneously Northern Korea, Manchuria and the Russian positions in the Sachalin Islands, using the Japanese armed forces.

C) *Repelling the Soviet offensive against Latin America.* (To preserve free peoples from future Communist enslavement.)

a) Outlaw the Communist Party in every one of the Latin American countries. Liquidate the Bolshevik agents and the leaders of the so-called fifth column.

Stop the covert and overt Communist activities of said Party. Demolish the subversive machinery, the revolutionary outfit, rigged up by the Communists.

b) Disrupt diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet Union and Communist governments. Do the same with Red China.

c) Convince UNO to act against Soviet meddling with free countries, and insist on having the Soviet Union thrown out of the Organisation.

d) Protect youth from insidious propaganda.

e) Stamp out the Communist press, open or underground.

f) Enlighten people as to Marxism, theory and practice, and take every care to raise the *standard of living* of the masses.

g) Execute *Resolutions* approved in Washington (4th Meeting of Consultation of America Foreign Ministers, 1951), and at Caracas (10th International American Conference, 1954), all aiming at fighting the International Communist Movement.

h) Keep a healthy democratic climate in every nation, under a capable well-meaning, upright and honest government, with freedom wisely conditioned but without losing sight of the rights, prerogatives and dignity of the human being.

i) Denounce and explain the new tactics based on *nationalism* and *co-existence* resorted to by the Soviet Union to stir up unrest and subversion, fool the peoples and gain time.

j) Lend every possible help to those who, in Bolivia, strive hard to counteract the Marxist offensive which has resulted, according to the findings of the *Investigating Committee* nominated by the "Third Congress Against Soviet Intervention in Latin America", in a very dangerous situation.

D) *Repelling Soviet or Red China offensive against all other free countries.* (To preserve free peoples from future Communist enslavement.)

a) Outlaw the Communist Party in every one of the countries concerned and carry out items mentioned under (C) above, with the exception of g) and j).

IX. *How to improve the living conditions and destroy the foundations of Communist propaganda in the less advanced countries.*

a) To recommend to the governments of less advanced countries to adopt the plan to raise the living standards and win the cold war, that was approved at the 2nd Congress Against the Soviet Intervention in Latin America.

b) To recommend to the governments of the less advanced countries to invite the author of the said plan to deliver a series of lectures in their countries to make known said plan in all its details.

Jaroslaw Stetzko

Subjugated and Free Nations in a Co-ordinated Freedom Campaign

In order to be able to fight Russian imperialism and Communism successfully, *it is necessary to unite the efforts of the subjugated and of the free nations in a single co-ordinated and systematic freedom campaign*; for Russian imperialism, which world Communism nowadays serves, directs the subversive campaign in the entire free and enslaved world through its centre, the Kremlin.

On the other hand, however, there is no world centre for the co-ordination of the anti-Communist campaign of the free world and of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and by Communism, neither with respect to support for the revolutionary liberation movement in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, nor as regards the co-ordination of the anti-Moscow campaign with the national political organizations in exile, which are the representatives of the fight for freedom of the subjugated nations.

There are two trends in the anti-Communist fight in the world: on the one hand, the uncompromising line which definitely rejects any possibility of a "peaceful coexistence" with Russian imperialism and International Communism and, accordingly, fights for the complete annihilation of Bolshevism and for the disintegration of the Russian-Bolshevist peoples' prison into independent national states within their ethnical frontiers, and, on the other hand, the efforts of most official circles in the free world to find some common "modus vivendi" with Moscow and its satellites. The numerous uncompromising anti-Communist organizations of the free world are endeavouring to change this wrong attitude on the part of the official circles of their peoples, for it is an attitude which is undermining the force of the anti-Bolshevist fight of the subjugated nations; but it remains a decisive fact that the subjugated nations are concerned almost exclusively with the practical policy of the said Western governments and with the consequences of this policy, as for instance the failure to support the Hungarian revolution.

And the so-called psychological war, in the concrete sense, too, is determined by the governments of the free nations and is adjusted to the status of the relations existing between the independent states or the Major Powers and Moscow. Thus, the psychological war by no means corresponds to the prospects of a large-scale campaign, which would destroy Bolshevism by disintegrating its Soviet Russian bulwark into independent national states, but solely aims to check Bolshevist and other Communist aggression and to arrive at a compromise with Moscow.

In view of this situation, it is impossible for the Western Major Powers to find a basis for cooperation with the national revolutionary liberation forces of the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism. The aim of the subjugated peoples is not merely to check or curb Bolshevist aggression, still less to establish "Titoism" in Poland or Hungary or to liberate the so-called satellite states alone, but, above all, to liquidate Communism-Bolshevism in the U.S.S.R. itself, too, and to disintegrate the U.S.S.R. into independent national states with a democratic form of government.

A precondition for the co-ordination of the anti-Communist fight of the free states and of the subjugated nations must be *agreement on the aims of the fight*, as well as the co-ordination of the practical plans of the liberation movement and of the war, the mutual dependence of these two factors on each other, and the mutual assistance of the free and the subjugated nations against their common enemy. The representatives of the national revolutionary liberation organizations should therefore be treated by the Western powers as *contracting parties* and not as agents.

In order to win over the subjugated peoples to the side of the West and in order to gain their confidence, the free states of the West must definitely adopt a positive attitude towards the aims of the fight of these peoples and must actively support the latter's fight for freedom. The decisive active force of the revolution rests with the individual, who carries on his fight against Rus-

sian imperialism and inhuman Communism in the name of the highest national and human ideals. The revolutionary process must liberate both the people and also the individual from the power of the Communist regime and must make them both become conscious and active fighters for freedom and right. This process must deprive the entire mechanism of Soviet Russian power — including military strength, too, — of its force. Soviet military science will be paralysed if the men who are responsible for and engaged in this branch cease to carry out the orders of the Bolshevist regime and, united in their revolutionary campaign, direct this same military science, in which they are firm, to the destruction of the headquarters of the Soviet Russian occupants and aggressors and those of the executive and fighting units under the command of the latter.

The most important thing, therefore, is to win over the *soul* of the individual. This can only be achieved by *ideas* for which *men*, as members of their *nations*, live, suffer and fight. Without a definite and clearly crystallized system of ideas there can be no victory for the anti-Communist fight behind the Iron Curtain.

Practical Support of the Anti-Communist Revolutionary Fight

It is necessary in particular to take into account the possible practical and effective support of the anti-Communist revolutionary fight by the free world; for this is the precondition for a genuine victory over Bolshevism. Apart from manifestations of sympathy towards the ideas of the revolutionary fight for freedom, the latter must also receive practical assistance and must gain genuine allies for the common fight.

Whereas the forces of the subjugated peoples which are striving for national independence regard the problems of the war and of the national revolution as the two factors which, in the event of their mutual co-ordination, are most likely to bring about the overthrow of Bolshevism, these problems are considered in an entirely different light by political circles in the West. There, interest in a possible anti-Bolshevist revolution in connection with the problem of war is concentrated on the question of whether such a revolution would safeguard the West against a Soviet offensive. Inasmuch as certain circles in the West allow themselves to be swayed by their wish to avoid a war, they regard the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia merely as a factor which hampers the Bolsheviks and prevents them from starting a large-scale war; these circles affirm that the situation which is acting as a brake on Bolshevism has been caused by the fact that the fight for freedom is already absorbing the attention and the means of power of the regime, and, further, that the danger of a revolution flaring up in the Soviet world once a war is started, is in itself a brake.

But it is precisely this dread of a war with the U.S.S.R. and the wish to avoid it at any price that is the factor which constantly paralyses the policy of the West towards Soviet Russian imperialism and robs it of initiative and determination in all the vital problems of the present international situation. And it is precisely for this reason that various possibilities, as mentioned above, are not made use of, — the possibilities of the cooperation of the anti-Bolshevist fight for freedom of the enslaved peoples and the Western states in their efforts to stop the further expansion of Russian imperialism.

The joint action of the external anti-Bolshevist forces and aims, on the one hand, and of the internal forces which are active in the territories of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, on the other hand, would, if sufficient effort were made, lead to the annihilation of Bolshevism and also of Communism as a whole, that is to say to the abolition of enslavement for the one and the elimination of a constant danger for the other. For this reason the common fight of the peoples enslaved by Moscow and of the states which are still free but are

already threatened by Bolshevist aggression is just as much a necessity for the one as for the other.

As far as the states of the West are concerned, the anti-Bolshevist revolutionary fight is as weighty a helping factor and good reason to destroy Soviet Russian imperialism as their war against the U.S.S.R. for the fight for freedom of the enslaved peoples would be. The conscious and clear-sighted use of such an occasion by the one partner as well as by the other would consist, above all, in the fact that, if both partners went into action simultaneously, the forces of the enemy would be split up into two fronts, an internal and an external one. In this respect neither the one partner nor the other would need to take altruistic motives into account; a sound national instinct of self-preservation, provided that it is coupled with a correct comprehension of the situation, would suffice in this case, together with the inevitable historical necessity which makes it imperative that the fight should be taken up against Soviet Russian imperialism and should be conducted with the greatest possible effort on the part of all forces until an ultimate victory is gained.

If the Western powers support the fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Moscow with all the means at their disposal, they will be able to free themselves from the Bolshevist danger at a considerably less price than they would be forced to pay when the U.S.S.R. itself is in a position to force them to choose between war or capitulation. But any support on the part of the West can only be completely successful if it is given on the strength of a firm decision, namely to let the cause of freedom be victorious and to annihilate Bolshevism-Communism by every possible means. The risk of a war and Bolshevist threats must not prevent the West from giving the revolutionary fight of the subjugated peoples its active support; for if Soviet Russian imperialism should confront the Western powers with the unavoidable prospect of a military clash, then it would be better for the West to take up the fight in a situation which is more favourable for it, that is whilst the Bolsheviks are still engaged in dealing with another front, namely the internal front, rather than to wait passively until Moscow itself chooses the most favourable time and opportunity to settle up with the West. In any case, an armed conflict on the grounds of active — or even armed — Western support of the revolutionary fight behind the Iron Curtain would be less dangerous and easier to bear for the West than a conflict forced on it by Bolshevist aggression; and in particular as regards the use of the so-called super-modern weapons, Bolshevist efficiency and strength in this respect would, in the event of an external conflict connected with the anti-Bolshevist internal liberation movement, at least be considerably impaired, since the military scientific mechanism can be paralysed soonest by revolutionary campaigns within its own camp. From this point of view the anti-Bolshevist national revolution may actually afford the West considerable chances to evade a Bolshevist atomic offensive or to suffer to a far less extent in this case, — but, of course, only provided that the Western powers wholeheartedly support the national revolution in every way and, if needs be, take upon themselves the risk of a military clash with the U.S.S.R.

The aims of the Anti-Communist World Congress shall be as follows:

a) to formulate the ideological and political principles of the anti-Communist fight of the free nations and of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and by Communism, and, by its ideas, to start a universal movement of resistance against Communist infiltration and against the depreciation of those values of the free world which are based on the organic and spiritual elements of every nation, religion, tradition, social reform and the universal freedom of the individual;

to bring about a rebirth of the faith of free society in the higher values, as for instance in the idea of the nation, in a spiritual and social culture born of the national mentality of the peoples;

to mobilize the free communities for the protection of the eternal values of mankind which are endangered, and to call into being a leading intellectual class, which in each nation by its united efforts should take the initiative in preserving the eternal values of mankind and of its own nation intact and should represent the idea of the liberation of the subjugated peoples in the common fight against Russian colonialism and its means of power — Communism;

b) to make all the free peoples of the world realize the unavoidable danger of Russian imperialism and colonialism, which uses Communism as its means of power and which, as long as it continues to exist, will not desist from its predatory policy of conquest until it has conquered the whole world;

to expose the cunning tactics of the Kremlin as regards the so-called "peaceful coexistence", the aim of which is to lull the vigilance of the free nations in order to crush them unexpectedly at the opportune moment;

to stress the inseparability of the interests of the free and of the subjugated world in their common fight against Communism and to emphasize the terrible danger which threatens the free world

(UPA) and giving a prognostication accordingly as to the future form which this fight will take, both in the event of a cooperation with a joint action on the part of the free world and without such cooperation;

e) together with the emigrants of the nations subjugated by Russian Imperialism and by Communism, to put up a resistance against Communist infiltration and the subversive activity of the "Fifth Columns" — of the Communist parties in the free world — and thus expose the latter as an instrument of Russian imperialism and colonialism;

and in this connection to show up the other internal contradictions in the Bolshevist system, taking into account in particular the difference between reality and phraseology, which this system has inherited from traditional Russian imperialism and from the tactics of the latter's predatory policy of conquest;

f) to fight for the exclusion of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites governments from the UN and for the severance of all diplomatic relations with these countries, in connection with which action the UN, by admitting the national representatives of all the nations subjugated by Russian Imperialism and

attack. In addition, this proclamation must also contain an analysis of the present tactics of the Kremlin on the strength of the Russian imperialistic and colonialist tradition, an analysis of the internal crisis in the U.S.S.R. which has been caused by the partial successes of the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples, and a criticism of the policy of concession pursued by the free world and of the vague character of the latter's political aims.

2) "Proclamation to the Subjugated Peoples" — an assessment of the significance of their fight for freedom and of its prospects in a possible common anti-Bolshevist front, an analysis of the present Soviet Russian policy from the point of view of the revolutionary fight for freedom of the subjugated nations, an account of the national struggle in all spheres of life, etc.

3) "Political Resolutions" — directives for the joint anti-Communist campaign, demands addressed to the governments of the free nations, plans of the anti-Bolshevist strategy, decisions regarding the combative means of the common front of the free world and the subjugated nations, plans of the psychological war, prognostications on the possibility of avoiding an atomic war by a universal and military counter-attack (in connection with the development of the revolutionary campaign of the subjugated peoples), criticism of the policy pursued so far by the free world towards Russia and Communism (from the ideological, political, economic and military point of view).

On the strength of the above-mentioned facts, a practical campaign shall be undertaken by the politically and socially interested circles of the free world, namely in the following directions:

1. The setting up of radio stations for national liberation movements (out of private means if the governments concerned cannot be persuaded to do so), in particular in regions which border on the U.S.S.R., its satellites and Red China;

2. financial support for the revolutionary movements behind the Iron Curtain, out of funds donated voluntarily;

3. the founding of a political planning institute for the permanent cooperation of the free world and the subjugated nations;

4. the founding of a propaganda centre for joint action on this side of and behind the Iron Curtain, as well as universal support for the expansion of the propaganda bridge-heads of the national revolutionary organizations of the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism, in the regions bordering on the Soviet Russian sphere of influence;

5. the expansion of the centres of action of the said national revolutionary organizations in the countries which tend to so-called "neutralism" (in the Near East and elsewhere);

6. the expansion of the representative missions of the said national revolutionary organizations in the Far East (namely in South Korea and Vietnam and similar to the mission which already exists in Formosa), for the purpose of effecting a more intensive penetration than hitherto beyond the so-called Bamboo Curtain (all the more so as the principles of the revolutionary liberation campaign in South Korea, Vietnam and Free China tally with those of the subjugated nations in the U.S.S.R. and in the European satellite countries);

7. the founding of a centre for the intensification and expansion of humanistic sciences on the basis of the organic elements of the mentality of the subjugated nations, for the purpose of training an intellectual elite, which could exert its moral and philosophical influence on the younger generation behind the Iron Curtain that has been infected by dialectical and historical materialism;

8. the expansion of publishing activity for the purpose of informing the free world about events and conditions behind the Iron Curtain, as well as the reprinting, in the languages of the free peoples, of illegal anti-Bolshevist publications in existence behind the Iron Curtain;

9. a systematic attack on Communist propaganda in the free world, with the help of trustworthy eyewitnesses and qualified experts from the ranks of the political emigrants of the nations subjugated by Russia and by Communism;

10. the expansion of the existing centres of the trade unions of the emigrant workers of the sub-

(Continued on page 10)



Conference
Members at
Grave of
Mexican
National Hero,
Benito Juarez.

as a result of the "without-me-tactics" which the latter employs, above all inasmuch as the subjugated nations are merely left to fight their unequal struggle against Bolshevism alone;

c) to draw up the basic principles for a joint political strategy and liberation idea, which must be pursued in co-ordination by the free world and the subjugated nations;

to set up a co-ordination centre of the liberation policy, on the basis of the cooperation of the representatives of the national revolutionary organizations of the nations subjugated by Russian Imperialism and by Communism with the anti-Communist organizations of the free world;

d) to influence the governments of the free nations so that they abandon the policy of coexistence, which is being pursued at the expense of the subjugated nations (both in the satellite states as well as in the U.S.S.R.);

in the event of the official circles of the free world continuing to pursue their policy of coexistence, — with the help of the masses of the nations of the free world, to organize a campaign of universal support for the revolutionary fight for freedom of the subjugated nations, without taking into account the tactical measures of the official policy of the governments concerned;

to make the free world realize the vital significance of the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples as regards the protection of free mankind, inasmuch as this fight is preventing Russia and her Communist bloc from carrying out an offensive against the nations that are still free;

to analyse the present situation behind the Iron Curtain on the strength of the fight for freedom of the subjugated nations and to draw conclusions accordingly as regards the development of a joint action on the part of the free and the subjugated nations, in connection with the success achieved so far in this fight for freedom, which the subjugated nations are conducting entirely alone without any support from the free world;

to draw up a historical survey of this 40 years' struggle against Russian colonialism (in its recent Bolshevist form), taking into account in particular the activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

by Communism, must be transformed into an organ of the fight against Russian colonialism and world Communism;

g) to proclaim, in the form of a freedom manifesto, the *Magna Charta of the Independence of Nations*, in which not only the destruction of Communism as a social and political system is to be declared as the aim of the policy of liberation, but also the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium in order to restore the national state independence of the nations subjugated in the U.S.S.R., — Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Caucasian and the Baltic states, etc.

This freedom manifesto shall define the system of positive aims, which will be pursued by the free world in supporting the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the subjugated nations and by the realization of which, after the liquidation of Bolshevism, the free world intends to give assistance to the said nations. The fight is nowadays not being fought between empires for the expansion of their territories, but what is being fought for is the bare existence of the *idea of freedom* and of our civilization and culture as a whole. In view of this fact, the aims of the common anti-Communist fight of the free world and of the subjugated peoples must be based on purely absolute values, — complete freedom and independence for all nations, social justice in the name of higher ideas, and universal freedom for the individual, which can only be realized in an independent, democratic, constitutional state and which is based on the recognition of religious principles, which come into conflict with Communist atheism.

In connection with the above-mentioned freedom manifesto, the following proclamations must be drawn up and issued:

1) "Proclamation to the Free Nations of the World", in which the obligations of these nations towards the subjugated nations must be defined, since the latter by their fight for freedom are preventing the Bolsheviks from carrying out a general offensive, — though the fact must be borne in mind that the Communist danger does not cease to exist, but, on the contrary, continues to grow as long as the free world fails to launch a counter-

Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky

Against Moscow's Provocative Policy Towards Asia

Events show only too plainly that Moscow continues without pause to carry on its offensive to dominate the whole world. Thanks to their central position in the Eurasian continent, the Kremlin despots are able to pave the way for the main attack whenever and wherever there seem to them to be most chances of success. After the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty and the unsuccessful blockade of Berlin, Moscow once more concentrated its attention on the Asian and African continents. These countries are regarded by the autocrats of Russia as the vulnerable spot of the free world. And this was why they carried out an attack on South Korea and threatened Formosa in various ways. But as this danger was eliminated, however, Moscow later began to concentrate mainly on Southeast Asia. The various suggestions put to different parts of Europe regarding neutralization and limitation of armaments have as their sole aim, to secure possibilities for Moscow in Asia.

In various countries the Kremlin is at present showing a preference for the "peaceful" instead of the military offensive. Under the pretext of furthering cultural and economic relations, the Kremlin is promising these countries help and is sending delegations there, as well as thousands of experts and advisers, etc. But all the Kremlin rulers are interested in as regards these countries is Communist infiltration there, winning them over to a neutral attitude and psychologically and politically preparing their subjugation by Communism and their incorporation in the Soviet sphere of influence.

The Fourth Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League was held in Bangkok (Thailand) from April 26th to 30th this year. It was attended by delegates from the following countries: Australia, Burma, Free China, the Philippines, Hongkong, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Macao, Malaya, Ryukyu, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey and Vietnam. The following persons attended the Conference as Observers: the representatives of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky (Slovakian), Munich, W. Kosyk (Ukrainian), Formosa, and W. Lytvyn (Ukrainian), Australia, as well as the editor of the "Rheinischer Merkur", Dr. Franz Herre, who is at present undertaking a several weeks' tour of the countries of Southeast Asia.

In addition to dealing with questions of organization, the Conference occupied itself with current political problems. One of the main subjects of discussion in this connection was the position in Indonesia, since this is regarded as a question of vital importance for the future fate of the peoples of Southeast Asia. All the members of the Conference — with the exception of the Indonesian delegates — described the present President, Soekarno, as a Communist, and the fact that he receives military support from Moscow and its satellites was sharply criticized. It was stated that Moscow would like to turn Indonesia into a military base for its aggressive plans. Considerable alarm and indignation at events in Indonesia was expressed by various members of the Conference.

In the declaration which was adopted, the Conference warned against a summit conference and expressed its views against neutralist trends, against trade relations with Communist countries, against the Asian-African solidarity conference, and in favour of the realization of the union of Korea and Vietnam, support of the liberation struggle in Algeria, support of the anti-Communists in Indonesia and the union of the anti-Communist forces in the free world, and support of the anti-Communist forces behind the Iron Curtain.

In the resolution which was passed it was decided to intensify the activity of the APACL and to extend the scope of this organization to the terri-

In this offensive Moscow has assigned Prague an important role. In connection with a propaganda campaign in this respect, for instance, a Slovak national art ensemble was sent to the Southeast Asian countries in order to create the psychological preconditions for entering into diplomatic relations. Subsequently, namely a couple of months ago, a government delegation from Prague toured these same countries and made extensive promises in the interests of their economic development. A careful study of the final declarations made in this respect reveals the far-reaching political aims which Moscow has in mind as regards these countries. The "colonialism" of the Western Powers is attacked, but not a word is said about the most brutal form of Russian colonialism.

As a result of this Soviet attack on Asia, not only the fate of Europe, but also of the whole of mankind is to a very considerable extent influenced by the attitude of the millions of inhabitants of Asia. It is thus understandable that not only the free but also the enslaved peoples must be interested to a great degree in the success of the resistance against Moscow's activity in Asia. For every increase of Moscow's power means the lessening of the prospects for the liberation of our peoples. Thus, the purpose and significance of the cooperation of the ABN with the APACLROC lies not merely in the theoretical assertion that the freedom of the world is indivisible, but it is an expression of the fact that the mighty enemy can only be conquered by united forces.

tories of the Near East and North Africa; it was further stressed that the APACL would support all efforts to realize the World Congress for Freedom and Liberation and to found an Anti-Communist World League; that it would expose Communist intrigue, would support the economic and cultural cooperation of the peoples of Asia and Africa and the consolidation of their relations with the peoples of the free world, so as to frustrate the aims of the Communists, and would demand the help of the United Nations for those countries which have so far not gained their independence.

The Conference stressed as its main argument that the liberation of the Asian countries enslaved behind the Iron Curtain is possible without a war, namely by supporting the activity of the revolutionary organizations. January 23rd, the day on which 22,000 Chinese and Korean prisoners-of-war liberated themselves in 1954, was declared "Freedom Day". It was pointed out at the Conference that the people behind the Iron Curtain and their anti-Communist fight can be supported in the following ways: 1) by broadcast programmes; 2) by the distribution of leaflets by means of balloons; 3) by the underground preparation and printing of publications. The governments of the free Asian countries must be won over to give their help in the achievement of these aims. The members of the United Nations must likewise be won over to give their active support, in keeping with their Charter, to the enslaved peoples. The APACL is determined to cooperate with all organizations which support the fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, in order, in this way, to achieve the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by international Communism.

In the resolution pertaining to the basic principles of the anti-Communist fight it is pointed out that Communism is the most brutal form of totalitarianism which deprives mankind of all its natural rights and basic freedoms, consistently supports the enslavement of the whole world and thus makes a coexistence between the Communist and the free world impossible. The people of Asia are well aware of the fact that the so-called world revolution is merely another name for world-conquest.

Scottish League Wishes to Take Part in World Congress

(From Mr. Stewart's letter to Mr. J. Stetzko)

The Canadian friends of A.B.N. in Toronto sent me a most valuable and important summary of the Proceedings of the Conference in Mexico. It is a great gratification that the policy we have fought for so long was unanimously agreed upon — that is Sovereignty for each people within its own ethnographical frontiers and the destruction of Russian Imperialism, Red, White or any colour.

I would like to know if a permanent center was established at the Proceedings in Mexico as we would definitely wish to be a Member of any Association, especially as I think we were the first Organisation to adopt this policy.

With every Good Wish and kindest regards to all your colleagues and yourself.

John F. Stewart, Chairman.

P. S. I understand that a World Conference is to take place in Europe in October and we would certainly wish to take part in and be represented at it.

Scottish League Annual Meeting

On April 22, the Scottish League For European Freedom held its Annual General Meeting. During discussion on the League's future work it was stressed that there is the need for vigilance in respect of Russian Imperialism, cloaked in the so-called title of Communism. The League is not merely anti-anybody, but wishes to educate and influence public opinion in the proper direction. Its policy, as always, is surely the only one that is fair and just to everyone, and can give no reasonable ground for jealousy or disagreement — the complete freedom and independence of every European people in its own ethnic territory. Until such a policy is carried out, there is no possibility of peace with justice in the world, and the means of attaining it lies in the true education of public opinion.

During the discussion which followed, Mr. Newman suggested that the League should be represented at General Nordstad's meeting in the Usher Hall in June. This was unanimously approved.

It is perfectly obvious that the Communist organizations all over the world are merely the tools of Moscow and that all the Communist regimes and satellites are merely the means of Soviet Russian imperialism and its Chinese creatures. Communist aggressive policy is at present concentrated on Asia and in order to achieve its aims in this respect, is making use of the possibilities which Red China has to offer; for this reason it is in the interests of world peace that the Iron Curtain in Asia should be destroyed.

The Conference approved the report by Ku Cheng-kang, China, who represented the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League at the Preparatory Conference of the Anti-Communist World Congress for Freedom and Liberation, which was held in Mexico City in March this year. The Conference likewise approved the resolutions and principles which are to be decisive for the convention of the Anti-Communist World Congress and which were laid down at the Preparatory Conference in Mexico City. It was decided at the 4th APACL Conference that the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League is to send a delegation consisting of representatives of all the peoples joined together in the APACL and also separate delegations of all the members to the Anti-Communist World Congress, which is to be convened this year, on the anniversary of the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution, in either Turkey, Greece or Portugal.

A message from the Prime Minister of Thailand was read at the opening of the 4th APACL Conference. On April 29th, a reception was held by the Prime Minister, General Thanom Kittikachorn, in Government House for all the members of the Conference.

The Ambassador of Free China gave two garden-parties for the members of the Conference. Two exhibitions were arranged by the Embassy of Free China to mark the occasion of the Conference, — one showing conditions in Red China, the other showing what life is like in Free China, that is on Taiwan.

D. D.

“The Pack of Wolves from the North” and Their Henchmen

The great Russian imperium has been built up by the “great” Russian people, — on millions of corpses, on the blood and tears of other peoples. Under the old Muscovite Tsars, under the Petersburg Emperors and under Moscow’s Red tyrants of modern times this process of building up the Russian imperium was and still is carried out in one and the same way, though many people in the West — the unseeing and those who have been bribed by Red tyranny — refuse to realize or admit this fact. In their opinion Bolshevism is a “people’s democracy” and judgement should not be passed on it by the peoples whom it has subjugated and decimated, but, on the contrary, Moscow should pass judgement on the peoples who have dared to rise up in revolt against Moscow. In the Nuremberg Trials *Rudenko* was one of the public prosecutors; nowadays, however, if an emigrant representative of the peoples subjugated in the U.S.S.R. asserts his opinion, the entire allegedly anti-Bolshevist Russian emigrant clique immediately proceeds to howl him down. And what is most interesting in this connection is that, when it is a case of defending the indivisibility of the monstrous Russian imperium, national renegades are promoted to the foremost ranks of its protectors, — persons who were born in Ukraine, Poland, Caucasia, etc., and who, with the wrath of a renegade who tries to silence his own conscience, promptly attack anyone who refuses to deny the voice of his native country and his forefathers for “the sake of accursed tithbits”.

One of the renegades — a certain Mr. A. de *Goulewich* — recently attacked the Ukrainian national liberation movement, anti-Russian nationalism and the A.B.N. In his Paris paper “*Exil et Liberté*” (No. 46, 1958), he works himself up into a towering rage against Stephan Bandera and Ukrainian nationalism in general, against the A.B.N., against Jaroslaw Stetzko and Veli Kajum Khan, for instance, and accuses them all of exactly the same deadly sins as the Bolsheviks accuse them of. He naturally appeals to the “conscience of the world”, just as the pro-Bolshevist and Russophil supporters of Schwarzbart, the murderer of Simon Petlura, did recently in Paris. But by his rage A. de *Goulewich* betrays his true motives: all his “noble-minded” appeals to democracy and the conscience of the world reveal the real reason for his wrath against the non-Russian nationalists. And this reason lies

in the fact that these nationalists are fighting for the obliteration of the greatest disgrace of our times, — the Muscovite predatory imperium. In his article he accuses them of terrorism, of massacring Ukrainian farmers in Galicia, of Hitlerism and of exterminating Poles and Jews, as well as of an attempt to assassinate “General” Hulay and of racialism, although it is precisely the Russians who have adopted Hitler’s idea of “racial superiority” and of a “chosen nation”, — in this case the Russian nation. But all this is empty eloquence on the part of *Goulewich*, and the main reason why he gets into such a rage is that the Ukrainians dared to proclaim the independent state of Ukraine in 1941. How could they dare to attack Ukrainian renegades? How could the nationalists dare to affirm that the Russians, who introduced a despotic regime in Ukraine, are not a “great Christian people” and are not “the victims of Bolshevik terrorism” (as *Hulay* stressed)? How could they dare to reproach the Russians with the fact that “the Russian people have not shown themselves capable, either in the past or in the present, of creating a social order which is in keeping with the demands of human dignity, or will be capable of creating such an order in the future”?

How could the nationalists dare to set up the A.B.N.? How could they dare to take up the fight for the freedom of the peoples — against the tyranny of the Bolsheviks and the latter’s future representatives of the stamp of A. de *Goulewich*? And there’s the rub!

In any case, who is this noble protector of the despotic imperium, this Mr. A. de *Goulewich*? Personally we are not acquainted with this gentleman. But on unearthing some old publications we find that his name is already mentioned prior to World War II, namely in precisely the same role, as a protector of the despotic imperium!

In the monthly journal “*Vistnyk*”, published by Dr. D. Donzov in Lviv (Lemberg), we find in issue No. 1 of the year 1939 an article by R. O. which is entitled “Before A Clash In Ukraine”; and this article informs us that at a time which was very much like the present time, the Paris “*Gringoire*” (of December 8, 1938) wrote as follows:

“If there is such a thing as a problem of Ukraine at the present time, then it exists because a sudden and dangerous disturbance has occurred in the

balance between the two giants who are competing with each other for the hegemony in East Europe.”

Was this not the same situation as at present? And the article continues:

“In spite of the alarming news from Ukraine, none of the leading men of the Socialist Party or of the freemasons’ leagues, such as Blum, Cote, Bache and Bloch, have voiced any protest, nor have any protest meetings been called; and the reason for this is no doubt that the ruler of Ukraine is a *Leplevsky*, a creator of *Yezhov’s G.P.U.* . . . For the past twenty years the history of Ukraine has been nothing but bloodshed, the Ukrainian population has been obliged to endure one pogrom after another (est régulièrement pogromisée) . . . A reconciliation in Ukraine is impossible, for the Soviets are hated there. By our silence we have delivered up anti-Communist Ukraine to Stalin’s yoke . . . France and England have kept silent.”

Is not the situation today exactly the same? With the sole difference that this time half of Western Europe is delivered up to the yoke of Moscow . . . But most of the opinions expressed by the Western press in those days were hostile to Ukraine, and the Russians mobilized all their forces both in their own and in the French press. The Russian monarchist emigrant organ, “*Vozrozhdenie*”, wrote as follows:

“Ukraine — as usually understood in the West — is no longer a former ‘periphery’ or merely a border territory of Russia, but the latter’s entire geographical and economic centre. Without this Ukraine, Russia is only a pack of hungry wolves in the North.”

All these remarks are signed by a “genuinely Russian” name — *Ivan Tkhorzhvsky*.

They contain nothing that is new to us. We know that Russia “cannot live” without Ukraine and that she “cannot live” without Caucasia and Poland nor, in recent years, without Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania and half of Germany, too. We know that this genocidal people “cannot live” without the predatory annexation of foreign countries. But what is interesting here is the fact that the Russians themselves cynically admit this to be so.

Another renegade who appeared on the scene in those days, just as he and his like appear on the scene nowadays, was A. de *Goulewich*. We quote once more from the Lviv (Lemberg) “*Vistnyk*”:

“At the head of the ‘pack of wolves’ which express their opinions in the columns of the French press is General A. de *Goulewich*, who boasts that his great-great-grandmother took part in the founding of the theological Peter-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv. He has already expressed his opinions in the Paris “*Je suis partout*”, where he affirms that the Ukrainian ‘separatist’ movement is an ‘entirely artificial’ movement. But he also manifests such a panic fear of this ‘artificial’ movement, that the thought obtrudes itself, — how artificial must the mechanism of the Russian imperium be, if he is so terrified of this ‘artificial’ movement! Allegedly the worthy General does not fear the Ukrainians, for in his opinion ‘the clash of the two forces on the territory of Ukraine will, in addition to bringing about the overthrow of Bolshevism, cause such an outbreak of national Russian patriotism that the latter will sweep Ukrainian patriotism from the face of the earth.’ — Perhaps he really believes this himself; but if so, why then does he endeavour in every possible way to gain France’s sympathy for Russia and even France’s ‘genuine help’? On the one hand he affirms that the aggressor ‘will break his neck in Russia’, and, on the other hand, he begs England and France not to leave patriotic Russia in the lurch . . . But, at all events, he also knocks at another door, on the door of racialist, Hitlerite Germany! For he writes: ‘But we find, after the abominable articles published in the “*Völkischer Beobachter*”, an excellent leading article in a paper of the National Socialist Party which deals with Russian nationalism and contrasts it with Bolshevism . . . Could this not be the beginning of disillusionment?’ It is thus apparent that the “White” Russians are not so very much opposed to Germany as a Major Power, after all; in fact, just as little as Stalin was in the year 1939 . . . Germany is merely to “free herself of her illusions” and to support and protect the indivisibility of the Russian imperium . . .

But the worthy General has been occupying himself with the task of liquidating Ukraine in the

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Subjugated and Free Nations in a Co-ordinated Freedom Campaign

(Continued from page 8)

jugated nations and universal support for their propagandist activity among the trade unions and the entire working class of the free world (taking into special account radio programmes in this connection behind the Iron Curtain);

11. a particularly intensive campaign amongst the students and the younger generation as a whole (who, as is known, are frequently more susceptible to Communist propaganda than the older generation) and universal support for the youth centres in exile of the subjugated nations.

Our fight against Russian colonialism and against International Communism can only be successful if it is based on the ideas expounded above, for the present epoch is an epoch of the victory of the national idea over the imperialistic idea.

As regards the *organizing* work of the congress, the following points must be taken into consideration:

The essence of the matter of the organization of the World Congress lies not in the greatest possible number of participants, but in the rightness of the ideas which are to arouse the enthusiasm of the subjugated nations and stir the free nations to action. We exclude no one from our world bloc, provided that he does not exclude himself by refusing to acknowledge the fundamental ideas of the present anti-Bolshevist fight.

In the first place, the enemy that is to be fought must be defined precisely. It is Russian imperia-

lism, whose instrument is world Communism. Russia is the bulwark and the source of world Communism, which she has nurtured. Once the Soviet Russian imperium is disintegrated into independent national states, Communism will be deprived of its main base; for once it no longer has the political, military and economic power of the Russian peoples’ prison behind it, every people will be able to deal with it in their own country. The disintegration of the Soviet Russian imperium, the last and most terrible imperium in the world, and the restoration of independent states not only in the satellite countries, but, in particular, of the subjugated nations in the U.S.S.R., as for instance Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Caucasia, and Baltic states, etc., — this is the fundamental idea on which the political programme of our world centre must be based. Without this fundamental idea, there can be no victory over world Communism, for the subjugated nations cannot take part in a common front with the free peoples if the latter do not support their efforts to attain complete national state independence.

Those who refuse to acknowledge this idea exclude themselves from the common front. Peoples cannot fight for new fetters, still less so if they regard Bolshevism as a form of Russian imperialism, which in the past, under the guise of Pan-Slavism or of the “defense of the orthodox faith”, etc., subjugated them.

It is a question of a selection amongst *ideas*, and in this respect there can be no compromise.

Jaroslav Stetzko Visits The U.S.A.

After attending the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico, Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., is at present visiting the U.S.A. for the purpose of establishing personal contact with the representatives of the various Ukrainian communities there, the representatives of the peoples enslaved by Red Moscow and with the U.S. official authorities, too. Up to now, Mr. Stetzko has, above all, visited the main Ukrainian emigrant centres in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Washington, where he was greeted most warmly and enthusiastically by representatives of the Ukrainian organizations in the U.S.A., representatives of the subjugated peoples

For the purpose of avoiding an atomic war, to stress the necessity of disintegrating the Soviet Russian empire by means of national revolutions within the Soviet Union.

To emphasize the national and religious ideas as the basis for the struggle against Red Russian imperialism.

In order to combat Communism — so Mr. Stetzko said — a union of all the anti-Communist forces is imperative and essential. For this reason the A.B.N. has concluded agreements with such anti-Communist organizations as the "Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League", Republic of China, and the "Inter-American Confederation for the

sion. Among the guests were the Mexican Vice-Consul, Mr. Martin Brito Hernandez, who is a prominent anti-Communist leader in the U.S.A., and his wife, various representatives of the Republican Party of Philadelphia, representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and of the Central Committee of the "American Friends of A.B.N.", and several other prominent persons.

During the reception, Mr. Stetzko gave a talk on the tasks, achievements and difficulties of the A.B.N.

On May 18, the President of the A.B.N. attended a Ukrainian rally at the Civic Club. The welcome given to him in Philadelphia was proof of the great popularity of the ideas propagated by the A.B.N. In the speech which he held on this occasion, Mr. Stetzko stressed that the activity of the A.B.N. is being intensified and extended by establishing contact with anti-Communist organizations all over the world. He mentioned the fact that there is a special A.B.N. Mission in Formosa (Free China) and that one of its tasks is to broadcast news programmes which are intended for the internees in the concentration camps in Siberia. Mr. Stetzko also referred to the convening of an anti-Communist World Congress in Europe, in autumn this year, and said that on this occasion an Anti-Communist World League would be founded.

ABN President Speaks at Big Rallies in New York

Prior to his visits to Chicago and Philadelphia, Mr. Stetzko visited New York. On April 18, he attended a meeting held at the headquarters of the Organization of the Ukrainian Liberation Front in New York. After a brief survey of the activity of the organization of the American Friends of A.B.N. by Dr. Rybchuk and a lecture on the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico by Mr. H. Bilynski, President Stetzko held a speech in which he explained the various phases of the Conference and stressed in particular the dangerous activity — both open and camouflaged — of the "White" Russian emigrants (especially those who run the "White" Russian N.T.S. organization in Frankfort-on-Main, Germany), who are doing their utmost to combat the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. The second meeting which Mr. Stetzko attended in New York was held at the headquarters of the "American Friends of A.B.N.". There were a large number of representatives of various national groups present on this occasion. In his speech the President of the A.B.N. emphasized the fact that the fundamental principle of the A.B.N., namely to reorganize East Europe and Asia in accordance with the national idea and to disintegrate the present Red Russian empire, is gradually finding sympathy and understanding even in those political circles of the Western world that have so far not been interested in the just settlement of political affairs in these parts of our divided world. Mr. Stetzko added that the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico, which was attended by 52 delegates, representing 65 nations, was a step forwards towards strengthening the anti-Communist world front. At this Conference a Preparatory Commission for the convention of the Anti-Communist World Congress was elected. The members of this Commission include two representatives of the A.B.N., — Mr. J. Stetzko and General

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Ukrainians welcome Mr. Stetzko at Chicago Airport.

of East and Central Europe, foreign diplomats and U.S. officials. We should like to give the following brief survey of the most important events during the visit of the A.B.N. President in the U.S.A.

Enthusiastic Welcome by Crowds in Chicago and Philadelphia

On May 10th, Mr. Stetzko arrived in Chicago, where he was welcomed at the airport by representatives of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, the League of the Americans of Ukrainian descent and many other persons. After having been interviewed by representatives of the American television, Mr. Stetzko had an opportunity to talk to representatives of the American, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Slovak, Latvian and Slovenian press. At this press conference a number of problems were discussed, as, for instance, the attitude of those present towards the so-called summit conference, the question of the cultural exchange between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., co-existence and its consequences in the near future, etc.

On the same day, a big reception was held in the evening in honour of the guest from Munich. It was attended by 250 guests, including the Consul of Mexico, the Vice-Consul of Free China, representatives of various national groups which are members of the A.B.N., representatives of various Ukrainian political and non-political organizations and representatives of the Ukrainian clergy.

On this occasion, the President of the A.B.N. gave a talk on the general political situation in the world and the fight for freedom of the peoples that are enslaved by Moscow. Mr. Stetzko also stressed the significance of the recent anti-Communist Conference in Mexico, its importance and its tasks in the near future.

On the following day, a big rally of the Ukrainians living in Chicago was held in the House of Ukrainian Youth there. The President of the A.B.N. gave a lecture on the "Present political situation and our liberation struggle", in which he stressed the importance of the struggle of our emigrant groups for the liberation of their respective countries. Mr. Stetzko emphasized that the liberation struggle against Moscow is going on in every sphere of life, not only outside but also behind the Iron Curtain.

He added that the main principles of the liberation struggle are the following:

To rely solely on our own forces.

To convince the free world that the question of the liberation struggle of our peoples that are enslaved by Moscow is of tremendous importance for the peace of the whole world.

Defense of the Continent". These agreements led to our participation in the anti-Communist Conference in Mexico. At this Conference the programme of the A.B.N., according to which the struggle against Communism is essentially a struggle against Red Russian imperialism, was accepted. At the same time, however, the necessity of disintegrating the Russian Muscovite imperium and establishing national states on its ruins, must be stressed. It is time the free world realized that the enslaved peoples and their determined and unceasing attempts to throw off the Red Russian yoke are the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Union. The free world should also realize in its own interest that the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union should be supported in every possible way, since a bloody clash between the free world and Red Moscow is inevitable.

On May 12th, Mr. Stetzko called on the Ukrainian Orthodox Archbishop *Ghenadiy* and the Lithuanian Bishop *Brisghis*. He also visited the former Lithuanian Consul *Drausvardis*, the President of the Lithuanian Congress Committee, Mr. *Shimutis*, and the President of the League of the Americans of Ukrainian descent, Mr. *Duzhansky*.

On May 17th and 18th, the Ukrainians living in Philadelphia had an opportunity to welcome the President of the A.B.N. and to discuss current political problems with him. On this occasion, a press conference was organized, which was attended by the Ukrainian journalists of the U.S.A. and Canada. A reception held in honour of the President of the A.B.N. at the "John Bertram Hotel" was attended by 230 persons, many of whom had an opportunity to talk to Mr. Stetzko on this occa-



AFABN Banquet in New York in honour of Mr. Stetzko.

Niko Nakashidze

Forty Years of Russian Bolshevik Power

II.

Russian Marxist and Leninist Bolshevism

Socialist ideas were already adopted by the Russian intelligentsia before Marxism came to Russia. The movement of the "Narodniki" (from the word "Narod" which means the people) supported the socialist way of life and order of society. Out of this movement there later developed the socialist revolutionary party. This party aimed to overthrow the ruling regime by means of a revolution. As a means of its fight, until such time as the general revolution of the people should break out, it resorted to terrorism. Members of the government, governors and public prosecutors, etc. were constantly being murdered. And petty police officials, too, were frequently killed by members of this party. Even the Tsar, Alexander II, who freed the peasants from serfdom, who introduced reforms in jurisdiction and based the legislation on the fundamental principles of West European legislation, was assassinated. And when Marxism invaded the country with its terrorist methods, the latter were nothing new to the Russian intellectuals of the radical trend. The only thing that was new in Marxism to them was that here the inevitableness of the socialist order of society was "scientifically" proved and that new ways and means were indicated. From the very outset, the Russian social-democratic party was radical in trend, and Plechanov was just as much in favour of the revolutionary fight as was Lenin. In the course of time the radicals in the party gained the upper hand, and at the party congress in London in 1903 it came to an open split: Lenin triumphed and gained the "majority" (Russian "Bolschinstwo") of votes. From now onwards, the "Bolsheviks" ruled the party. They met with a great response amongst the Russian working masses, who followed them blindly. The "Mensheviks", as the word itself indicates, were in the minority amongst the Russian working classes.

In the non-Russian countries of the Russian empire, too, the social-democratic parties likewise came into being; they were particularly strongly represented in the Baltic countries, and in Georgia and Ukraine they also played an important part. But in these countries, as contrasted with Russia, the masses were ruled by the Mensheviks, that is by the moderate social-democrats. The comparatively few Bolsheviks were exclusively intellectuals. Indeed, when these non-Russian peoples detached themselves from Russia after the 1917 Revolution and restored their independent states once more, there was not a single Bolshevik elected to parliament in any of these countries during the parliamentary elections. From the point of view of history it is definitely paradoxical that the Marxist party managed to gain a foothold at all in these predominantly farming countries.

The fact that the social-democratic party became powerful there was due to various national and political reasons. The foreign peoples subjugated in the vast Russian empire were deprived of all their rights. They were not even able to develop their own national cultural life. Their native language was forbidden not only in the law courts and administrative offices, but also in the schools. These peoples saw no way out of their desperate position. And then, a political movement came into being which proclaimed the common interests of the workers all over the world and promised, with the united forces of all the working classes in the world and in the common fight for the workers, to restore the latter's political and social rights, to abolish injustice and to liberate the peoples from alien rule. It is hardly to be wondered at that these peoples regarded the course thus indicated as the real solution to their problem, all the more so since, after these tempting promises and assurances, their allies in this fight, the Russian working classes and the Russian democracy itself, posed as their friends, and this seemed a convincing argument. But they overlooked the fact that the leader of the Russian social democracy, Plechanov, refused to allow these non-Russian social-democratic parties to bear the name of their own nation, and

was only willing to let them exist and function as part of the Russian social democracy. In order to defeat Plechanov, Lenin astutely and cunningly proclaimed the "right of self-determination of the peoples, including the right of severance from Russia" at the party congress in London in 1903. What he meant by this and the manner in which he then proceeded to deal with the peoples who had meanwhile severed themselves from Russia, was shown by the events which later occurred. Neither Plechanov nor Lenin ever abandoned their Russian national attitude. In this fight for their national, political and social rights, the non-Russian peoples realized that only the collapse of the Russian empire could bring them their freedom. And for this reason their attitude was revolutionary and, accordingly, they stood in the foremost ranks of the revolutionary movement.

The first open revolt against the odious Russian rule broke out in the year 1905/06, and the fight was particularly fierce in Caucasia, in the Baltic countries and in Ukraine. But these revolts were crushed in bloodshed. People were massacred by the Russian soldiers or else deported to Siberia, and towns and villages were razed to the ground. For several years after these revolts were crushed, military law still prevailed in these countries.

And now it seemed as though the colossus — Russia — could not be shaken in its foundations. The power of the Russian imperium increased. But the illegal activity of the parties increased even more. Indeed, almost everyone was involved in this political activity. To destroy this vast empire from within, would, however, take a long time. It was, however, obvious that if Russia were to become involved in political complications abroad, this would hasten the process of disintegration, since everyone knew that the Russian empire could not possibly survive a war, for its state structure had been undermined, its economy would not be able to meet wartime demands, and the non-Russian peoples were merely waiting for an opportunity to use the situation for their own advantage. And then the first World War broke out, and, exactly two and a half years later, in 1917, the Russian empire collapsed.

It was obvious to anyone who knew what internal conditions in Russia were like, that the Russian democracy was not capable of setting up a state on a new basis. The Russian people were not mature enough for a democratic form of state, for they were on the lowest level of civilization. The short-lived liberal-democratic government of Prince

Lvov was succeeded by the socialist government of the neurasthenic and hysterical Kerensky, and this government exhorted the Russian people to continue the war until the final victory be achieved. Lenin, on the other hand, exhorted the people: "Down with the bourgeois war!" — "Peace and Bread!" — "Land and Freedom!" — "Robbery of the robbed!" — "Down with the bourgeoisie and their slaves!"

The Russian people followed his advice and Kerensky's government was overthrown. The last attempt on the part of the "Russian democracy" to convene the Constitutional Assembly, whose members had already been elected in November and of whom the majority were anti-Bolshevik, failed. In January, 1918, a handful of sailors, acting on Lenin's orders, scattered these constituents. Lenin's Bolshevik government now held the governmental power firmly in its hands and began to rule with ruthless brutality and terrorism. The whole country was aflame and swept by bloodshed and misery. "The rule of capital will only be destroyed when the last capitalist, aristocrat, priest and officer draws his last breath", — so the party organ, the "Pravda" wrote. According to an order issued by Lenin in August, 1918, "merciless mass terrorism" was to be carried out "against the kulaks (well-to-do farmers), the priests and members of the white guard".

In order to foster this terrorism, a special organ, "Krasnyj Terror" ("Red Terror"), was published. Special commissions (Cheka) were set up for the purpose of conducting this mass terrorism, and these commissions were authorized to shoot people as they saw fit. The tragedies which were enacted in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence in those days are indescribable. People were ruthlessly shot solely because they did not belong to the lowest classes.

When a woman, a socialist revolutionary, tried to assassinate Lenin and he was slightly wounded in his arm, thousands of persons were shot by way of reprisals.

Within a short time the Russian anti-Bolshevik movement was completely annihilated. The so-called "White Russian Armies" of Admiral Kolchak, Generals Alexejev, Denikin and Wrangel were set up in the Cossack territories. When they reached Russian territory, however, they were soon defeated, for the overwhelming majority of the Russian people had accepted Bolshevism. The "White Russian Armies" consisted of old officers, ensigns, cadets, students and so forth. (To be continued).

New York City Ukrainians Protest Against Petlura Slur

At a meeting of American Ukrainians assembled in New York City on March 16, 1958, the following resolutions were adopted.

We, American citizens of Ukrainian descent, assembled at the National Protest Rally in New York City, March 16, 1958, unanimously resolved: That the Partisan Television in its program on February 28, 1958, entitled "To Your Souls and Conscience", prepared on the basis of a skit by Claude Barm, was anti-Ukrainian;

That the said program was contrary to historical truth and intentionally falsified historical facts;

That the said program disparaged the honorable name of the Head of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army, Simon Petlura, slandered the Ukrainian people and their struggle for independence;

That the assassin of Simon Petlura, S. Schwarzbart was presented on the said program, not as an agent of Communist Russia, but as a victim and glorified hero, who together with a known Communist, leader, H. Thorez, defended humanity;

That the misrepresentation confuses and creates hostile feelings among the French towards Ukrainians and their struggle for liberation from the Russian Communist yoke;

That the said program purposely sabotaged the Ukrainian liberation attempts to gain support for their fight among the free nations, especially the French, with which Rus-Ukraine had friendly relations, since Kievan Princess Anna became the wife of King Henry and Queen of France in the eleventh century.

Therefore, we American Ukrainians protest and demand an immediate investigation as to who master-minded the said program in the interest of International Communism; and we demand satisfaction for the damage inflicted upon the Ukrainians in exile and the whole Ukrainian nation, which stands as a bulwark in the struggle against Moscow-Communist imperialism.

V. Borovyk, Chairman of Rally; J. Lesawyer, delegate of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; R. Huhlecych, president of the United American Ukrainian Organizations of New York City, Branch UCCA; W. Riznyk, delegate of the Central Executive Committee of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine; I. Yurchenko, delegate of the Central Executive Committee of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine.

Three Conceptions — One Idea

On the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Tragic Death of Colonel Eugen Konovalets

All peoples find their expression through the medium of their prominent leaders, who become milestones in the historic struggle of the nation concerned. The Ukrainian people's struggle during the 20th century for the national independence of Ukraine is inseparably connected with three great men and heroes, — Simon Petlura, Eugen Konovalets and Taras Chuprynka. In the respective stages of this struggle for national independence each of these three men led the fight and gave the idea which inspired it the appropriate form. In paying homage to their memory, we stress our loyalty and devotion to this idea, for their deeds inspire us to continue the fight.

It is no exaggeration to say that the idea, for the realization of which these three heroes lived and died, has become an all-national idea, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people have the courage to fight for it against the Red Russian occupant. The spirit of Petlura cannot be conquered as easily as the Russians believed; for they cannot prevent the natural development of Ukrainian national consciousness by resorting to the medium of provocative attempts to propagate a federation of Ukraine with Russia. This axiom was stressed again and again by the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian national army and head of the Ukrainian state, Simon Petlura, during his exile, until he was treacherously shot dead in Paris, on May 16, 1926. Though murdered in Paris by a Red Russian agent, Petlura lives on as the symbol of the Ukrainian resistance idea. In a letter which he wrote shortly before his death, Petlura warned his fellow-countrymen that the independence of Ukraine would be decided by the medium of all organized — political and military — forces. But death prevented him from expanding and reinforcing these organized national forces. It was his successor and the founder of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, Colonel Eugen Konovalets, who now continued the struggle for Ukraine's national independence. A far-sighted politician and statesman, Konovalets transformed the Ukrainian national forces into a vast organized nationalist movement, since he was convinced that the national revolution would not be defeated if it did not sully its banner by making a compromise with the enemy. His constant axiom was: "You may kill me, but you will not force me to live in enslavement".

Under the Polish occupation of Ukraine, the OUN (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) determined national political life on the basis of the revolutionary struggle and demands to the enemy which did not allow any compromise. Konovalets fought every form of provincial thought and adjustment to political circumstances amongst the Ukrainians. During a trial in Lviv at which five Ukrainians were accused of having taken part in the Congress of the Ukrainian nationalists in Vienna in 1929, the prosecutor, in demanding a severe sentence for the accused, made the following significant remarks: "The fact that the members of the OUN set fire to sheaves of corn is not alarming; what is more alarming, however, is that these persons inflame minds and hearts and stir up feelings of injustice among the Ukrainians. Their leaflets are shells filled with the dynamite of hatred. The Ukrainian nationalists are eager to convert all the Ukrainians, allegedly numbering 45 millions, into this dynamite". And, indeed, this was the reason why both Poland and Russia were forced to fight Ukrainian nationalism.

As a true statesman and politician, Konovalets did not approve of any political provincialism in the common fight of the Ukrainian people; that was why he proclaimed the watchword, "The road to the Ukrainian Lviv leads only via Kyiv".

The diplomatic activity of Konovalets, who was one of the greatest Ukrainian diplomats in the struggle of Ukraine for national independence, was regarded as particularly dangerous by Moscow. For this reason, the Red Russians took care to have his diplomatic activity in the capitals of Western Europe watched by their numerous agents abroad, and Moscow, accordingly, decided that he must die, since he foresaw the decisive role which Ukraine would play in the future conflict between Moscow and the Western world.

In the midst of war the true forces of Ukraine — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), headed by its commander, the politician and strategist, Taras Chuprynka, whose name has become legendary, began to assert themselves. The glory of the struggle headed by Chuprynka is due to the fact that the Ukrainian people refused to cooperate with either of their two enemies (Russia and Nazi-Germany); on the contrary, relying on their own national army, they fought against both aggressors and proclaimed their aspiration to a free and independent national life before the whole world. It took a long time before the world could be convinced that, in this era of motorized armies, the Ukrainian national avengers could carry on their fight and deal their enemies painful blows, whilst, at the same time, planning a new political and social order which would bring about the restoration of the independent state of Ukraine. Whilst the expansionist politicians of West and East Europe were engaged in drawing up peace treaties at Yalta and Potsdam, according to the formula of dividing up countries and peoples, Chuprynka pro-

claimed to the world that Ukraine and the other enslaved peoples would never accept this kind of peace. And a little later, what he had foreseen, became reality; instead of peace, there ensued a continuous state of war under various names.

In order to liquidate the third of Ukraine's great national heroes, Moscow was obliged to employ a specially trained army. The legendary general was killed, but Moscow did not succeed in winning the day. On the contrary, the struggle for Ukraine's national independence still goes on, even under Red Russian imperialistic subjugation and pressure; and new forces will appear and will, in due time, conquer the Red Russian empire and disintegrate it by restoring the national freedom of Ukraine. In order to combat the Ukrainian idea of national independence, the enemy used a pistol in Paris, a bomb in Rotterdam and a specially trained army in the village of Bilohorshdha. In the decisive struggle of tomorrow, however, even the hostile army will be powerless, for the idea for which these three great Ukrainian heroes made the supreme sacrifice is invincible.

Political Declaration by the Government of Vietnam

As in the Soviet Zone of Germany and in Communist North Korea, the Communists of Vietnam are endeavouring to consolidate their position by means of various tricks and forms of provocation. On March 7th this year, they sent a letter to the President of Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, in which they proposed "to establish normal relations between both parts of Vietnam, to promote the exchange of goods between them and to find ways and means of joining both parts of Vietnam to form one state". The fact that this letter was broadcast by the radio stations of Moscow and Peking is in itself proof of the true intentions of the writers of the letter, for the Communists are more interested in spreading their propaganda than in any normalization of mutual relations.

On April 26th this year, the Government of Vietnam published its answer to the said letter in the form of a political declaration. This declaration stresses that the Government of Vietnam supported the union of both parts of Vietnam at the Geneva Conference in 1954, but the Communists rejected all proposals in this respect and succeeded in dividing Vietnam into two states by a demarcation line near the 17th parallel. This partition brought disaster upon the country, for over a million persons were obliged to flee to South Vietnam in order to escape Communist terrorism. At present, 13 million Vietnamese are subjugated under Communist occupation.

The declaration mentions the dire need and distress of the population in enslaved Vietnam and also exposes Communist terrorist methods and the secret subversive campaigns directed against the free world. It is pointed out that the men in power in North Vietnam are not esteemed by the rest of the world, whereas the Government of Free Vietnam is steadily gaining more and more prestige all over the world.

The declaration of the Government of Vietnam was published when the 4th APACL Congress was about to be convened in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. The representatives of all the anti-Communist forces of the peoples of Asia were thus able to express their opinion with regard to the declaration. The Congress adopted special resolutions expressing its complete solidarity with the declaration and assuring the Government of Vietnam that all the members of the Congress were prepared to support its efforts to liberate the Vietnamese people from Communist enslavement.

One of these resolutions stressed that the 4th Congress of the APACL was unanimous in:

Condemning the subversive Communist propaganda regarding the union of Vietnam and the criminal Communist activity; and in

Supporting the Declaration of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam of April 26th this year,

expressing the unanimous will of the Vietnamese people to demand from the Communist Viet-Minh:

a) that it meet the demands of 92,312 persons and 1,955 families who have submitted petitions to the International Control Commission asking to be resettled to South Vietnam;

b) that it liquidate concentrated military units which have been set up contrary to international law;

c) that it dissolve committees that send out provocative letters for the purpose of sabotaging the constructive work of the Government of Vietnam;

d) that it liquidate the economic monopoly of the Communist Party and grant the people of North Vietnam the same rights which their fellow-countrymen in the Republic of Vietnam enjoy.

China and Ukraine

China and Ukraine are far apart, but spiritually close. We are both fighting for the same ideals, for national independence. Ukrainian victories help China, and Chinese victories help Ukraine. "We hope that very soon you will be able to celebrate your independence in the city of Kyiv, and when you do, you must invite us," Hon. Dr. Tsingfu F. Tsiang, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of the Republic of China to the United Nations, stated at a banquet commemorating the 40th anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

Unrest in Ukraine

The experiment of Nikita S. Khrushchev involving the liquidation of the machine-tractor stations (MTS) in the USSR has evoked more resistance on the part of Ukrainian farmers than was expected. Although the Communist press and radio in Kyiv constantly warn the Ukrainians not to resort to "thoughtless steps" and press for the gradual application of new measures, these appeals seem to have little effect upon the population. The Ukrainian farmers, inspired by tendencies of private initiative, are endeavoring to interpret the new measures according to their own needs. For instance, they refuse to buy the machines and tractors, unless they are in good working condition. This resistance has been especially marked in the Lviv oblast, where farmers have refused to purchase tractors amounting to 2,800,000,00 roubles. In other areas of Ukraine the farmers have refused to pay more than 10 per cent of the purchase price for tractors, which was not foreseen in the plans of Khrushchev.

Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wierer

General Lev Prchala Awarded Sudeten-German Charles' Prize

On the occasion of the Sudeten-German Day in Stuttgart, on May 24, 1958, the European Charles' Prize was awarded to the Czech General Lev Prchala. The conferment of this honour signifies far more than the decoration of a leader of an emigrant group. The Charles' Prize, which was donated on May 11, 1957, and is an exhortation to a just national and state order, is awarded to persons in political, intellectual and economic life who have rendered an outstanding service to the understanding and cooperation of the peoples of Central Europe.

The prize has been named after Charles IV who, as Holy Roman Emperor, King of Germany and King of Bohemia, supported the first precursors of the national movements and, accordingly, united various peoples in his territories not only by legal and state but also by moral relations.

We here in Europe are today suffering from the results both of Bolshevik rule and of Bolshevik diplomacy, which in 1945 achieved such a great success at Potsdam. The fact that millions of refugees have been driven from their homes and scattered all over Europe is not a guarantee of a better future for the members of the multifarious people in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, for example, but is a threat to the stable and settled character of the Czechs, who, as a result of Bolshevik supremacy, are now gradually being threatened biologically, too, by the Russification process. Accordingly, it is imperative that the West should pursue an independent policy which opposes Communist expansion.

General Prchala, fighter and soldier of the Czechoslovak Republic, has now reached the logical conclusions which stress the principle of justice and of self-determination for two peoples jointly inhabiting the same country. General Prchala is the first person to have taken positive steps to bring about a treaty between representatives of two nations in this case. This method of reciprocal treaties between two peoples, that is to say between their representatives, is the desi-

rable and tenable, constitutional solution for the future, even though it is, for the time being, only an agreement between the representatives of the refugees and the leader of an emigrant group. But this step will undoubtedly lead to or pave the way for an actual constitutional treaty between two normally settled nations or national groups. It was, to use the Latin legal terminology, a "pactum de contrahendo sui generis."

For this reason, the awarding of this Sudeten-German prize to such an outstanding Czech fighter and politician is to be warmly welcomed.

Monstrous and Ridiculous

From the letter by Wm. S. Diduch, President of American Friends of ABN, Chicago, to Executive Club Members.

... The very idea of inviting the "controversial personality" of Menshikov to address the Executives Club is monstrous and ridiculous. That he so readily accepted the invitation is understandable, because it gives him the golden opportunity of injecting the Red brand of propaganda at the very class of people which communism is determined to destroy. It seems almost preposterous that an organization as American as the Executives Club is going to entertain an agent of the criminal and hypocritical enemies of America and enslavers of free nations. Yet, that's exactly what is happening.

For a factual word-picture of the perfidy of the state represented by Menshikov, we refer you to the article, "Negotiating with the Kremlin", by Eugene Lyons, in the April 1958 issue of the "Reader's Digest". The article is a factual recital of broken pledges and violated treaties and agreements, giving the lie to the high-sounding words about peaceful co-existence which Soviet representatives such as Menshikov keep mouthing to anybody who will listen. Also we refer you to the book "Masters of Deceit", by J. Edgar Hoover (The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight it. Henry Holt and Co., New York) ...

The Pack of Wolves (Continued from page 10)

public opinion of the West for a very long time! For the already published an article entitled "Une erreur à éviter" in the "Revue Hebdomadaire" (No. 16) in 1929, in which he warns against all plans to sever Ukraine from Russia and against all intentions to liberate Ukraine; he compares Ukraine to Brittany, a French province, and utters the threat that in the event of an intervention (in favour of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.) all the forces of patriotic Russia would turn against the supporters of Ukraine in the West. . . . In order to win over allies in the West against Ukraine, the General casts aside all doubts and begs his "allies" for "material and moral support" and even takes "private initiative" into consideration (and, incidentally, how modern this sounds!).

The allegedly anti-Bolshevik and democratic protectors of the indivisibility of the Russian imperium are prepared to pull together with Nazis, with "private circles", with the French democracy, with racialists, with Stalin, with the Devil, — in fact, with everybody. . . . Indeed, we do not doubt that they would also make common cause with the Bolsheviks at a decisive moment, just as General Brusilov did in 1920. All to the glory of the "pack of hungry wolves in the North", as the monarchist emigrant organ "Vozrozhdenie" designated Russia. For this reason, all attempts on the part of the non-Russian anti-Bolshevik emigrants to negotiate with the Russian "democrats" or with the "private circles" in the West that are favourably disposed towards the Russian imperium, will lead to nothing. The ideologists of the Russian "pack of wolves" can only negotiate with toadies of the same stamp as Huly, namely with those who, regardless of the phrases about national independence in their own declarations, are always prepared to send open letters to the "worthy" Nikita today and to a "worthy" White Tsar tomorrow; who, further-

more, are prepared to recognize Soviet Ukraine and other "national Soviet Republics" — that is, the actual colonies of Soviet Russian imperialism — as "our states"; who are prepared to forgo every national revolution and to believe in a "peaceful evolution" of the "pack of hungry wolves"; who are prepared to adopt a "realistic policy", that is to say to enter into every kind of "federations" and alliances, with the result that they will promptly fall into Moscow's trap once more and will be obliged to endure Russian fetters.

With such persons as these the champions of the noble idea of freedom can have nothing in common, for the latter are the champions of the idea of the liberation of the subjugated non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. from the "hungry pack" of Red or White creators of the monstrous imperium. But be that as it may, the Paris "Je suis partout" was in any case right when it wrote on the eve of World War II:

"Sooner or later, the Ukrainian problem will outgrow the columns of the newspapers and journals; it will disturb the equilibrium in Europe and world peace¹⁾).

These words still hold good today, and only those who keep to an uncompromising programme and do not fear men such as Khrushchev or Goulewich will be able to restore Ukraine and other independent national states of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. They alone will be feared by the enemy.

And we must not allow ourselves to be intimidated either by the howling of the pack of hungry wolves or by their hatred. In this respect we should bear in mind the famous words of a Roman emperor: "Oderint, dum metuant", — let them hate, provided that they fear. . . . Moscow only yields to those whom it fears!

¹⁾ Quoted from the above-mentioned number of the Lviv (Lemberg) "Vistnyk".

Russia's Crime in Katyn

Speech by the Hon. Timothy P. Sheehan
of Illinois in the House of Representatives,
on Monday, April 21, 1958

"Fifteen years ago today, on April 21, 1943, Dictator Stalin sent letters to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, advising that Russia was going to sever diplomatic relations with the Polish Government-in-exile in London. The Polish Government had approached the International Red Cross to conduct a neutral investigation in order to ascertain who was guilty of the massacre of Polish citizens.

Four days later, on April 25th, 1943, Soviet Russia officially severed diplomatic relations with the Polish Government, and the correspondence on this matter has appeared in an official Soviet publication issued in Moscow in 1957. This Russian Government publication continues to uphold Stalin's version of this atrocity.

As the Congressman who introduced the first resolution to investigate the Katyn Forest massacre in the 82nd Congress, and who served as a member of that Investigating Committee, I feel it is fitting that the people of our country and of the world should take cognizance of the Russian duplicity in this crime.

The Select Congressional Committee found unanimously, after a great number of hearings and a great amount of evidence, that Russia was guilty of this inhuman atrocity against the people of Poland.

From the review of the angry message which Soviet Premier Stalin wrote to Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt in April of 1943, it is evident that Stalin was dismayed at the turn of events, especially in view of the fact that he knew the guilty persons would eventually be known. Stalin blamed this "monstrous crime" on Hitler's invaders, and accused the Polish Government in London of collusion with the Nazis. As it turned out, Stalin was using the Katyn charges as a first step in the communisation of Poland.

We should continually call the attention of the American public to the duplicity and faithlessness of Russian leaders. As the "Chicago Tribune" pointed out in an editorial on April 13th, 1958, entitled "A Sorry Business", it was a deplorable fact that Russians sat in as judges of the Nazi and Japanese war prisoners while at the same time the Russians were responsible for the butchering of thousands of Polish citizens in Katyn Forest. These war crimes trials seemed to mock justice, with Russia condemning other nations and other citizens without having to answer herself for her own crimes and atrocities.

The American people should remember these Russian activities and not be lulled by present-day appearances. The new Russian Ambassador to Washington Mikhail Menshikov, seems to have been greeted as one of the new looks in Russian diplomacy. However, in 1946, a Congressional Committee pointed out that this same man was running the UNRA operations in Poland and distributing the food not to starving Poles on the basis of need, but strictly on the basis of being Communist Party members.

Menshikov, in distributing this food, claimed the credit for the Russians, rather than for America, who gave the food. This proved a very handy tool to win friends and influence many Poles to join the Communist Party and movement. The Congressmen, in 1946, protested against this action to the President of the United States. Mr. Menshikov was soon recalled from his position, and a Canadian took his place. Now the same Russian is being openly received and acclaimed by many people in Washington who do not remember the facts of history.

Our citizens should know and remember that this 1939-40 Russian plot to destroy the intelligentsia of the Polish nation was but a preliminary step in the Russian long-range plan — to make a Communist satellite out of Poland. By destroying the Polish intelligentsia, their religion, and their ownership of private property, the Russian Communists have planned to destroy forever the freedom of Poland, and every American should constantly be on the alert to guard against any possibility of the remotest kind that such a movement might begin in this country".

News in Brief

Demonstration of the "American Friends of ABN" against Menshikov in Philadelphia

During the noon hours of June 11th, Americans of Central and East European descent held big demonstrations in Philadelphia against the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R., Michael Menshikov, who was visiting the town and was invited to a luncheon at the Sheraton Hotel by Mayor R. Delwort. The demonstrators carried banners inscribed with watchwords against Russian imperialism and for the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

Newspaper and television reporters interviewed the demonstrators, and reports and pictures of the demonstrations appeared in the papers the same evening. Other pictures taken of the demonstrations by television reporters were televised.

A similar demonstration took place the same evening in front of Convention Hall, where the Mojsejev Soviet Ballet gave a performance which Menshikov also attended. The demonstrators welcomed the Bolshevik envoy with placards and choruses shouted in unison. In addition, over 7,000 leaflets were distributed amongst those who were going to attend the performance of the ballet. A large number of anti-Communist papers and publications on the fight of the subjugated peoples were also distributed. Menshikov had to be protected by a whole cordon of police cars.

Secretary-General of the ABN, Prince Niko Nakashidze, Lectures in Hamburg

In the middle of June, the Secretary-General of the A.B.N., Prince Niko Nakashidze, upon invitation held a number of lectures in Hamburg on East European problems. The subjects of his lectures were:

1) "The Problem of the non-Russian Peoples of the Soviet Union" (in conjunction with the history of these peoples and the state and international legal position of their states);

2) "Germany's Contribution towards the Liberation of the Peoples of East Europe in the years 1914/18 and the Fight for Freedom of the Subjugated Peoples at the Present Time";

3) "Caucasia — the Country and Its People". These lectures had been announced beforehand by the leading papers such as "Die Welt" and the "Hamburger Abendblatt", etc.

The lectures which were held before a select audience were received with considerable interest. In presenting and elucidating the above-mentioned problems, Prince Nakashidze based his arguments on historical facts and Soviet sources. His audience openly admitted that there was much that was new to them in what he told them and applauded most enthusiastically at the end of each lecture.

Broadcasts of the ABN Mission in Free China

It is exactly a year since the A.B.N. Mission in Free China started its broadcasts in Ukrainian. July 6, 1957, was the first time that programmes in Ukrainian were relayed through the medium of the Chinese broadcasting station "The Voice of Justice". These programmes were intended for the Ukrainians living in Siberia and the Far East and for those interned in the concentration camps in these areas.

Soon afterwards, on the anniversary of the Hungarian revolution, the programmes of the A.B.N. Mission were augmented. In addition to programmes in Ukrainian, the A.B.N. Mission now started broadcasting programmes in other languages of the enslaved peoples, — in Hungarian, Estonian and Latvian. From time to time, the A.B.N. Mission also broadcasts programmes in Russian.

The programmes in Estonian, thanks to the close cooperation of the Estonian World Council, include addresses by various Estonian statesmen and politicians living in North America and are intended for Estonian internees in Red Russian concentration camps. The following prominent Estonian personalities have had an opportunity to address their fellow-countrymen through the medium of the said broadcasting station: the envoy of the Estonian Republic, Johannes Kaiv, the President of the Estonian World Council, Prof. Dr. Yohan Vasar, the chairman of the Committee

of Free Estonia, Alexander Kyut, the chairman of the Estonian delegation in the Assembly of the Enslaved Peoples and former member of the Estonian parliament and adviser to the President of Estonia, Johannes Klement, the President of the Estonian National Committee in the U.S.A., August Karsna, the President of the Estonian National Committee in Canada, Axel Luitalu, and the brother of the former President of Estonia, Voldemar Pats.

The broadcasts in Latvian were only started a short time ago. So far, the A.B.N. Mission has broadcast addresses by a member of the Latvian anti-Communist organization "Free Latvia" and by the former Latvian Prime Minister, Adolfs Blodniks.

Russian Terrorism Continues in Munich

(From the periodical "America", of April 29, 1958, published in U.S.A.)

"The chief editor of the periodical "Schlach Peremohy" in Munich, Danilo Tschaikowsky, continues to stand on the black list of Moscow's terrorist agents. After an attempt was made to assassinate him on April 18, 1958, he received two further letters on April 20th and 21st, in which he was threatened with murder. The letters were written in cultured Russian and in the Soviet standard script.

It is obvious that the anonymous Muscovite terrorists are annoyed at the attacks directed against the Russian imperialistic organization "Narodno Trudovej Sojus" (N.T.S.), the articles on the work and the political success of the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)", the idea of the Anti-Communist World Congress and the information circulated with regard to the world-conquest plans of the U.S.S.R.

A representative of the Bavarian police told correspondents of the German press in Munich: "The attempt to assassinate Mr. Tschaikowsky on April 18, 1958, is connected with events abroad". He was no doubt referring to the Anti-Communist Conference in Mexico in March 1958, the Congress of the "American Friends of A.B.N." in New York and the visit of the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. to the United States.

Mr. Danilo Tschaikowsky says that the Muscovite terrorists, in threatening him with physical death, are overlooking the fact that no one will be able to liquidate the editorial department of the "Schlach Peremohy" or the ideas propagated by the "Schlach Peremohy", — not even should he die."

Request to Extradite Dr. Artukovic Dictated by Hatred

A letter to "ABN Correspondence"

It has come to our notice that the Yugoslav Tito regime has once more requested the U.S. Government to extradite the Minister of the independent state of Croatia, Dr. Andria Artukovic.

The extradition of Dr. Artukovic has already been demanded on several previous occasions by the Tito regime, but after judicial proceedings by the U.S.A. courts Dr. Artukovic was on every occasion pronounced innocent, for he has never committed any crime which would justify his extradition.

We are of the opinion that the Yugoslav Tito clique should in the first place be called to account, before the conscience of the world, for the mass murder of defenceless and innocent persons in Bleiburg, Drawograd and Marikor, where, in May 1945, Titoist partisans bestially murdered 170,000 defenceless Croats within a few days' time.

In any case, the request to extradite Dr. Artukovic, which is obviously dictated by hatred, is a violation of the human rights acknowledged the world over and of the etiquette and customs observed in diplomatic relations.

H. S.

Ode to a non-Communist Comrade

I am no Communist, but . . .
Say a door is ajar when it's shut;
I can stand on my head, turn feathers to lead,
And my name is John Smith, not A. Hutt.

(Allen Hutt was one of the Communist intellectuals in Great Britain and their leading historian.)

By kind permission of the "Scottish League for European Freedom".

6,000,000 Ukrainians Died of Starvation

In the year 1933, to break the Ukrainian national resistance against Bolshevism, Soviet Russia besieged Ukraine by means of hunger. Ukrainian peasants had been forced into collective farms and then, their bread was confiscated by the use of armed forces. The Kremlin ordered watchtowers to be built on the fields, from which armed guards shot at Ukrainian peasants, who tried to cut off the ears of grain on their own lands. During this siege 6,000,000 Ukrainians died of starvation.

Jaroslaw Stetzko Visits The U.S.A.

(Continued from page 11)

Farkas de Kisbarnak. At the Mexico Conference — Mr. Stetzko said — the A.B.N. represented 17 subjugated peoples. Mr. Stetzko's audience at the meeting in New York was most interested in all that he had to say. In conclusion, he stressed all the guiding and fundamental principles that must be realized in order to ensure to the full the success of the Anti-Communist World Congress, which is to take place within the next few months.

On June 1st, Mr. Stetzko gave a lecture on the "Liberation struggle of the enslaved nations and the free world" in the hall of the Manhattan Center in New York. The hall was packed with an audience eager to hear what the President of the A.B.N. had to say on the present urgent problems of the emigrants from East and Central Europe.

In his speech, which lasted well over an hour, President Stetzko stressed the present aims of the A.B.N., its multi-national character and impartiality in the pursuit of its plans. He said that the political emigrants not only of Ukraine, but also of the other enslaved peoples must be prepared to make great sacrifices if we are to succeed in our grim struggle against the mighty powers of evil.

Mr. Stetzko, whilst in New York, also took part in a big protest rally held there on June 8th, the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the artificially created famine in Ukraine. This Ukrainian protest rally was held to commemorate the 6 million victims who died by order of Moscow, since the latter intended to suppress the Ukrainian national resistance in this way. At the same time, the rally also protested against the occupation of Ukraine by Red Moscow.

Delivers Significant Report in Washington

At the invitation of the Congress Commission for the investigation of anti-American activities, President Stetzko twice visited Washington. On May 14, he gave testimony before the Commission as an eyewitness. He stressed the danger of Russian Communist aggression and commented on the liberation struggle of the peoples under Red Russian subjugation. At the request of the Commission, Mr. Stetzko gave a long report on the possible danger of a "summit" conference, on the liberation policy of the free world, in particular of the U.S.A., on atomic war and national liberation revolutions; he also mentioned the ways and means by which the free world (U.S.A.) could support the subjugated nations for the purpose of preventing an atomic war.

In the course of the discussions which the President of the A.B.N. had with the leading men of this Commission, he also mentioned the fact that the Russian Communist danger threatens the entire free world. Western support for the peoples under Russian occupation as a means of defeating Communist Russia successfully was likewise stressed during these talks in Washington. In conclusion, Mr. Stetzko pointed out that the underground liberation movement of the peoples within the Soviet Union and, in particular, the underground activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) are very powerful.

Summing up, it can be said that the political activity of the President of the A.B.N. during his visit to the U.S.A. has so far proved very successful indeed.

A new Book entitled "Ukrainer in München"

A new book entitled "Ukrainer in München" ("Ukrainians in Munich") is to be published very shortly. The price will be 2 dollars. Orders may be placed with the "Verlag Ukraine", Rumpfstrasse 29, Munich, Germany.

Ukrainians Re-Elected to Canadian Parliament

OTTAWA. — Michael Starr, Canada's first federal minister of Ukrainian descent, was re-elected to parliament in the Canadian general election on March 31.

Besides Mr. Starr, five other Ukrainian Canadians were elected to parliament: They are: John Kucherepa, Nicholas Mandziuk, Val Yacula, William Skorevko and Stanley Korchinsky.

The election of the six Ukrainians keeps the number of Ukrainians in the Canadian parliament at the same figure as before.

UCCA General Counsel Admitted to Practise Before Supreme Court

John H. Roberts, General Counsel of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, was admitted to practise before the Supreme Court of the United States, in a colorful ceremony before the full bench of the nine Justices of the Supreme Court in Washington, D. C. on April 2, 1958.

Polish Review Protests Against Calumny of Petlura

PARIS. — The well-known Polish-language review, "Kultura", appearing in Paris, in its issue for April 1958, said editorially:

"On February 28 of this year the French television produced a program which revived the trial of Schwarzbart, who in 1926 assassinated Simon Petlura, the Commander-in-chief, in Paris. This program was a sort of apotheosis of the murderer of the leader for independence of the Ukrainian people.

"There is no doubt that there exist international forces which are interested in compromising the Ukrainian independence movement. Ataman Petlura had to die in 1926, inasmuch as at that time it was feared that the liberation problem in Ukraine might become a live issue and today — when the Soviet bloc is being riddled by fissures, such as the Polish October, the upheavals at the universities of Kharkiv and Kyiv — an attempt is being made to kill the legend of the Ataman.

It is a double tragedy that this secret game is being attempted with the use of Jewish hands. The organizers of this program have not taken into account the fate of the Jewish population in Ukraine and Eastern Europe, in the same manner as their fate was not taken into account in 1926."

Intellectual Fighting-Power the Precondition for Victory

Dutch Guest of ABN holds Lecture in Munich

At the invitation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the Secretary-General of the Dutch organization "Activeringswerk Geestelijke Weerbaarheid" ("Activation Work for Intellectual Defense"), Mr. J. Fonteijn, held a lecture on "The Intellectual Basis of the Fight against Communism" at the "Kunstgewerbehauus", Munich, on June 21. In his welcoming address, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of Slovakia, who presided over this meeting, which was attended by a select audience, described the said Dutch organization as a sincere friend of the peoples subjugated by Russia and as a trustworthy fellow-fighter of the ABN.

In his lecture, which was imbued with truly Christian feelings, Mr. Fonteijn described the fight against Communism as a fight against the representatives of evil and the powers of darkness. He stressed as the fundamental principle and precondition of this fight the idea of intellectual fighting-power and then proceeded to elucidate this idea. As proof of the fact that the fight against Communism is, above all, a struggle on an intellectual level, he quoted the words of the Soviet Russian Vyshinsky: "We Russians will conquer the world not with our atomic bombs, but with our brain, our ideas and our doctrines."

The audience applauded enthusiastically when Mr. Fonteijn said that he and his organization were on the side of the peoples enslaved by Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism. Referring to the egoistic attitude of many circles in the West, Mr. Fonteijn exclaimed: "What do they (these egoistic persons) care about all the concentration camps in the East?! Of what interest is it to them that their fellow-men, living in the same part of the world as themselves, are tortured to death or deported to dreadful Siberia, or that the churches in the Communist countries have for the most part been closed down and that the religion which is now officially "allowed" to continue to exist is abused for evil purposes, — all this does not interest them in the least!" And, he added: "Are not Poznan and Hungary, Vorkuta and Kingiri enough to rouse our intellectual fighting-power? . . . Are there not millions of slaves still languishing and perishing in the countless concentration camps of the Soviet Union?"

In particular, the speaker stressed the idea that intellectual fighting-power must not be defensive, but, as a form of resistance against Communist intellectual aggression, must be offensive in character. All those who are anxious to see evil defeated, he said, must contribute their share to this fighting-power; for this intellectual fighting-power on the basis of Christian values is the chief intellectual weapon against Communism, by means of which and with God's Divine Help a victory can be achieved.

At the suggestion of the Slovak delegation of the ABN, a resolution was then adopted unanimously, in which an appeal was made to the governments of the free world to desist from indirectly supporting the Soviet regime by their attitude of indifference and their disregard of actual facts.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

HUNGARY

Desperate Action by Young Concentration Camp Prisoners

A riot broke out recently in a concentration camp near Győr in Hungary, where the Communists have been holding 2,000 young persons under 30 years of age in captivity ever since the Hungarian revolution.

The hardships which the prisoners are forced to endure are indescribable, and, in addition, they have to work in the mines in shifts. On February 16th this year, Kalman Bereczky, a twenty-one-year old student, refused to work. He was thereupon almost beaten to death by the guards and dragged to the camp prison. On the same day, the other prisoners, on returning to the camp from the mines, attacked the guards, knocked them down with various tools, snatched their rifles from them and started firing at the rest of the guards. The Communists immediately sounded the alarm, and machine-guns were turned on the prisoners, forcing them to surrender. Many of them, however, managed to escape from the camp.

The Minister of the Interior thereupon sent an investigatory commission to the camp, which reported that everything was in order there, that the prisoners were treated well and that the accommodation and food were good. The number of guards, however, was then increased.

TURKISTAN

The newspaper "Turkestanskaya Pravda" recently issued a warning because the spring cultivation quotas have not been reached. In most districts the quotas fixed were not even reached by half (only about 40 per cent). This was due to a shortage of seeds and to the fact that there were not enough agricultural machines available. In addition, oil for the tractors is very often not available, and, what is more, the workers are in the habit of coming to work late.

According to a report in the newspaper "Kasakhstanska Pravda" ("The Truth of Kazakhstan"), a large number of cattle has perished recently in the district of Tevren-Uziask, Kzil-Ordynsk (Kazakhstan). This fact, so it is stated, is due to negligence on the part of the herdsmen in the collective farms of Kazakhstan as regards the breeding and care of cattle.

It was stated recently by the flying brigade of controllers of the newspaper "Kasakhstanska Pravda" that the quotas fixed with regard to the

increased breeding of poultry in the areas of Akmolinsk and Kustanaisk have not been reached. It was also pointed out that the number of poultry that has perished during the past two months amounts to 12,000. This is due to the fact that the managers of the newly organized collective farms have failed to erect sufficient poultry sheds in time. In addition, many of the deportees who are supposed to look after the poultry have escaped from the collective farms, and so far the militiamen have failed to get hold of these persons.

SLOVAKIA

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

The largest concentration camps in Slovakia are located in the towns of Leopoldov (about 1,600 internees), Ilava (about 1,500 internees), Zelizovce (a camp for women, with about 1,500 internees) and Rimavska Sobota (about 1,200 internees). The internees are treated most brutally and, as a result of the meagre rations they receive, their health has been seriously impaired. Indeed, many of them are suffering from serious diseases.

During the Hungarian revolution the commandants and guards of the concentration camps in Slovakia were afraid that a revolution would break out in Slovakia, too, and that the population would then liberate the internees. They were also frightened lest revolts might break out in the concentration camps. For this reason they, on the one hand, resorted to all sorts of safety measures, whilst the guards, on the other hand, sought to win over the internees so as to evade any possible acts of revenge. In the camp at Leopoldov, for instance, some of the guards tearfully begged the internees to forgive them on the grounds that they had been forced to do their duty and had little children at home, etc. Slogans such as "Slovaks for Slovakia!", "Czechs go to Czechia!", "Into Prison with the Communists!", and "STB-men to Hang on the Gallows!" (STB is the official abbreviation for the political police), were chalked up on the outside walls of the concentration camps by the population. After the Hungarian revolution had been crushed, the Communists triumphed once more and treated the internees even more cruelly than before. As a result of these unbearable conditions, a revolt broke out in the Leopoldov concentration camp, but it was put down by police units, who used machine guns for this purpose.

Slovakian political prisoners are interned not only in the concentration camps in Slovakia, but also in the Bohemian provinces, in particular in Joachimstal (Jachymov), where they are forced to work in the uranium mines.

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OBITUARY

John F. Stewart - Champion of the Enslaved Nations †

The sad news that the great friend of the nations enslaved by Communist Russia, John F. Stewart, the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, died in Edinburgh, Scotland, on August 5, 1958, after a prolonged illness has come as a shock to all those who knew him either personally or from his writings and his work. Especially hard it is to grasp this fact for the numerous exiles from the countries which suffer today in the grip of the Russian Bolshevik occupation, for he was well known to them as one of the most devoted champions of the cause of liberation of Eastern Europe and Russian dominated Asia from national oppression and Muscovite tyranny. The man whose authoritative voice was proclaiming far and wide the ideas which are dear and sacred to the untold millions of the downtrodden people in the Bolshevik Russian empire, he who devoted the later part of his long and productive life to the self-sacrificing service for the cause he rightly believed was most just as well as of the utmost importance to the survival of the Free World, is no longer among us.

John F. Stewart has a special place in the hearts of the members of the nations subjugated by Russia, for he was one of the very few people who after the Second World War, right from the beginning, realised the tragic mistakes which the Western Powers were committing in their policy towards Russia and the nations of Eastern Europe. In the general atmosphere of appeasement of Russian imperialist ambitions, at a time when whole nations were handed over to Stalin's fury on a diplomatic plate at Yalta and Potsdam, John F. Stewart raised the voice of protest and warning. He founded the celebrated Scottish League for European Freedom which accomplished a great amount of work in defending the ideals of national freedom and independence for all the nations subjugated by means of fraud and violence by Russia and in combating the widespread errors of judgement as regards the situation in Eastern Europe which were prevalent in the post-war years, not only among the general public but also among the prominent politicians in the West. It was John F. Stewart who was one of the first Westerners to realise and point out clearly, for all to learn, the importance and the strength of the national liberation movements beyond the Iron Curtain, with all the consequences for the policy of the Free World which follow from this fact. In numerous pamphlets, articles and letters written by himself or by others and published by the Scottish League for European Freedom under his able leadership, he explained that the Soviet Union is not a monolithic state, but a multi-national empire with the dominant Russian nation and the enslaved Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Caucasian, Turkestanian and other nations. His efforts were aimed to make the Free World and particularly its intellectual and political



It is with great sorrow that we announce the death of

John F. Stewart

Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, on August 5, 1958, in Edinburgh.

During the many years in which Mr. Stewart was in constant touch with the A.B.N., he always showed a keen interest in the activity of this organization and gave it his wholehearted moral support. With his death the A.B.N. has lost a loyal friend and staunch champion of the cause of the enslaved peoples. His memory will live on in our hearts.

*The Central Committee of the
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations*

leaders realize that the slogans of national freedom and independence from Russia are the most potent political weapons the West can use in order to win over millions of the enslaved people in the countries under Russian domination, to thwart the designs of Moscow aimed at world domination. It is not his fault that the West has been slow in grasping this idea, which the representatives of the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations have long urged. John F. Stewart realised that the victory of the Free

World over Communist Russian tyranny can only come when the efforts of the West are co-ordinated with the strivings of the enslaved nations to regain their national sovereignty and independence. Therefore, J. F. Stewart and the Scottish League, of which he was the Chairman, co-operated closely with the co-ordinating center of the national liberation revolutionary movements beyond the Iron Curtain, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Due to his assistance and advice, one of the Congresses of the latter organization, the A.B.N., was held in Edinburgh in 1949 and had considerable success.

John F. Stewart's personality was as interesting as it was dynamic. Already in his youth he travelled much and spent a number of years of hard life in South Africa where he showed a lot of personal courage and endurance. Later, when his business activities brought him to the Baltic countries and to Soviet Russia, he used his keen sense of observation and his judgement to study Eastern Europe and the psychology of its various peoples. It was at that time that he gained an understanding of the Russians' mentality and their policy with regard to the enslaved peoples and to the outside world. He became convinced that Russian Communist imperialism is the greatest threat to human freedom in the world and that it can only be combated effectively by giving support to the anti-imperialist national liberation movements of the subjugated peoples, particularly of Ukraine, which is the focal point of the anti-Moscow resistance. From the realisation of the urgent needs of the situation grew the entire activity of J. F. Stewart as one of the founders of the Scottish League for European Freedom and its Chairman. His close and friendly relations with the members of the A.B.N., particularly of its Central Committee and especially Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, the President of the latter, are known and have resulted in significant achievements. The work of John F. Stewart will remain a permanent memorial to his moral and spiritual strength, his clear thinking and foresight, his courage and devotion to the cause he believed right. An octogenarian, but vigorous of mind, though declining in bodily strength, he applied his energy, his knowledge and the authority he enjoyed among many of his countrymen, as well as in other countries, to the great and difficult, but noble task of paving the way for a better understanding in the Free World of the political realities behind the Iron Curtain, of the Russian imperialistic designs and the explosive power of the suppressed national liberation movements of the nations enslaved by Moscow. Let the memory of John F. Stewart, the great friend of the enslaved nations, be honoured for ever in the annals of the arduous struggle of the subjugated peoples for their national freedom, sovereignty and independence.

W. Mykula

Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff:

The Problems of the Near East

New and decisive moves have recently been made in the political game of chess in the Near East. Arabian nationalism, slyly assisted by the Kremlin, has been able to achieve some important successes, by reducing the spheres of influence of the Western powers in the Arabian countries to a series of bridge-heads along the east Mediterranean coast and the Persian Gulf.

The counter-moves of the U.S.A. and England by military operations in the Lebanon and Jordan, though these were actually carried out at the explicit request of the legal governments of these countries, caused a new crisis in the international political situation and called the Soviet Union on the stage, which promptly took this new and welcome opportunity to assume the role of defender and protector of Arab independence. And, what is more, — Moscow is getting ready to move the chess-men itself, allegedly to the advantage of its Arab partners, but in reality, however, strictly in accordance with the aims of world Communism and its world conquest plans.

The Russians have always been good chess players, and Soviet policy in particular has attained a great mastery in this art. It is high time that the West, too, as regards the Arab world adopts a policy which would make the Soviet seconds superfluous and would debar them from the game. In any case, they are very dubious "friends" of Arabian nationalism, and it can hardly be assumed that the revolutionary governments in Cairo, Bagdad and elsewhere will fail to realize the serious nature of the mortgages which they have taken up with Moscow in return for the help that is now being accorded to them so generously.

"Whilst Soviet diplomatic circles are advocating amicable agreement and disarmament, the hand of Moscow continues to guide the fierce offensive of world Communism to more break-throughs in the zones of the free world". This statement, which appeared a short time ago in an emigrant paper, has been fully substantiated by recent events.

However indisputable the fact may be that Moscow is the party behind the scenes that is directing the revolutionary ferment in the former biblical countries of the Near East and is acting as prompter to the actors, there can, however, on the other hand, be no doubt about the fact that, organically, the source of the deeper and direct motives of action lies in the present political consciousness of the Arabian peoples themselves. Not that the latter are to be regarded as having a certain spiritual affinity with Bolshevik ideology and practices; on the contrary, Islam can as little be reconciled with godless Marxism as can the urge of the Arab world for freedom and independence with subjugation under the Soviet colonial system.

If, in spite of this fact, we today witness such a paradoxical symbiosis between the freedom-longing Arabian national revolution and tyrannical anti-national Bolshevism, then the reasons for this are purely of an opportunist nature: the methods used so far by certain Western powers in order to protect their economic and strategic interests in the Arabian countries, and certain regimes there, which guaranteed the usufruct of existing concessions, have resulted in a deeply rooted animosity complex in the consciousness of the Arabian masses, and it is this complex which is actually at the bottom of the present revo-

lutionary ferment. Quite apart from the systematic Communist propaganda disseminated in the Arab world, which has only had a comparatively limited success, Soviet policy has concentrated all its efforts on the Arabian peoples' desire to shake off foreign tutelage, and it has thus, by loudly proclaiming boastful watchwords attacking "colonialism" and the "Western imperialists", succeeded in becoming, as it were, a "natural" ally of these peoples.

If, some day, however, the poor Arabian peoples were to experience Soviet "liberation" in practice — and may God preserve them from such a fate, then it would undoubtedly be their turn to say to their Muscovite "protectors": "Don't come near us with your honey or with your sting!" — which were the memorable words used by a Russophil Bulgarian politician after the first "liberation" of his country by the Russians. For this reason

Bolshevization and Russification are Siamese Twins. If anyone sets out hand in hand with the Russian imperialists to fight Bolshevism, he is sure to lose.

it is all the more regrettable that the Western world has hesitated for so long to meet the new liberal trends among these peoples halfway and has unnecessarily snubbed Arab nationalism, a fact which, incidentally, first opened the door to Soviet infiltration into this key position of the world.

The above-mentioned emigrant paper also wrote as follows: "Since it realizes the dynamic force of the national idea, Bolshevism makes considerable use of it and in order to achieve its aims abuses national movements, although in reality nationalism is exactly the opposite of the Communist dogmas and the assimilation and Russification of the subjugated peoples; the Western democracies, on the other hand, though they have sprung from national soil and in spite of the fact that in practice they respect national peculiarities and guarantee the flourishing of national culture, have begun to detach themselves from nationalism and, consequently, are in danger of losing the national idea as the strongest trump card in the epochal conflict with world Communism." And it is precisely from this aspect that the Arabian problem must now be considered and comprehended, and not merely in order to find a causal explanation for the development of events, but — and this is more important — in order to ascertain the essential corrective in the relation of the West and its future policy to the Arab world.

Since the first stage of the conflict in the Near East appears to be ending in favour of Arab nationalism, it is imperative that the second stage should not be won by Moscow. And this should be the diagonal line on which both the Arab peoples and also the free democratic world could and should meet on the strength of their mutual vital interests.

Fundamentally, the Arab national revolution is not in any way interested in opening the door to Soviet aggression in this key position of international political balance, not only because the expansion of the Muscovite imperium to these countries would deprive

the peoples of the independence which they have only recently gained, but also because this would automatically and inevitably start such a reaction on the part of the Western powers that the Arab peoples would be doomed to perish for the sins of others.

As far as their motives and ideology are concerned, Arab nationalism and its revolutions have actually nothing in common with Marxist theories and still less with the aims of world Communism. Its components, as already pointed out, are rooted, on the one hand, in the urge for economic and political emancipation from foreign dependence and, on the other hand, in the longing for a better standard of living, for a more just social order and for a democratic form of government.

This ideal of the present Arabian political rebirth is, therefore, far more closely allied to the progressive trends of the West, which have already been realized here long since in the form of liberalism and democracy, than it is to the Soviet system of state capitalism and internationalism, which will only bring the Arab peoples a form of bondage that would be even worse than any kind of "colonialism" which they have had to endure so far.

If Arab nationalism has in some cases rebelled in particular against the ruling dynasties, this was by no means done in accordance with the Bolshevik watchwords against so-called "monarchist Fascism", but was solely due to the fact that the regimes in question were regarded as trustees of "Western colonialism" and failed to identify themselves with the persistent national wishes and social aims and aspirations of their peoples.

All the preconditions are therefore given for establishing the relations of the Western world to the Arab peoples on a new basis, determined by equal partnership and common ideals of freedom and social justice.

Any efforts which the Western democracies might make in this direction would, in any case, be far more appropriate and definitely more justified than all their attempts to fraternize with so-called "National Communism" and all their advances in this respect.

But whichever way one looks at the question at issue, the fight to gain possession of the Arab world has entered on a decisive phase and today presents a burning problem in world politics. Let us hope that the Western powers will do their share, namely by regaining and retaining the confidence of these peoples, towards bringing this fight to an end that is propitious for the free world. Surely it is not too late to do so.

Karl Marx and Russian Imperialism

"As regards Russia's antipathy to an aggrandizement, I quote the following facts from the history of Russia's acquisition of territory since Peter the Great: the Russian frontier has been shifted, — in the direction of Dresden, Berlin and Vienna by 700 miles, in the direction of Stockholm by 650 miles, in the direction of Teheran by 1,000 miles. Russia's policy is unchangeable. Her methods, tactics and manoeuvres may change, but the lodestar of her policy, world dominion, is a fixed star!"

Karl Marx, the founder of Marxism (1860).

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky:

The National Question in Communist Theory and Practice

IV.

The True Meaning of the Communist Conception of the Equality of Rights

The peoples who, after World War II, were incorporated in Moscow's sphere of influence know the true meaning of the Communist conception of the equality of rights. Moscow could have effected this in two different ways: by incorporating them in the Soviet Union as constituent republics or as equal partners of the U.S.S.R. Logically it would have been in keeping with Communist theory if these countries, after their occupation by the Red Army, had been incorporated in the Soviet Union. But this was not done as it was not opportune from the foreign policy aspect, since in that case Moscow would already in 1945 have mobilized strong forces against itself and the successes achieved by the Soviets after World War II would thus, for the most part, have been impossible. By the end of World War II the strength of the U.S.S.R. had been undermined to such an extent that it could not risk a conflict.

All this, however, is merely of theoretical importance, for actually Moscow achieved all that it set out to achieve. Although theoretically these countries are not dependent on Moscow, they have in practice been degraded to the status of colonies of Great Russia.

The so-called governments of these countries were forced on the population by the Red Army. In view of the opposition of the majority of the population, they can only assert themselves as long as they have the support of the Kremlin and enjoy the latter's confidence. For this reason they are forced to comply wholly with Moscow's wishes.

From the military point of view, these countries are territories which are occupied by Moscow. It is true that the Kremlin has allegedly drawn up basic treaties in this respect, but there can be no doubt about the fact that the representatives forced on these peoples by the Red Army could have found some other possibility, rather than agree to such a solution. The fate of the former head of the Hungarian government, Imre Nagy, who was installed by the Communists, is typical of the fate of every Party member who would like to be a partner of the Kremlin tyrants with equal rights. The Warsaw Pact, too, was created by the Kremlin in the first place as an instrument by which to secure its own supremacy over the peoples of Central and South-east Europe and in order to preserve the Communist dictatorship there.

Theoretically, these territories, from the point of view of foreign policy, enjoy the same rights as the Soviet Union; in reality, however, they can hardly even be called satellites. From the point of view of international law, they are no longer states. In world politics all these so-called states can no longer assert a point of view which is in keeping with their interests, since their point of view is determined by Moscow's will.

It is true that theoretically the Communist leaders of the satellites within the framework of the present Communist system are equal to those of Russia. Up to 1945 the Communist leaders in various countries were functionaries of various sections of the uniform Communist International. In order to win the confidence of the Western powers, the Kremlin in 1945 theoretically dissolved the Comintern and the Communist parties of the various countries thus became independent and now

enjoyed equal rights. In actual practice, however, there was little change, and in 1947 the Cominform was set up. Despite the fact that it was dissolved in 1956 — the purpose of this measure was to create the psychological preconditions for the policy of coexistence —, things have since then remained very much as they were.

Contrary to what one would like to believe, the present system represents a consolidation of Moscow's influence. During the existence of the Comintern, the non-Russian Communist leaders were allowed to assert or at least express their opinion and point of view. Since then, however, the Kremlin decides all theoretical questions without the cooperation of the prominent Communists of other countries. The decisions reached by the Kremlin, however, hold good for all Communists. This was evident from the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Although these resolutions were stipulated by the Kremlin alone, they were regarded as a generally valid course to be followed by the Communists of the whole world.

The Joint Game of Communism and Russian Imperialism

A veritable symbiosis has come into being between Russian imperialistic plans and Communist world revolution aims. The Communists are well aware of the fact that they cannot realize their aims without the aid and support of Moscow. For this reason, they are prepared to make many concessions to Russia. They are prepared not only to regard the Russians as *primus inter pares*, but also to concede Moscow a dominating position in the Communist system.

The Russians rightly assess the big advantages which they derive from their cooperation with Communism. The Communists all over the world organize their Fifth Columns which serve Russian imperialistic aims. For this reason, the Russians are prepared to make some sacrifices, in the form of basic rights and freedoms, to Communist ideology. They are interested above all in achieving Great Russian aims such as not even a tsar ventured to dream of. Thus, the Communist aims in no way obstruct Great Russian imperialistic plans; on the contrary, the Communists regard these plans as an extremely effective driving force towards a world revolution. And the Great Russian imperialists on their part regard the world revolution aims of Communism as a useful contribution towards their own world conquest plans.

The political decisions reached at Yalta in February, 1945, enabled the Russians to take a big step forwards in the expansion of their imperium. In order to justify their complete domination of the territories occupied by the Red Army, Communist governments, which are prepared to carry out all Moscow's wishes, were forced on the population of these countries. It is an important fact that Moscow has in Communism an excellent argument by means of which to justify and disguise its domination and control of these countries.

Although the Kremlin in pursuing its imperialistic aims has not renounced the Communist arguments of internationalism, it does not disdain to resort to Pan-Slavism, too. The Soviet Union has seized every opportunity to pose as the defender and protector of the smaller Slavic-speaking peoples. Indeed, Mos-

cow even went so far as to pose as the champion of the Slavonic countries in the struggle against the Germanic world which lasted for centuries. And it is in this connection that the Oder-Neisse-Line and the expulsion of the Germans from the East are designated as a just correction of the results achieved in the course of the centuries of German expansion towards the Slavonic countries. In reality it is an altruistic camouflage of the enslavement of all these peoples.

Although the dictatorship which exists behind the Iron Curtain represents the most perfect and most ruthless form of tyranny, Moscow has the audacity to oppose the Western powers by posing as the champion of the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples, — certainly not in the interests of freedom and the assertion of democratic principles, but merely in order to create more favourable preconditions for the realization of the Communist revolution. Despite the fact that the majority of the people in the countries ruled by the Communists are extremely discontented and are forced to suffer great privations and hardships, the Kremlin despots pose as the protectors of the interests of those who are discontented, in the free world, in order to exploit these peoples for their own imperialistic aims.

The fact that Moscow manages to play such a treacherous game with the interests of humanity is proof of the indecision and thoughtlessness of the West. It seems almost incredible that whilst Moscow is posing as the champion of the freedom of the Moslems in the Near East and Africa, it is at the same time ruthlessly oppressing 25 million Mohammedans in the Soviet Union.

Under the protectorate of this Great Russian imperialism the imperialisms of the other peoples, as for instance the Czechs, Chinese, and Serbs, etc., flourish and prosper. They are approved by Moscow for the sole reason that they serve its purposes and interests. And in this respect the right of self-determination of the incarcerated peoples is violated to such an extent that even the Chinese Communists have felt it necessary to censure these subsidiary forms of imperialism.

The Russian Colonization System

Although Moscow constantly talks about the freedom and equality of the peoples, it has succeeded in imposing its rule on a population three times as large as the Russian population and in setting up the largest colonial empire in the world. In order to preserve this empire, the Kremlin is forced to inflict the worst possible colonization methods on the peoples it rules.

Moscow has extensive colonization methods at its disposal, which it has tried out and applied throughout hundreds of years. The Kremlin is not merely concerned in asserting its political influence or its political control in the countries it rules, but in ruling these countries, permanently and completely. Once territories are incorporated in Moscow's sphere of influence, they are consistently treated in such a way that they soon surrender every trace of independence and self-administration and sink to the level of a Russian province or colony. It is true that, to all outward appearance, a semblance of independence and self-administration is preserved, but in reality centralism is consistently enforced. The methods applied by Potemkin

have a well-tried tradition in Russia. And all these measures are enforced by the Kremlin despots on the 100 million Europeans, who have been incarcerated in their sphere of influence since the end of World War II, just as ruthlessly as they have been enforcing them for decades and, in fact, for centuries on the territories which today form part of the U.S.S.R.

By applying these methods Moscow has attained one of its aims, namely that behind the Iron Curtain the will of the Kremlin despots carries more weight than any law in these countries. Under the pretext of using the Soviet experience of Russia in building up socialism, the representatives of the Kremlin despots in the various subjugated countries consider themselves obliged to propagate and practise a consistent imitation of Russia. Moscow is regarded as the centre of life in the Soviet Union; everything else is merely a province of Russia.

The Soviet rulers have thought out subtle means by which to exploit the countries they rule, economically and financially, under various pretexts and by resorting to all sorts of methods. The economic system of all these territories has been brought into line with Moscow. And as far as their foreign trade is concerned, the economic interests of Russia are the deciding factor.

Nor do the men in power in the Kremlin neglect the cultural and intellectual alignment of these countries. They do their utmost to present Russia as the country of the greatest progress and the individual Russian as a member of the most superior race in the world. According to their statements, the Russians are the pillar and support of culture and progress. The Russians know everything and they know everything better than any other people in the world. The Russians are

the supermen who have helped Communism to be victorious and who will make the whole world happy. The Russians are the pillar and support of the entire structure of the Soviet system and the Soviet imperium, as well as the hope of the world revolution.

It is therefore not surprising that all that is Russian is glorified. The Russians are the right interpreters of Marxism and, therefore, the desired experts and advisers. And for this reason, Party secretaries, marshals, ministers, and ambassadors, etc., are recruited mainly from their ranks.

The Russian language, in which numerous works on Communism have been written and published, is the sacred language of the Communists. To have a perfect knowledge of Russian is proof of one's loyalty to Communism. Although Russification is regarded as a service to Communism, there can be no doubt about the fact that this is one of the methods of the Russian colonization system.

By resorting to extensive propagandist tricks an attempt is made to produce an inferiority complex among the subjugated peoples, in order to create the psychological conditions needed to consolidate Moscow's rule in these countries.

For hundreds of years Moscow has been using a more or less dense Iron Curtain in order to separate its imperium from the rest of the world and to protect it against the latter. By means of a similar kind of isolation, the Kremlin despots are endeavouring to isolate the subjugated territories against the influence of freedom and to ensure that they will not be disturbed whilst enjoying their spoils. And thus Moscow succeeds in concealing the terrorist measures it inflicts on the discontented population, measures which represent a precondition of its successful colonization system, from the rest of the world.

The Anti-Communist Voice of Jerusalem Expresses its Opinion

(An Excerpt from the letter by "The Anti-Communist League of Jerusalem".)

The West's weakness lies in the fact that no common force or ideal unites its nations; in truth, the West is nothing more, at present, than a chain of political associates, of military alliances and of economic pacts; and the economic aid which is proffered by the United States of America is the main pivot of all these.

The West's failure lies in the fact that, while being in the position of routing all the offensives of International Communism by the use of its physical and economical force, it is afraid of doing so. It is afraid of answering energetically, it is interested only in saving its face and the shreds of prestige Communism still leaves on its back. To Sputnik no military, political or economic counter-offensive was forthcoming. Typically, the West's answer was the sending off of more and more "Western" sputniks, and lame excuses for its failure to do so before and better. Nonetheless, the real line of firing lies elsewhere, far behind the Russian smokescreen. Action against Russian domination of its slave-satellites would have been more effective by far than the production of small and puny scientific space-satellites which, anyway, are not an answer to the truly military character of Russia's own Sputniks, but have only scientific and propaganda worth — if any.

The West is mute in the face of Communist propaganda in the free world. Moreover, it does not even dream that it could send its own propagandists into the enslaved Communist nations, which surely know better than any other part of the world where the truth lies.

The seed of truth, planted by volunteers of the enslaved countries, would find a fertile soil in the longing for freedom and the pain of those oppressed, behind the Iron Curtain. It would bring nearer the fall of the Communist regime in the slave-satellites. Yet, the West does not do a thing. It cannot: for no ideal unites it into a fighting, spiritual-minded force.

The West once again has tried to reach its eternal and ephemeral goal — Status Quo Ante. Once again it has failed in this. The bad impression remains. Now the problem of a possible Summit Conference arrives. It is exploited — as always — by Russia for propaganda purposes. Here, too, it is useless if it is not used by the West for an aggressive coup against Communism's leadership.

We, Anti-Communists, have other suggestions to offer. We do not believe in a defensive policy for the West. We do not believe in the seriousness of Russian menaces "to destroy the world". We DO believe, on the other hand, that the Third World War, which is already on us, having broken out the day the Potsdam Conference took its end, can be shortened and lightened by a stronger, harder, Western attitude and policy — which is bound to save millions of human lives in the final account, by sacrificing some now — and mostly the enemy's.

We do NOT want an atomic war. However, we DO believe that fear itself is more destructive to the free world than such a war. Only a strong and bold policy can destroy Communism.

An Eyewitness Reports

Marek Hlasko, a representative of the young Polish literary generation, came to Paris in April this year. Twenty-five years of age, he has already published several novels and has written a number of film scenarios, etc. One of his books was awarded a prize, but two others, incidentally, could not be published as they were prohibited by the Polish censor.

As his parents were poor, he was obliged to try his hand at all kinds of jobs. And in this respect he can be compared with the American writer, Jack London, whilst his style is similar to that of Ernest Hemingway. Hlasko depicts the present situation in Poland and all the changes and upheavals caused by the Bolshevization and Russification of his native country, — poverty and dire need, the mass migration of the population to the towns, the serious shortage of dwellings and the dreadful living conditions.

Prior to the Red Russian occupation of Poland, the cultural level of the country resembled that of Central or even Western Europe, but within a few years of Soviet Russian rule all cultural life has been destroyed and Poland has changed almost beyond recognition.

According to Hlasko, Warsaw, which has become a dismal and dirty town, is now mainly inhabited by drunkards and low women. The average person constantly fears for his life and whenever possible avoids encountering militiamen and soldiers. Placards containing Communist propaganda lies are posted up all over the town. Terrorism, fear, mendacity, despair and drunkenness predominate throughout Poland. There is a general atmosphere of neglect everywhere. Buildings are falling to pieces for want of repair, and the people have long since ceased to hope for better times to come.

Hlasko has learned to "believe in nothing". Nobody could depict more aptly than he the total devastation which the Russian Communists have brought to Poland. Poland tried for a long time to resist Moscow's efforts to poison her spiritually and intellectually, but in vain.

Hlasko is not a politician, but only a writer, and for this reason we may believe him when he stresses that the broad masses in Poland are not Communist. Since the return of Gomulka to Warsaw, the situation in Poland has not improved in the least. Communist totalitarianism, which in this case is equal to the management of a bankrupt enterprise, is supported in every way by Gomulka and his fellow-Communists. This totalitarianism kills all individuality. The people of Poland are becoming more and more passive and are merely waiting for death, since they have no prospects to look forward to and nothing to hope for in the near future.

The present generation in Poland has no common ideology for which it would fight. Hlasko is convinced that nothing which might happen between the West and the East could possibly improve the present situation in Poland as long as this country is under Soviet Russian occupation.

Incidentally, the news that Hlasko's books were to be translated into the West European languages caused a considerable fury in Warsaw political circles.

We do not, however, agree with Hlasko's view that there is no longer any hope at all of Poland ridding herself of Soviet Russian enslavement. Ukraine has been suffering under the same Red Russian yoke far longer than Poland. It is time the Poles learnt a lesson from the history of their country and began to cooperate with the Ukrainians in combatting the common Russian imperialistic danger. Once they face the Russian enemy together and cease fighting each other, neither Ukraine nor Poland will be lost.

We do appeal to all Anti-Communist elements of the world, in the West and East, to help create an Anti-Communist International Force, with a well-defined policy and strategy, well-armed; and based on one of the free countries of the world; which shall start a huge propaganda crusade, by radio, television, and all other means, in order to awaken the enslaved masses of the eastern, Communism-infested countries; instead of putting these Western propaganda instruments unwittingly at the service of Russia's "Sputnik-Crusades".

Niko Nakashidze:

Forty Years of Russian Bolshevik Power

III.

Development of Events in the non-Russian Countries (1917—1921)

Immediately after the collapse of tsarist rule, national councils were established in the non-Russian countries. In the summer of 1917, a congress of the representatives of these peoples was held in Kyiv, at which they demanded that the Russian government should fulfil its promises regarding the democracy and should recognize their national right to self-determination.

Kerensky's government, however, refused to consider these demands and even refused to give the Ukrainian delegation an audience. The Ukrainian soldiers of the Petrograd garrison marched to the government palace and demanded the return of the holy relics and shrines belonging to the Ukrainian state. But the non-Russian peoples did not wait for permission from the Petrograd government. They immediately nationalized all the schools in their countries, reinstated their language in the law courts and administrative departments, and, in Georgia and Ukraine, restored the autocephalous character of the Church. But the proclamation of their independence had to be deferred, for Caucasia, the Baltic states and Ukraine were fighting-front sectors and strong Russian troops were concentrated there. The latter had no intention of withdrawing, and native units were therefore set up in order to protect the country from being pillaged by this military rabble.

The socialists who had gained power with the aid of the soldiers' and workers' councils likewise hoped to achieve the realization of their national claims through the so-called "All-Russian Constituent Assembly". But when the latter was dispersed by the Bolsheviks, the only thing to do, was to take fate in one's own hands. In 1918 the non-Russian peoples proclaimed their independence and restored their independent national states. The following countries now became democratic republics: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, North Caucasia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkestan.

Poland was occupied by Germany at that time and thus was not involved in the events in the former Russian empire, whilst Finland still had certain autonomous rights dating back to tsarist days and was, therefore, able to restore her state immediately after the outbreak of the revolution, though it was not yet recognized by Russia. It was not long, however, before these states were recognized de facto by the Major Powers and, later, de jure, too.

The sovereign states of Ukraine and Georgia were recognized by Russia in the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Lenin, however, did not intend to relinquish these countries so easily. In 1919, fighting was still going on in the Baltic states against the Russian Red Army, and in Ukraine the situation was even more complicated. A large number of Russian troops were still concentrated there and were fighting against the Ukrainians. Finally, General Denikin's "White" Russian army intervened and so, too, in 1920 did Polish troops, which advanced as far as Kyiv. Against these Polish troops Red Moscow then threw in strong forces, which occupied Kyiv. From here they marched into Poland. The Ukrainian government was thus constantly forced to change its headquarters and to carry on a war on all sides.

Russian auxiliary troops which had remained in Turkestan continued to occupy large areas of the country, and here, too, fighting was constantly going on. It was only Caucasia that, already in 1918, succeeded in forcing the Russian troops to withdraw to Russia.

Meanwhile, the situation in Russia itself became more stabilized, as the "White" Russian army was annihilated in 1920. Regular Red troops were now set up, and many former Russian officers, including a number of well-known generals, as for instance the tsarist commander-in-chief of the south fighting-front, Brusilov, were taken over. They were prepared to give their services for the preservation of the Russian empire, even under the Bolsheviks. The strength of the Red Army lay in

the large number of rank and file, and it was thus in a position to overrun our countries with soldiers, which was what actually happened. The Russians succeeded in recapturing some countries, and by 1921, Ukraine, Caucasia and Turkestan were once more under Russian rule. Thus, our independent national states only existed for three years, and the most tragic chapter of their history now began.

The Baltic states did not suffer this same fate until twenty years later. Their governments, however, failed to learn a lesson from what had happened in our countries. They imagined that it was their strength which guaranteed the existence of their states and felt secure in the bosom of the League of Nations. They failed to realize that they only owed their existence to the world political

constellation. They gave themselves up to illusions, as if they were unaware of the fact that Russia would never renounce these countries and was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to seize them. After existing for twenty years, these states fell a prey to the Russians even more easily than did our countries. They had not even formed a joint defence alliance. Even today, the former ministers, diplomats and politicians in exile of these countries still hold the opinion that their peoples, from the legal point of view, are in a more privileged position than our peoples. And in their publications they express satisfaction at the fact that Russian emigrant organizations do not recognize the occupation of their countries. But they are indifferent to the fate of our peoples. How politically naive they must be!

The Non-Russian Countries under Russian Communist Rule

The Russians once more became the rulers in our countries. And since then, the history of our peoples has been one of indescribable suffering and hardship.

Immediately after the occupation, the notorious CHEKA, with all its ruthless cruelty, got to work. Leading personalities of public life, officers, clergy, etc., were arrested. As a warning example, many persons who had committed no crime whatever were shot. In Georgia, for instance, a Ukrainian innkeeper, Bondarenko, was murdered for the sole reason — as was alleged in the official report — that "the bourgeoisie frequented his inn". Mass-proscriptions were carried out.

The most important men, apart from Lenin, at that time were Trotsky, the People's Commissar for War, and Dzerzhinsky, the president of the CHEKA central department in Moscow. Trotsky, a former social-democrat and Menshevik, was the intellectual leader and organizer of the terrorism, and Dzerzhinsky was its executor.

The peoples of all our countries put up a desperate resistance, to which Moscow reacted with mass-terrorism. Soon afterwards, Lenin fell ill and suffered a stroke of paralysis. Stalin now gradually rose to power and began to assume the reins of government, and after Lenin's death he became absolute ruler. Thus began the regime of a despot, which is designated as "Stalinism". Much has been written about Stalin, but so far nothing has been published about the human development of this monster. He was a man devoid of all human feelings. He was not stirred by love or friendship or, indeed, by any kindly feelings whatever towards his fellow-men. He despised the human race; he was a cynic and a sadist. He was only too well aware of the attitude of our peoples, their national, political and social views and their yearning. With all the means at his disposal, he tried to break their spirit and their morale and to make the subjugated peoples his slaves. He sent his dutiful emissaries to all the subjugated countries, — S. Ordzhonikidze to Caucasia, L. Kaganovich and N. Khrushchev to Ukraine. They were his provincial governors and, as such, were authorized to adopt whatever repressive measures they wished.

When, in 1924, the general national insurrection broke out in Georgia, Ordzhonikidze resorted to ruthless measures, and after the revolt had been crushed, thousands of persons were shot, including those who were already in prison and had had no share whatever in the insurrection. In order to break the resistance of the greatest non-Russian people, the Ukrainians, and to crush their national will, an artificially created famine was started in Ukraine by confiscating all the supplies of grain and other agricultural products for the state. Millions of persons died of starvation. In distant Turkestan, where insurgents continued to put up a fierce resistance, thousands of persons were simply massacred. And millions were deported to the concentration camps of Siberia and to the most northerly regions of Russia.

The 1930's brought the beginning of the transition from socialism to Communism. The collectiv-

ization of agriculture was now enforced by means of drastic methods. Thousands of farmers were either shot or deported. Indeed, there were no longer any farmers, but only collective individuals and kolkhoz slaves. During the years 1935/36 and 1937/38, a new wave of terrorism swept all our countries. This time, our intelligentsia were the victims, and scholars, writers, artists, doctors and engineers were shot by the hundreds. Nor were the native Communists spared, either, and many of them were shot on account of "deviation" and "national tendency".

People were enslaved, all human feelings and sentiments were nipped in the bud, and all individual thought was crushed.

The Church was subjected to an indescribable persecution and degradation. The era of Nero and of Diocletian returned once more. Some day, the world will learn the truth about the martyrdom suffered by the Church in our countries and about the spirit of sacrifice and faith with which it endured this persecution and asserted itself. When the Catholic Patriarch of Georgia, Ambrosius, was tried before a court in 1925, he said to the judges: "My soul belongs to God, my heart belongs to my people, and as for my body, you can do with it what you want!"

But our peoples refused to allow themselves to be intimidated and crushed. With amazing moral and physical strength, they continued to put a resistance against the enemy, in an attempt to preserve their national existence. Most of the older generation had either been shot or had died, and the few that were still alive were old. The leading personalities of political, public and cultural life in our countries belong to the younger generation. They are the sons and daughters of workers and farmers, that is to say, persons of proletarian origin, for the peoples in the Soviet Union have been proletarianized and no longer possess any property or wealth; they have nothing but their wages or a meagre pension.

These are the persons who object to being kolkhoz slaves and factory robots. These are the persons who cling to their national individuality and refuse to become Soviet beings. They put up a grim resistance against de-nationalization and are always conscious of their national value. The Russian rulers have not succeeded in infecting the spirit of our peoples or in undermining their national will!

The outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union aroused new hopes in the hearts of our peoples. They were prepared to fight as allies of Germany. But the unfortunate and brutal policy of the German statesmen towards East Europe led to nothing and ended in disaster for Germany itself. As a result of temporary cooperation with the Germans on the part of certain circles of some of our peoples, these peoples were made to suffer dearly. Those of our fellow-countrymen who had served in the German forces were extradited to the Russians by the Allies. And the Russians dealt with these persons in a most inhuman manner. But the Kremlin rulers were not con-

tent with these measures, and measures of reprisal were taken against the peoples in question. Before the war was over, entire peoples, as for example the Crimean Tatars, the Kalmucks and the North Caucasians, were already resettled to Siberia, to regions far beyond civilization. And from the Baltic states, too, as well as from Ukraine, Byelorussia and Caucasia thousands of persons were deported to Siberia. Terrible tragedies were enacted. Families were separated, — parents from their children and women from their husbands, and deported to different regions which were far away from each other.

A fiendish, systematic and forcible resettlement of peoples is now carried out. Under various pretexts, the people of one country are transferred to another. The purpose of this campaign, it is alleged, is to supply agriculture or industry with new labour, or, on another occasion, to open up new and hitherto uncultivated regions. But, actually, the real purpose of all these measures is to deprive the peoples of their active forces and to form a heterogeneous medley of persons of various nationalities everywhere, — a mixture which is not a national unit and, accordingly, has no common will. Truly, a satanically thought-out plan! Indeed, these methods, though applied in the 20th century, are the same as those used in

ancient times by the rulers of Assyria and Babylon. Meanwhile, scholars in the West content themselves with defining this process as an amalgamation and with affirming that a new Soviet people is being formed and a new Russian-speaking race is coming into being. The deportation and resettlement of millions of our peoples to Siberia and to remote northern regions is described by these same men of learning as the "advance of European man (the European peoples) towards the Pacific and Arctic Ocean", — which is sheer cynicism, to say the least!

By deluding the Western powers, Soviet Russia has succeeded in annexing new countries in Europe, subjugating the peoples of these countries and, with the aid of its military strength, asserting its control over these territories. In Asia, too, Soviet Russia is ousting the Western powers and has already included a vast region of Asia in its sphere of influence. Indeed, a huge Communist world has come into being under the leadership of Russia. It was under Stalin's rule that Russia became a gigantic empire and achieved an immense expansion and strength. Some day, Stalin may perhaps go down in the annals of Russian history as a great ruler (!). But in the eyes of our nations he will always remain the most inhuman murderer of peoples and will be eternally damned.

The Regime of Khrushchev and Co.

Stalin died, and the legacy he left was a mighty Russian empire. His successors proved to be vile and base creatures. N. Khrushchev rose to power gradually and by degrees; and he made his way by using Stalin's methods, namely by eliminating and liquidating others, until he succeeded in becoming the absolute ruler. A short time after Stalin's death, the latter was severely criticized and censured at the Party Congress. Khrushchev, once his most humble servant, now exposed him as an evil genius and an inhuman despot, and affirmed that Stalin alone was to blame for all that had happened in the Soviet Union. Those who, only a little while ago, had toadied to Stalin and had licked his shoes, now criticized him as violently as possible. It was a sorry spectacle of human baseness and depravity. But such a spectacle has no connection with politics! Neither psychologists, sociologists nor jurists are in a position to ascertain the association of ideas in this case. It needs a poet like Shakespeare to fathom the depth and profundity of the human character and to recognize its emotional reactions. It is the task of the poet to portray demonic and satanic types. Such action can only be described, but never explained or comprehended!

And yet the world heard these revelations with a certain suspense and interest and even believed that a new era was dawning in the Communist realm. But this hope was soon superseded by bitter disappointment, for nothing changed in the imperium of the Russians. The revolts on the part of the people in Poland and, in particular, in Hungary were ruthlessly crushed by Russian troops and thousands of persons were murdered. In the Soviet Union itself there has not been the least improvement or change in the regime. People are still deported in huge numbers as was formerly the case. The young people of the Baltic countries, Ukraine and Caucasia are still being sent to Central Asia and Siberia in order to cultivate new regions. Khrushchev's methods are exactly the same as those used by Stalin. The dictatorship calls for such a regime, for if man is not subjugated, but is allowed to develop his own individuality and is able to express his own thoughts freely, he will be prompted by his urge for freedom to revolt against the dictatorship and to shake off his fetters. And since Khrushchev has become the absolute ruler, he resorts to the old and well-tried methods of enslavement. After having himself condemned Stalin and his methods, he recently declared at the celebrations to mark the fortieth anniversary of the Communist regime: "The Party will fight all those who defame Stalin and who, under the pretext of criticizing the personal cult, falsify and distort the entire historical period of the activity of our Party when Stalin was at the head of the Central Committee". And, further: "Stalin was a loyal Marxist and Leninist and a steadfast revolutionary". — In other words, "Back to Stalin!" This was the watchword in former times and it is still the watchword today.

All that remains of the doctrine and prognosis of Marx is the dictatorship with its terrorist system. Everything else has in the course of time proved to be false and nothing but the arbitrary speculation of an evil mind. Marxism was already scientifically refuted in the early days. And even some of the Marxists themselves, as for instance Bernstein, Kunov and others, tried to introduce certain corrections in the Marxist doctrine. But these were only theoretical disputes and, thus, not convincing as far as the broad masses were concerned. Meanwhile, however, life itself has refuted Marxism most markedly. In the Marxist Communist realm, known as the Soviet Union, the state has become omnipotent. The people have been degraded to proletarians and are exploited by the omnipotent state as slaves. They are no longer exploited by the capitalists, but by the state, which has become the sole monopolist. And the rulers of the state, the state and Party functionaries are the sole usufructuaries, — parasites and leeches on the body of the nation.

A Survey of the Forty Years of the Marxist-Leninist System

The Marxist assertion that a change in economic conditions would result in a change in the way of thinking of the people, has proved to be the biggest lie. There has not been the least change in the way of thinking of our peoples; they put up a resistance against being turned into kolkhoz and factory slaves; they strive to attain their freedom; they want to be free individuals. The explanation which the Soviet press gives for these phenomena is that the bourgeois remnants have not yet been completely exterminated, and it tries to blame capitalistic propaganda for this fact. For this reason, millions of persons have been shot in the course of the past decades and millions are still interned in concentration camps. No one in the world has caused as much harm as Marx and Lenin. And the world will have to suffer for this for a long time yet.

The partition of the world in two parts is an established fact, — on the one hand, the free world, and, on the other, the enslaved world. And, however loth we may be to admit this fact, there is no denying that the enslaved world is superior as far as power is concerned. In addition, one must also bear in mind that Moscow has its hirelings in the West, too, and, in the event of a conflict, they will become Moscow's soldiers.

The revolution of the proletariat instigated by Marxism and carried out by Lenin and the setting up of its dictatorship threatens the whole world with subjugation. The Western socialists have already realized this fact and are detaching themselves from Marxism. The ideas expressed at the Party Congress of the Austrian Marxists in Salzburg, in 1957, had little connection with Marxism.

The prosperity of the working classes has been raised enormously without a revolution and terrorism. The workers have become the representatives

of the state. The conception which the Western worker nowadays has of Marxism has no longer any connection with the Marxist socialization of production. Nor does the Western worker long for the dictatorship of the proletariat. All he desires is to enjoy a certain amount of prosperity and to have a feeling of financial security in his old age. And he has already attained this aim in the civilized countries. It is ridiculous to affirm that a person can be prompted by his ideals to become a Communist. Anyone who advocates dictatorship, terrorism, murder and slavery is a pathological case and a criminal and sadistic type. There can be no denying this fact. And a person who was once a leading Communist, can never be a good person, for he is by nature evil and dangerous. The fact that certain circles in the West aid and support the former collaborators and hirelings of the Communists proves that a certain section of Western society is decadent and foul.

The Montenegrin, Milovan Djilas, formerly a convinced Communist, writes: "Communism is a conspiracy, the sole purpose of which is to create a class of exploiters whose power over man exceeds all that history has ever experienced so far. This fact is concealed by the lie about collective property; this is solely intended to cover up the fact that the Party bureaucracy is the sole owner and exploiter."

Our peoples are exploited and subjugated to a terrible extent. They are left to struggle alone, without help from anyone. The West, dazzled by prosperity and entirely indifferent, has abandoned the noble ideas it once had and is prepared to accept the present state of affairs. When the Russians launched "Sputnik II", the people of the West were highly indignant at the fact that there was a dog in it. This is a certain consolation to us, for it shows that they are not entirely devoid of human feelings and emotions.

But whether the fate of our peoples will ever stir the feelings and emotions of the people of the West, still remains to be seen!

Such are the Russian People!

Petersburg, Friday, April 5/March 24, 1861.

"When the freedom of the peasants was proclaimed on Sunday, March 17th/5th, I went into St. Isaac's Church at noon. The people were apathetic in a truly ridiculous manner. What the papers say about enthusiasm is not true. In the theatres the national anthem was played, but that was all. On the following Sunday some thousand moujiks presented bread and salt to the Emperor in front of the winter palace; last Sunday, deputations arrived from Moscow and other towns.

No despot can make a country happy which his ancestors have made unhappy. The traces of hundreds of years of subjugation cannot be obliterated by an imperial decree.

That is the tragedy of Alexander II.

How many revolts and how much bloodshed will there be before the wrong, under which so many generations here have suffered, is made good, and before the dull-witted, indolent Russian peasant understands the blessing which has now suddenly been bestowed upon him and learns to make use of it.

That is the tragedy of the Russian people."

A quotation from Kurd von Schlözer's "A Diplomat's Letters".

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

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

Jaroslav Stetzko Continues His Tour Of The U.S.A.

In the course of his tour of the U.S.A., the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, has also visited Detroit, the centre of the Ukrainian and other East and Central European emigrants. Here, as in the other towns of the U.S.A. which he has visited so far, he was given an enthusiastic welcome. During his stay in Detroit

resulted in 36 months' imprisonment for Stetzko in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

"The most vital problem in the present-day world concerns the enslaved nations and their struggle for independence and democracy", Stetzko asserted. "While Russia uses nationalism outside her boundaries against the West, this same desire for

Support for national liberation movements in the Soviet bloc 'is the only alternative to an atomic war since "peaceful coexistence" would only lead to a sanction of all Moscow's conquests', Stetzko said.

In Stetzko's opinion, the West cannot overcome Russia or Communism without the support of nations subjugated by Russia. 'Whoever negates this axiom is bound to go down in bitter defeat', he declared. 'The lesson of Hitler is too fresh in our memories'.

Stetzko, arrived in Detroit on Saturday, will go to New York and then return to Munich where A.B.N. has its headquarters . . ."

"The Pittsburgh Post Gazette"

In its leading article, published in its edition of June 25, 1958, under the headlines "Won't Take A-War To Upset Red Regime, Says Ukraine Exile. Jaroslav Stetzko, Former Premier, Long Underground Anti-Communist Leader, Here. Asks West's Help", this paper writes as follows:

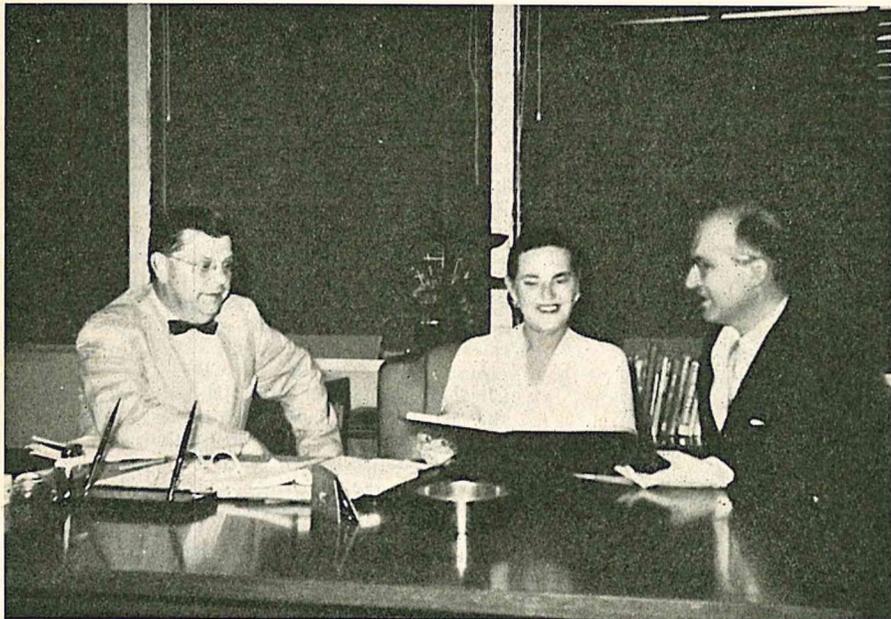
"Jaroslav Stetzko, who personally has battled the Soviet Union and the Nazis in his 46 years, believes that a simultaneous uprising of peoples in the Soviet Union with the aid of arms and volunteers from Western nations, can cripple the Russian threat without atomic war.

Mr. Stetzko, former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Assembly when it proclaimed independence in 1941, and now President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, voiced this opinion to newsmen here yesterday. He made the same point later at a meeting of the Pittsburgh group of the A.B.N. last night at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Despite his long underground activities and still living under threat, even though he now makes his home in West Germany's Munich, Mr. Stetzko is a soft-spoken man. But it is obvious he is a bitter enemy of the Moscow regime.

His only show of anger came when a reporter asked him about Khrushchev and the latter's oft-repeated assertion that he is from Stetzko's native Ukraine.

'Khrushchev is not a Ukrainian. He is a Russian,



Miss Mary V. Beck acting Mayor of Detroit in her chambers with Mr. J. S. Stetzko.

from June 28 to 30th, Mr. Stetzko was presented with the keys of the city by the Acting Mayor Mary V. Beck at a banquet held in his honour at the Veterans Memorial Building.

On the following day, Mr. Stetzko gave a lecture on "The Liberation Struggle of the Enslaved Peoples and the Free World", in which he stressed, above all, that the free world should support the liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union and proclaim the idea of a full liberty of nations and individuals as its ultimate goal. Only the idea of national freedom and the disintegration of the Red Russian empire, he said, will put an end to the Red Russian danger. Bolshevism is one of the phases of Russian imperialism; and for this reason we should combat not so much international Communism, but rather the power which uses this obsolete phrase, namely Red Russia. Moscow must be defeated not only as the capital of the so-called Soviet Union, but also as a nest and source of the historical evil and perpetual world danger.

On July 11th, Mr. Stetzko was the guest of the Governor of the State of New Jersey, Mr. Robert B. Meyner. Governor Meyner is greatly interested in the A.B.N. as an active international anti-Communist organization and is eager to support the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union.

In the course of the month of July, Mr. Stetzko visited various organizations and prominent representatives of the Ukrainian and other Central and East European emigrant groups in different towns of the U.S.A.

The American press everywhere has commented very favourably on Mr. Stetzko's visit and numerous papers have published detailed reports on the views which he has expressed. Below, we quote some of the press reports which have appeared in this connection.

"The Detroit News"

In its edition of June 30, 1958, this paper writes as follows: "Enslaved nations seen as key to Reds' defeat . . . Jaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), explained his ideas at a rally at the Ukrainian National Temple, 4655 Martin.

The occasion marked the 17th anniversary of Stetzko's proclamation of Ukrainian independence in Lviv (Lvov), Soviet Ukraine, which followed Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. The proclamation

national freedom is her greatest weakness at home', he continued.

'The enslaved nations are the real third force and whichever bloc — whether the West or Russia — wins them to its side will triumph in the end.'

Realizing that active underground resistance would receive little support from the West, Stetzko declared, the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union have called for private ownership of property, conducted riots and strikes in concentration camps and aided underground churches.



Conference in office of Governor Robert B. Meyner, State House Trenton, New Jersey, July 11, 1958. In picture, left to right, Governor Meyner, Honorable Jaroslav Stetzko, Commissioner Warren Wagner.

Despite Western 'indifference', he said, lovers of liberty inside the Iron Curtain 'are keeping their spirit of resistance very high and mass deportations to Siberia have proved ineffective because these peoples spread discontent and rebellion everywhere they go.'

born near Kursk, about 100 miles north of the Ukrainian border. He went to Ukraine only because he was an agent of Stalin', Stetzko declared.

Enlarging on his idea for a simultaneous revolt in countries conquered by the Soviets, Mr. Stetzko explained that 'the people in these nations are

ready to fight but they can't fight alone — Hungary proved that'.

'With arms from the free world, and particularly the United States, and assurance that free countries will permit volunteers to join in the battles, we know that these revolutions can be successful without atomic war', Mr. Stetzko added.

'How is this possible?' he was asked.

'As widespread as are the conquered countries of the Communists and with Russian troops stationed in each of them to maintain the Soviet governments, it is unlikely and in fact impossible for Moscow to order use of atomic weapons', he replied.

visional government during last year's uprisings there.

Stetzko spoke at a dinner in his honor sponsored by the Buffalo Branch of the American Friends of the Antibolshevik Bloc.

The same paper also writes:

"The ideals of independence are more powerful than atomic and hydrogen bombs, so, the West's only alternative to thermonuclear war is to support national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain'.

This theory was expressed in Buffalo on Sunday by an outspoken foe of Communism who is a leader in resistance movements.

The Activity of the Mission of A.B.N. in Formosa

During the past months, the activity of the A.B.N. Mission in Formosa has been, to a very considerable extent, instructive and informative in character, since many Asian circles, including intellectual circles, too, are entirely unfamiliar with the historical and political problems of the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and, above all, with those of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union.

The A.B.N. Mission in Taipei (Free China) distributes a considerable amount of informative material in English to the Chinese press, to civic and political factors of Free China and also to other countries of the Far East. Since March this year, the following publications have been distributed: the Letters of the Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps in Mordovia, the news reports entitled "The Soviet Russian Press attacks the U.S.A. and Canada and the Ukrainian emigrants in connection with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian Independent State; further, the Convocation (political platform) for the convention of the first anti-Communist World Congress (on the basis of the resolutions adopted in this connection at the Mexico Preparatory Conference), "The Red Russian Reign of Terror in Ukraine" (an article by A. Mykulyn dealing with the artificially created famine in Ukraine as a means intended to bring about the complete subjugation of Ukraine), as well as various other news items and articles concerning the problems of other peoples that are enslaved by the Kremlin.

Some of this material was published in the anti-Communist press of Burma. The Letters of the Ukrainian political prisoners were published in the A.P.A.C.L. organ "Free Front" (in English), No. 6, April, 1958.

In addition, the A.B.N. Mission also distributes twenty copies of the "Ukrainian Review", which is published in London. The English publications of the A.B.N., S.U.B.*) and other organizations are distributed by the Mission among professors, universities and libraries in the Far East. The Central Library in Taipei has so far received over thirty publications in English from the A.B.N. Mission, whilst the library of the National University of Taiwan has received about twenty publications, likewise containing valuable and interesting information.

Since April this year, numerous articles and books in Chinese have also been distributed in addition to the English publications.

During the past months, the free Chinese have shown great interest in the problems and struggle of the enslaved peoples in Eastern Europe. Incidentally, the A.B.N. Mission was recently approached by a Chinese society which occupies itself with the study of psychological warfare, and was asked to write several articles for the society, which are to be published in the latter's monthly journal. The first issue of the Chinese journal "Free Life", of May this year, published a long article by the representative of the A.B.N. in Free China, V. Kosyk, dealing with the general situation of the anti-Communist struggle in Eastern Europe.

Another article by V. Kosyk, dealing with the armed resistance of the peoples of all the East European countries against Russian Communism and imperialism, was published in the official bulletin of the Chinese Chapter of the A.P.A.C.L., under the title "Free China and Asia" (in English, issue No. 5 for May, 1958).

S.U.B.-Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

not very numerous, is exemplary as regards its organization. The demonstration march, the banners carried, the expression of patriotic feeling on this occasion, are all proof of the close spiritual ties of the Baltic refugees with their native countries, which they were forced to leave because of Soviet Russian terrorism and barbarity. In this way the Baltic emigrants wish to protest against the Soviet Russian enslavement and deportation of thousands of their countrymen to slave labour camps in Siberia and against the other methods of annihilation to which the Baltic peoples are subjected.

This year, a group of the Ukrainian section of the A.B.N. also took part in the demonstration march of the Baltic emigrants.



Governor Robert B. Wagner greeting Honorable Jaroslaw Stetzko of Ukraine at State House, Trenton, New Jersey, July 11, 1958 also in picture on left, Commissioner Marcel Wagner

Mr. Stetzko is a qualified expert. An underground agent earlier, he formed the provisional Ukraine government in 1941, only to be arrested 12 days later and deported to Germany. When he refused to cooperate with Hitler in the proposal to resign as head of free Ukraine, he was sent to a concentration camp. He was released in 1944 but was kept under surveillance. In 1944 he escaped from Berlin, but in Prague was wounded by Gestapo agents. Finally he reached Munich in the American Zone of Germany, where he has since carried on his fight . . ."

"The Buffalo Evening News"

Below, we give an extract of the detailed report published in the "Buffalo Evening News" of June 16, 1958.

"The struggle of enslaved nations for independence and democracy is today's most pressing problem", the former Prime Minister of Ukraine said here last night.

Addressing more than 70 persons at the Statler Hilton, Jaroslaw S. Stetzko said world conquest is the primary Russian goal. He said Russia seeks world domination while creating the illusion of being a peace-loving nation.

Stetzko, who also is President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, contended Russia will score a 'gigantic victory if President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan agree to sit at the same table, with Khrushchev and Mikoyan'.

The former Prime Minister said people behind the Iron Curtain are 'deeply and bitterly disappointed in the West's inaction and indifference to their plight'. He called revolution behind the Iron Curtain 'the only alternative to an atomic war'.

Stetzko called upon the West to match Russia's superiority in conventional armaments. However, he said the free world's best weapon is the fact that 'the enslaved nations would turn their arms against their oppressors alongside the freedom-loving West'.

He said Russia would have 'evacuated' Hungary if the U.S. and Great Britain had provided a pro-

Jaroslaw S. Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), told more than 400 persons at the "Ukrainian Home" (Dnipro):

'The free world is afraid, and justly so, of an atomic and nuclear war, and will not start a thermonuclear Armageddon against Russia. It must elect the only alternative it has — the support of the national independence movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia. There is no third way'.

"Peaceful coexistence" would lead to the acceptance of the political status quo, which would sanction all the conquests of Moscow and would, in turn, enhance the prospects of further Russian aggressions in Europe and Asia'.

The hope that a "political evolution" within the Soviet Russian empire would lead to a gradual disintegration and collapse of Russian power is sheer wishful thinking, leading to disaster'.

Mr. Stetzko asserted that a 'thorough-going' change in the Russian empire can occur only by means of an anti-imperial and anti-Bolshevik revolution and that it would effectuate the elimination of the Russian danger forever."

The importance of the visit of the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. has also been stressed by numerous other press organs in the U.S.A. and by those of the enslaved nations in Europe and America, but, on account of lack of space, however, we are unable to quote all the interesting comments and reports published in this connection.

A.B.N. Marches with the Federation of Baltic Peoples Through the Streets of Winnipeg

The Baltic peoples are in the habit of holding a demonstration march through the streets of Winnipeg in June every year. On this march they carry banners and place wreaths on the Cenotaph. The national groups united in the A.B.N. organization always take part in this demonstration, as proof of the excellent cooperation which exists between both organizations, — the A.B.N. and the Federation of Baltic Peoples. The Federation, although

J. Godlewski

*Former Senator of the Polish Republic and Vice-Chairman
of the National Polish Council Abroad*

The Achilles Heel

Thanks to the development of air transport, the distant and wild regions of Russia have been brought into closer contact with the rest of the world. But in spite of this, the West persists in ignorance of Russia, her particular characteristics, history and aims.

In spite of the fact that Russia, particularly the western part, was thoroughly plundered and destroyed by the Germans, and the country became weak and bankrupt, Russian propaganda took full advantage of the naivety of the West, and Stalin convinced the world with his fantastic view that he opened the first front against Hitler. He demanded the opening of a second front by the Allies in the West. In reality Stalin's front was the fifth or sixth because at the beginning of the World War he was Hitler's devoted ally — when Poland shed blood on the first West front.

Taking advantage of quarrels and discords (colonialism) among the Anglo-Saxons, Stalin managed to impose his will in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, thus gathering the fruits and bounty of war. He received the mandate to control half Europe and Asia, thus deluding the Anglo-Saxons that in this way world peace would be preserved and in particular the Near East would be quiet. After this achievement, Moscow, in accordance with Marx-Lenin doctrine, lost no time in starting a cold war in order to reach for further gains. Stalin cunningly created armed conflicts, trouble centres, and formed a fifth column (Communists and fellow travellers), paying no heed to wartime agreements.

Great Britain was clearly counting on keeping the Near East for herself — as her own and executive sphere of influence with further possibilities of oil exploitation. But Moscow was not asleep and in no time infiltrated into the Egypt-Syria area, threatening British possibilities of exploitation of oil. The same old imperialistic policy of the Czars aimed at acquiring the Middle East, but today, the policy of the Kremlin has an additional aspiration. The reasons are new, and far more important, and I would like to draw attention to them.

After World War II, Russian Communist imperialism penetrated (with the help of U.S.A.) to China whose population exceeds 600 million, and enforced Communism upon this country. China possesses an old culture but is not industrialized. The number of peasantry reaches 550 million, so that only 50 million occupy the towns and industrial centres. We know well that Communism leans on the proletariat of industry, because it is easier to organise and lead, while peasants are by nature individualists, and being spread over vast territories are difficult to discipline and to organise. A peasant from any part of the world likes to be his own master and hates bureaucratic ties. This disproportion between village and town is a colossal danger for Chinese Communism, and for that reason the Communists aim at the necessary industrialisation and increase of the country's proletariat.

This task is enormous, requiring time and immense outlay. Any country requires efficient transport to allow free circulation and swift movement of raw materials and goods throughout the country. China with enormous spaces has a very small network of rail transport when compared with the much smaller area of the British Isles.

To build railway lines, countless embankments are required, together with lines, stations, tunnels and water supplies, as well as the construction of numerous types of transport wagons, for all of which there is hardly time, nor means, even with Russian and satellite help. No wonder Russia is in search of quicker, cheaper and easier ways of solving the problem. It seems that motorisation of China could ease this most pressing and complicated problem.

The Kremlin is able to supply huge quantities of lorries and tractors, but, for this alternative petrol is a necessity. The Soviets have petrol in Baku, but the quantity needed makes it impossible to supply China, distant by some few thousand miles, solely by rail transport. No wonder Moscow tries to penetrate the Near East, to throw out the Western Powers, and to nationalise the sources of

oil and finally to ensure a supply of it by sea, not only to China, but also to other Asiatic countries under the "protectorate" of Moscow.

That is a tremendous plan, quite logical, but on an unheard of scale because Moscow cannot risk the loss of China, and Mao Tse-tung sees in this, a way to bring the proletariat to China and other Asiatic countries. At the same time it would deprive Great Britain of her main source of oil.

In his 7 points which Khrushchev presented to the West, he demands status quo, because he wants to stabilise and preserve Russia's gains in Europe and Asia, but of the Near East he merely generalises, requesting that "No Powers should use their Forces in the Near East for defence or security of their interests."

No wonder, that having one foot in Egypt, Suez and Syria, Russia intends to spread her influence "peacefully", and in advance to prevent the Western Powers from defending their just interests. Having a guarantee of non-interference the Kremlin would be able to conquer those territories with no risk to themselves and at the same time to strike a mortal blow at their adversaries . . .

So we see the hopes of observing the agreements with Russia decided upon at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam being twisted, dishonoured by Moscow and coming to nothing. Thus the Russians step by step oust the Great Powers from any country they choose and step in themselves.

The Great Powers through shortsightedness and egoistic policies, and owing to absolute incomprehension of the Russians have brought a catastrophic situation to the world.

Russia which was saved from Germany through the efforts, pains and blood of the West, today, only a few years later, threatens not only her

Mohamed Achmed Mosler

Imam of the Berlin Mosque

Africa - the Fate of Mankind

One of the most dangerous threats to the life of men and to the existence of states is at present the movement of communism as it spreads from Russia. But communism, as we have come to know it, represents only the development along one line, namely that which has already been apparent in the Russian system of principalities. It is a characteristic of the doctrine of communism that it aims at expanding to other countries, in a tendency that reminds only too distinctly of the Russian imperialism. The best assistants of the central office in Moscow for achieving this aim are the members of the communist parties in the various countries, especially in Europe and Asia. They closely cooperate with Russians staying in those countries whose task it is to work as spies, thus trying on the one hand to undermine the various countries as a whole and, on the other hand, to betray this to the foreign power.

With incredible impudence the Russian rulers incite the Asiatic population against the Western powers. In Burma on Dec. 4, 1955, the Soviet party secretary Khrushchev made a speech that neither the Asiatic peoples nor Great Britain can take without protest. At a banquet in the presence of a great many Western journalists he said: ("Süddeutsche Zeitung" of Dec. 5, 1955):

"Here are some journalists who do not quite agree to what I said in India or what I said yesterday . . . But why do they not agree with my speeches? Because I said that the population there had the English on their neck who robbed their country; and that the English had not been in India to raise the living standard of the population. They were in these colonies in order to bring civilisation to those backward territories, they say. But we are not quite of the same opinion. The English were there in order to rob the population of their last slice of bread and that is what the journalists do not want to hear because they cannot bear the truth."

European and Asiatic neighbours, but also her wartime allies and benefactors. One cannot foresee that she could and would be willing to forsake her elaborate plans of acquiring oil from the Near East.

She masterfully took advantage of the "Sputniks" propaganda, creating an atmosphere of fear and panic.

We must return to the *Atlantic Charter*, which is the only means of survival and of saving civilisation and the world from destruction.

Let us hope that the revelation of Russia's immense technical ability, as shown by the "Sputniks", has proved a timely warning to the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Those who wish (Kennan and Bevan) to make pacts with the Bolsheviks must bear in mind Russian perversity and ruthlessness. Millions of opponents to Communism were murdered by the Kremlin. They must remember the so-called Satellites (such bitter irony), about their insurrections, and particularly Hungary, and a very long list of murders in many countries.

While in Great Britain for about 50 million inhabitants there are about 20,000 prisoners condemned in Courts, so in the Soviet paradise for 200 million (they claim, but about 160-170 is more probable) inhabitants, there are about 20 million prisoners, the majority without Court sentence. In other words in Great Britain for one prisoner there are over 2,600 free, while in the USSR for one prisoner — only 8 to 10 are not free but outside prison, and awaiting their possible turn.

It is up to the Governments of the free countries of the world to find new methods, new ideas, and new men who would be able to rise to the task of world defence against aggression by Moscow and total annihilation of our civilisation.

The spiritual and material potential of the Western world is still much bigger and richer than that of Russia, but the victors will be those who can show strong will, better organisation and a readiness to act with the nerves of a poker player.

The character of the statesmen and diplomats of the Western world is more than ever an Achilles heel of humanity.

For what reason did Khrushchev address the Asiatic population in this form in Burma? In order to appear to care about the Asiatic living standard, Khrushchev at present offers loans at very low rates of interest because nowadays it has become impossible for the Russians to proceed in the same way as they did in China, for the monarchists in the African and Asiatic territories have turned into fervent nationalists. In China the slogan was "freedom", but now Khrushchev speaks primarily of economic prosperity. By that he intends to win the nationalists of the African and Asiatic countries for Russia in order to fight jointly with them later on against the Western world. Russia has recognized that Europe is an old continent, whose natural resources will soon be exhausted and that the time is not too far off when it will depend on the vast resources of the African and Asiatic territories. If Russia wins all the African and Asiatic countries as a partner, it will be able to impose the Warsaw Pact with the European countries without further objection, but this would be a hard blow for the Western world, i. e. for the Americans.

If the world expects Russia to bring civilisation and culture, we must not forget to what an extent in Hungary and Red China the truth, on which Mr. Khrushchev gave such a detailed comment, was distorted.

If we recall the cruelly quelled insurrection in Hungary, the completely impossible state of affairs in China, the march of the 10,000 Turkistanians from inner Asia to the free countries (whereby only 78 men survived the horrors of this flight from the cruel Red Chinese army), we shall recognize very clearly what a dangerous influence Red Moscow exerts.

As long as Russia has not achieved its aims, it entertains quite legal relations to the Asiatic and African states. But the Red Chinese refugees in Hong Kong (their number increases daily) and, in Europe, the misery of the Hungarian and Polish

refugees provide examples of what one has to understand as "good" relations.

If in the future nobody dares to voice his opinion concerning such propaganda with respect to Asia, there will soon be no bench or bar at which the Red imperialists must defend themselves; and every impudence, every lie will be taken as being true.

The situation in Red China is the same as that of the other satellite states in Europe. Again and again, when the countries outside the Russian sphere — Siam, Burma, Afghanistan — ventured to believe the Red dictators in Moscow they got entangled in the same net as all the other countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Without any considerations the Asiatic and African intelligentsia replaces freedom for economic prosperity. For the Russians this situation has become a second modern possibility to carry on propaganda in the Asiatic and African countries against the Western world. We now see Nehru looking for a possibility to develop the economy of his country. Nasser, however, together with freedom wants to procure economic prosperity for his country.

The Russians welcome this. They try to achieve their aim by selling weapons to countries that have an attitude similar to that of Egypt. The Asiatic and African intelligentsia is supposed to educate the people and to teach them that economic prosperity has nothing to do with freedom, but that they must work for it. The traditions must be kept alive and be carried on in the newly gained civilisation and culture. The Western world is willing to grant the country having obtained the status of independency economic aid, thus assisting it in raising its economic level. Let us take as an example Afghanistan. Those who nowadays attach credit to the Russian propaganda in Afghanistan are digging their own grave. At present the Russians export various agricultural machines to Afghanistan. The people do not know how to handle them. For that reason Russian experts must come to Afghanistan. But behind all this there is hidden the Russian intention to create a republican formation against the kingdom.

At present we are hearing about disturbances in the Asiatic and African territories. The population there need uniformity in order to fight for their country and to keep it free from foreign powers and to determine their future themselves.

Up to now the Asiatic and African population had only the doctrines of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Atatürk and Gandhi.

But in order to meet the present situation these doctrines are insufficient. In order to achieve their political aim the population are in urgent need of a new doctrine.

I am of the opinion that in the present situation it would be most appropriate to meet the wishes of

the people to a greater extent. To this end I suggest the following order:

I. Independency, means:

1. Independent exploitation of all resources of the country above and below the surface.
2. Protection of the borders by an army under the flag of the particular country.
3. Independency as regards foreign and home policies.
4. A currency of their own.
5. A flag of their own under which the culture may develop freely.
6. As a consideration for foreign economic aid only exchange, but no lease of goods or properties.
7. Abolition of the private capital owned at present by foreign merchants and delivery to native merchants.

II. Freedom, means:

1. The worker retains title in the money earned by his work.
2. Guaranty of unchecked advanced training.
3. The possibility for each person to get into direct touch with his government.
4. Franchise.
5. Freedom of opinion.
6. Freedom of religion and of national tradition, i. e. the present form of government is to be preserved.

The money the government needs for administration shall be taken from three sources:

1. State monopolies.
2. Foreign and home trade.
3. Taxes on the population.

I have studied the economic sources of the various Asiatic countries with special regard to these three points and have come to the conclusion that this is possible for free states, namely to finance their administration and executive from these three sources.

There is only one course for the Asiatic and African intelligentsia to take: At the next conference concerning the Asiatic and African countries:

1. To state the African and Asiatic borders.
2. To put an end to the mutual hatred and to the controversies with the neighbouring countries.
3. To create a uniform organisation for the African and Asiatic states with appropriate articles.
4. To entertain the most friendly relations with the free nations.
5. To suppress the communist doctrine in Asia by uniform fight.

Our victory would be the victory of the free world, and our defeat would be the defeat of the free world. Those who rule Asia have the power. At present the Russians are wooing Asia and Africa in order to carry the victory of the Bolsheviks over the whole world.

"All Rivers Flow Into the Same Sea"

The Bolsheviks alternately commission politicians and writers to produce articles and reports on the national problem, and just recently they have even been entrusting philosophers, or rather, persons who occupy themselves with philosophical questions, with this task. This, for instance, is the case in the 5th issue of the Moscow journal, "Voprosy Filosofii" ("Problems of Philosophy"), of the year 1957, which contains an article entitled "The Big October Revolution and the Radical Change in National Relations in the U.S.S.R." by a certain Mr. Tsameriani.

The said article consists of numerous chapters. In the first — "The Social Revolution and the Realization of the Leninist National Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", the author writes as follows: "Lenin has proved that the national problem constitutes part of the problem of the social revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat".

The constant reference to Lenin in order to be able to give the people some sort of an answer, speaks for itself. The author then proceeds to affirm that Lenin discovered two historical trends in the national problem: 1) the fight against national subjugation, for the formation of national states; and 2) the development of economic and other connections between the nations and the elimination of national divisions. The first trend, so he maintains, is peculiar to the age of capitalism, the second to the era of imperialism. It

would therefore follow, according to the author, that the elimination of national differences would be the "most progressive" phase and that its realization would be an honourable duty and task for Communism.

The author then attempts to outline the development of the national problem in the Bolshevik imperium since the revolution and writes as follows: "Although the October Revolution conceded equality of rights to all the peoples of Russia, an actual equality could not be achieved amongst them immediately, since there were too many differences in their economic, political and cultural development". Hence, in order to realize the programme of "equality of rights" and in accordance with the setting up of a "socialist society", a number of measures were introduced for the purpose of doing away with the inequality of the peoples. The most important measures in this respect were the following:

"In the first place, the formation of the regional organs of Soviet power, consisting of persons of the local population, which organs use the native language of the region as their official language. The formation of national Soviet state units for the peoples who, more or less in a compact group, inhabit a certain territory."

We then learn from the article in question how many national organisms there are in the U.S.S.R. which the Soviets favoured with "equality", by reserving the "greatest equality" for Moscow. The

Bolsheviks divide the population of the U.S.S.R. into nations and "national groups" (that is to say, ethnical units which have not yet been formed). There are thus 33 national "Soviet Republics" (15 Union Republics and 18 Autonomous Republics) and 20 national administrative autonomies (10 autonomous regions and 10 national regions).

In the author's opinion, a second important means of doing away with the inequality of the peoples is the expansion of industry; whilst a third means, so he affirms, is "cultural policy"; he mentions all these points, of course, with the intention of stressing the "services" which Bolshevik power has rendered the various peoples that it has subjugated, their economic systems, their self-administration and their cultural level.

Mr. Tsameriani then discusses at length the extension of the rights of the individual "Republics". This section gives the reader an interesting insight into "Soviet national culture". The total number of men of learning in 1955 amounted to 222,896, of whom 144,285 were Russians, 24,620 Jews, 21,762 Ukrainians, 5,271 Georgians and 4,077 Byelorussians. There are about twice as many Russians in the U.S.S.R. as Ukrainians, but almost seven times as many Russian men of learning as Ukrainian; but there must be some special reason for the fact that there are more Jewish men of learning than Ukrainian, for the total number of Jews in the U.S.S.R. only amounts at the most to one-tenth of the total number of Ukrainians. These figures, incidentally, are a striking example of the cruel way in which the Ukrainians and their culture are treated.

The author, of course, stresses in particular the significance of the extension of the "sovereign rights" of the non-Russian republics, but he also mentions the "necessity of definitely combatting possible trends towards autarchy".

In the chapter entitled "The Prosperous Era of the Nations and their Gradual and Mutual Convergence in the Process of Establishing Communism", the author makes the following assertions regarding the mutual convergence of the nations: "...by this we only mean their friendship". But the end of the article indicates something quite different. Here the author stresses the "enrichment" of languages and, above all, the trend to adopt the Russian language: "...the need for a second language (apart from the native language), for a language which is common to all the nations of our country, is already making itself felt." We are only too well aware of the manner in which this process of adopting a "common language" is realized, of the terrorist measures which are enforced in this connection and of the aim of this process, — namely the Russification of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

The author draws a most attractive picture of "national freedom" in the U.S.S.R.: "All the Soviet people now reveal such traits as the refusal to tolerate any form of social or national oppression and inequality". This refusal to tolerate oppression is no doubt characteristic of the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R., but they have been obliged to pay for this trait with millions of victims and with the devastation of their national culture and civilization by Moscow.

As a concrete example of "mutual convergence" the author mentions architecture, which should "reflect historical traditions". But, as we know, the regime takes exactly the opposite point of view and insists on doing away with everything that reminds one of traditions; for instance, projects designed by Ukrainian architects, which reveal only the slightest indication of any national tradition, are never passed, and their creators either fall into disgrace or are exiled to Siberia.

For this reason Mr. Tsameriani is eventually forced to admit: "The process of the general and mutual convergence of the nations does not proceed automatically, nor by applying elementary force." And, indeed, this sums up the whole situation: violence, terrorism and a Procrustean bed for all the non-Russian peoples and their culture.

The "comradely criticism" of the official Bolshevik attitude to the problem of national culture ("national in form, socialist in contents"), which is occasionally (and only temporarily) hinted at in other Soviet journals and papers, is rejected by the author with the following remark: "In this connection we should like to point out that certain colleagues directly or indirectly deny the scientific value of the well-known formula about culture which is national in form and socialist in contents",

"The Most Democratic Constitution in the World"

Illusory Declarations without Guarantee of Freedom for Individuals and Peoples

The following article by Werner Scharndorff was published in the Austrian paper, "Salzburger Nachrichten", No. 280.

The Stalinist Constitution is acclaimed by the Soviets as the "most democratic Constitution in the world", as a Constitution which "for the first time ensures to the peoples of the Soviet Union national sovereignty and to the individual the rights of freedom for which the 1917 October revolution fought".

In the opinion of the Soviets, the "sovereignty of the peoples of the U.S.S.R." is guaranteed by Articles 13, 15, 18, 18a and 18b. Article 13 refers to the voluntary union of republics enjoying equal rights, and Article 15 to the independent exercise of state power by the republics. Article 18 stipulates that the territory of the republics cannot be altered without their consent, and Articles 18a and 18b even stipulate that the republics have the right to set up their own diplomatic representatives abroad and to form troops of their own.

These Articles are, however, contradicted by Articles 14, 19 and 20 of the Constitution. According to Article 14, the Union has the right of control over the Constitutions of the republics in order to see that they conform to the Constitution of the Union, as well as over their military system, foreign trade, state security, economy, traffic and transport system, public finances, right of state loans, use (!) of natural resources, forests and waterways, labour legislation, civil and criminal codes, and family laws. Article 19 states simply and concisely that where a republic law is not in conformity with the Union law, the former shall automatically become invalid, whilst Article 20 stipulates that the laws of the Union are binding and valid in all the republics even if they have not been confirmed there.

In view of these articles of the same Constitution, the propagandist contents of the first-mentioned articles are obvious. Furthermore, in practice these articles are not even recognized. In the supplementary Article 18a of February 25, 1947, for instance, the passive and active right of diplomatic legation was conceded to all the republics. But when the London Foreign Office filed an application to be allowed to set up embassies at least in the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics officially represented in the UNO, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. simply turned down this request without giving any reasons whatever. The formation of their own troops by the republics, in accordance with Article 18b, has in practice so far never been permitted. Both these supplementary articles were, however, formulated in 1944, that is to say at a time when the principles of the UNO were already clearly in evidence and when the U.S.S.R. was endeavouring to gain additional support by allegedly conceding vested rights of sovereignty to the constituent republics. In addition, Soviet law recognizes no constitutional jurisdiction to which the constituent republics could appeal in order to oppose encroachments by the Union.

The extent to which the Constitution is actually formulated on paper can be seen from Article 17,

which stipulates that all the constituent republics have the right to leave the Union of their own free will. In this connection, however, the official Soviet commentary, "The Constitutions of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R.", Moscow, p. 85, states explicitly: "From the point of view of Marxism and Leninism, every severance from the Union represents the beginning of a national and counter-revolutionary movement." This statement is supplemented by Paragraph 58, subsection 2 of the Criminal Code: "Any attempt to seize the central or local power with the intention of forcibly severing any region whatever from the U.S.S.R. is punishable by the most severe measure of social protection, that is by execution and by sentence as a public enemy." In the Bukarin-Rykov trial in 1938, the accused were sentenced according to this paragraph and executed. And in 1951, when not only a strong group of the Georgian government but also of the Georgian Central Committee — that is to say, of a sovereign constituent republic — toyed with the idea of an autonomous position between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey, hundreds of persons were shot and thousands were put into concentration camps. Thus, Article 17 merely serves a propagandist purpose, in order to enable the U.S.S.R. to pose as the protector of the colonial peoples, whereas in reality it has become the biggest colonial power of the 20th century.

In every country of the world paragraphs of the legal code serve to enforce the Constitution, but in the U.S.S.R. their purpose is to punish those who demand that the Constitution should be observed.

Article 125 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. recognizes freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and demonstration, but this same paragraph also stipulates for which purpose, namely "for the purpose of consolidating the socialist system". Paragraph 58, subsection 10 contains a more precise stipulation: "propaganda or agitation to commit counter-revolutionary crimes" (which, according to subsection 4 of the same paragraph, for instance also include "contact with the world-bourgeoisie") is punishable by execution. Propagation of a change of system, to which the Communists in the West lay a "democratic claim", is counter-revolutionary propaganda, which is not covered by the clause about freedom in Article 125, but by the clause pertaining to punishment contained in Paragraph 58, subsection 10.

Article 126 of the Constitution recognizes the freedom of organization, — once again, however, with a definite purpose, namely "in keeping with the interests of the workers and for the purpose of the political activity of the masses". The interests of the workers are determined by the "vanguard of the working class", the Communist Party and, accordingly, by the Central Committee.

The inviolability of the individual is stipulated in Article 127. A Soviet citizen may only be arrested by order of the court or the public prosecutor. On the other hand, however, Article 104 of the Soviet Code of Legal Procedure contains a supplementary clause still valid at the present time which states: "The procedure regarding confirmation of

arrests which are carried out by organs of the state political administration, that is of the MVD, is determined according to special rules issued for this purpose". It was not until 1955 that an amendment was added, to the effect that these "rules", which so far have always been kept a secret, also apply in the case of arrests by organs of the committee for state security. Article 158, subsection 2, in principle, sanctions arrest without confirmation, "if the accused is in contact (!) with criminal or counter-revolutionary circles". A more elastic clause is hardly conceivable. In this connection the "Manual of Soviet Administrative Law" by Studenikin-Vlasov, Moscow, 1950, p. 184, states: "Apprehension by organs of the MVD or KGB is of a preventive character and is fundamentally different from normal arrest". Thus, the protection against unjust "arrest" referred to in Article 127 does not apply to such "preventive apprehension". The Habeas Corpus Act of the Soviet Constitution is thus simply revoked by internal decrees. The fact that there is no constitutional jurisdiction makes it impossible to appeal to a competent court to enforce observance of the Constitution not only as regards the constituent republics but, even more, as far as the individual is concerned.

Such is the "most democratic Constitution in the world", according to the "Pravda", in which the Soviet democracy, still posing as a democracy, dictates a monolithic unity to the workers and the Party and formulates dictatorship for everyone else. The text of the Constitution is distributed in millions of copies in all the languages of the world, but the criminal code, which is a contradiction instead of a protection of the Constitution, only exists in the Russian language.

Cretella Asks President Eisenhower to Proclaim Nationality Days

WASHINGTON. — United States Representative Albert W. Cretella (R-Conn.), has recently introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution calling on the President of the United States to proclaim American observance of the Independence Days of Ukraine and other nations under the cloak of Soviet imperialism.

In discussing the celebration of the United States Declaration of Independence, Cretella noted that it is extremely important that we apply the principles of America to other nations and peoples.

Following is the text of the Cretella Resolution:

Whereas the barbaric Russian Communist murder of Imre Nagy and many truly Hungarian patriots has once again aroused the conscience of the American people as to the tragic plight of the captive nations; and

Whereas since 1918 the continuous aggression of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism has built up an unprecedented empire which, on the basis of the captive resources Moscow wantonly exploits, now mortally threatens the security of the United States and all the free world; and

Whereas the many captive nations in this empire look to the United States and the moral forces of its Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights for their eventual liberation and independence, and for the full recovery of individual liberties in the Christian, Jewish, Moslem, and other religious traditions of their peoples; and

Whereas the freedom-oriented loyalties and hopes of the captive nations in both Eastern Europe and in Asia are fundamentally vital

— and that is all he has to say on the subject (as an example of doubts of this kind he mentions — with obvious disapproval — an article by A. Bocharov, entitled "The Question of the National Specific of Literature", and published in "Druzha Narodov", 1957, No. 1).

Mr. Tsameriani's article is naturally composed in such a way as to give the reader a most favourable impression of the Bolshevik regime, its internal problems and, above all, its national policy; it is so carefully concocted and cooked up that it might, in fact, arouse a positive impression in the mind of an ignorant reader. But the conclusion of the article contains the quintessence of the entire problem and reveals the true aims of the regime: "The future fusion of the nations, the dying out of national differences and the replacement of the national languages by one common language will be achieved as a result of the general

development of the Communist nations". And the author then adds that it is too early to make any prognostications about the course of the said fusion and affirms that it will not take place in the immediate future.

We, too, are likewise convinced that it will not take place in the immediate future; but, on the other hand, it is likewise an indisputable fact that the "Party and government" are doing their utmost in this direction; and the first stage is the enforcement of a "common language" on the entire population of the U.S.S.R. But the national forces of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. are putting up a determined resistance against this effort, and the grim fight against the Red Devil will no doubt preserve a certain equilibrium between both sides until the day when the national liberation movement overwhelms and crushes Muscovite imperialism. V. D.

The Ideological Political Resistance of the Ukrainian Underground

IV.

Social watchwords are inseparably connected with the watchwords of national liberation, as is very definitely proved in Ramzenko's work, "Why Are We For The USSD!?" (Ukrainian independent united state), published in 1941, where on page one the author says, "There can be no social liberation without national liberation".

With its entire system Bolshevism attacks the soul and the life of the Ukrainian nation and for this reason resistance must be offered on all sides.

In an article by P. Poltava, which has as its subject, "Revolutionary Elements of Ukrainian Nationalism", and is published on page 13 of the official journal of the OUN in Ukraine, "Ideas and Deeds", No. 10/46, annual series No. V, the Ukrainian movement of national liberation, that is to say the nationalist movement is clearly designated as "a) a social political, and b) a spiritual movement . . . As a spiritual movement Ukrainian nationalism is fighting for the spiritual rebirth of the Ukrainian nation, that is to say for the extermination of all the negative repercussions caused by hundreds of years of enslavement which the Ukrainian nation has suffered".

The Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement represents a united front against Marxism and opposes the latter with all its strength and in every respect.

U. Kuzhil gives an excellent criticism of Marxism and materialism in his article, entitled, "The 'scientific aspect' of dialectical materialism" (p. 41). After refuting the "scientific aspect" of dialectical materialism as regards its doctrine concerning inorganic nature, the author sums up as follows: ". . . if Marx's most significant service was the application of the principles of dialectical materialism as regards natural phenomena to communal life in the form of historic materialism, then the doctrine of historic materialism as regards communal life has the same value as the doctrine of dialectical materialism concerning inorganic nature, that is to say, it has merely an imaginative value . . . It is a subtly created picture of a com-

munal development, such as one would like to see, but which in reality does not exist. Dialectical and historic materialism as a whole are abstract systems and strenuous efforts have been made to find a corroboration of these systems in nature and in the community. All the sad and definitely tragic results of these efforts to find a corroboration of these systems in communal political life are obvious throughout the USSR" (p. 52).

As regards the communal and political aspect P. Poltava in his "Conception of independent Ukraine" (p. 21) sharply criticizes Marxism and also socialism. "The main principles of Marxism are directed against the conception of a nation" . . . (p. 26): "Socialism has not produced any new elements of a non-national community nor has it achieved any new successes as far as training the proletariat to be internationally conscious is concerned" . . . (p. 27) "The fact that socialism has existed for almost a hundred years proves that it has not succeeded in destroying or undermining the conception of the nation. The latter still emerges victorious from its conflict with socialism." P. Poltava is no less critical as regards liberal capitalism, which by its expansion has furthered the enslavement of the nations and has brought about conflicts with the working class within its own nation (pp. 20 and 23).

The Ukrainian nationalist movement is opposed to every form of materialism, since the ideology of the former is as it were diametrically opposite to the ideologies of the latter. The Ukrainian nationalist movement is also "opposed to the official enforcement of communal ideological doctrines and dogmas, and stands for freedom of convictions, faith, and ideologies" (see 11a, programme of the OUN for 1943 and 1950). The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement thus manifests its detachment from exclusively totalitarian movements, but this does not mean that it is not based on ideologies of its own.

The OUN, the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), and the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) definitely defend the system of ideologies, according to which the Ukrainian nation as a deeply religious people has built up its life for thousands of years.

As viewed from this aspect the Christian principles on which the Ukrainian revolutionary movement is based cannot be refuted. This is especially evident in the literature of the underground movement, in particular in its poetry, prose, paintings, art, UPA songs, etc. The free and classical literature of the Ukrainian nation is created by the underground movement. The following quotations illustrate the fighting spirit of the Ukrainians and their faith in the Divine. The quotations are taken from Marko Bojeslaw's work "Wayward Verse" and from the "Collection of UPA Songs".

"Neither tanks nor cannon can move us to fear. We sing the praises of truth, God, and a new world" . . . "For God, for truth, for sacred Ukraine" . . . "We conquer the spirit of evil, for God gives us our strength" . . . "The truth is with us and God is with us" . . . "For fame, for honour, for the sacred soil, for the bells of St. Sophia, for the truth of God" . . .

"The barbarous enemy shall know that the spirit and not the body decides the battle" (p. 103) . . . "He who has girded his sacred sword to fight for his native country knows not the tears which flow incessantly" (p. 154) . . .

"And peace will come to all — nations and individuals will gain their freedom" . . .

"Ukraine will not only liberate herself but will show the world that is ruled by evil the way" . . . "We shall destroy the crime committed against the world, we shall build a new world after we have destroyed the old one of foreign hordes of robbers" . . . "We shall give life a new meaning" . . .

These songs express the strength of a faith, which cannot be vanquished, and the conviction "to decide fate", "to destroy the death-sentence", and

"to conquer death by death". It is a fight for idealistic and not material values: a fight for the freedom of man's soul, which is fettered in chains; it is revenge for "ignominy and chastisement", for "the honour of a nation which has been trampled under foot".

The historical traditions of Ukraine must be respected: "The centuries call upon us to take up the fight". According to those fighting for this cause, "States are welded together by 'iron, blood, and grim determination'. Iron and blood will be the judge between Ukraine and her enemy".

"Neither weeping, wailing, nor curses, — the state is blood and iron; and swords are freedom." "They — 'the Titans of intellect and strength' — shall lead the people out of hell's tortures and enlighten them, they are 'pure in heart and strong of intellect'."

Their whole creed is a perfect and ethical one, the creed of honour of a new knighthood, which regards this honour, one's native soil, God and the truth as coming first in life, before all other things. "This is the creed of honour not only of young women, but also of old women who are proud of their daughters, who prefer to die rather than to disclose secrets of the movement to the MVD" (p. 82: "Collection of UPA Songs").

New literature and new art is being created by the Ukrainian underground movement, by the artists and poets of the movement, who are re-educating the people with their revolutionary works, as for instance the story, "Wirka" by M. Perelesnyk, printed in "Olga Besarab", published by OUN in February, 1951; "The Bleeding Roses" by M. Perelesnyk, 1951, printed in "Colonel Schelest", published by OUN; the story, "One Day" by B. Kalina, 1951; "In Life And In Battle" by I. Lewitsch, 1953; "My Revolutionary Marches" by P. Woloschyn-Wasylenko (P. Hetmanec) — (December Lyrics), Kyiv-Lemberg, 1949; killed in action on June 21, 1946, in the Poltava district); — circulated throughout Ukraine.

Newspapers for children which express idealistic and national educative aims are also published, as for instance the children's magazine, "Orlyky" ("The Little Eagle"), 1950 (enclosed photostat).

A number of revolutionary and insurgent memoirs have also been produced, as for example "Wowky" ("The Wolves") — Extracts from the Chronicles of a UPA Battalion by the chronicler of the same, P. Nowyna, and "Memoirs" by Commander Chrin, and others.

The UPA Chronicles, published sub rosa in Lemberg in October, 1947, and still in circulation in Ukraine, deserve special mention.

A number of Christmas cards and Easter cards prove the close relation which exists between the underground movement and the religious faith of the masses, as for instance the Christmas Appeal in 1953 and the Easter Greeting Card in 1950, the latter an artistic card depicting Christ Resurrected. In addition, mention must also be made of the extremely artistic wood-cuts by various artists belonging to the underground movement; the coins which were issued on the occasion of the national day of celebration on June 30, 1941, to mark the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the revival of the Ukrainian State, and various other things.

Special attention is devoted to the fight to oppose the falsification of Ukrainian history and the history of Ukrainian literature, as for instance by the following works, "The Story of the Revolutionary Fight in Ukraine", 1949, "Schevtchenko Versus Moscow" by O. Orlenko, 1949, and many other works, or for example by "Why Was The Revolution of 1648 Successful?", published in 1948 on the 300th anniversary of the Khmelnytsky Revolution.

The importance of the intellectual aspect is always emphasized, as for instance by Wsewolod Ramzenko in "Why Are We For The USSD?", where on pages 11 and 12 he says: ". . . our internal intel-

to United States national security, and thus basic to United States foreign policy; and

Whereas in the hopeful hearts and minds of all the captive peoples a silent observance is offered annually toward historic events in their histories which symbolize their present aspirations as well as their once-enjoyed national independence and freedom; and

Whereas it is clearly our moral obligation as freemen to give through organized effort powerful voice to these silent but active prayers for national independence and freedom: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress of the United States that the President of the United States proclaim the following historic dates as days of observance by the people of the United States in their spiritual union with the victims of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism; March 15 as Hungarian Day; May 3 as Polish Day; February 16 as Lithuanian Day; March 14 as Slovakian Day; January 22 as Ukrainian Day; November 18 as Latvian Day; October 10 as Chinese Day; March 25 as White Ruthenian Day; May 10 as Rumanian Day; February 24 as Estonian Day; May 26 as Georgian Day; March 3 as Bulgarian Day; May 28 as Armenian and Azerbaijan Day; August 15 as Korean Day; October 28 as Czech Day; November 28 as Albanian Day; June 17 as East German Day; and October 26 as Vietnamese Day.

"Unhealthy Spirit" Amongst Youth in the Soviet Army

According to information issued by the political administration of the Soviet Russian army and published in the military gazette, "The Red Star", No. 258, 1957, the Soviet armed forces issued orders that meetings of the Communist youth were to be held, at which regular reports were to be submitted and the question of elections dealt with. The first of these meetings took place towards the end of October, 1957. After these meetings, an Army conference of the Communist youth will be convened. According to the "Red Star", the main problems to be discussed will be the ideological level of the young persons in the Army, their moral discipline and the intensifying and improvement of Communist education and training in connection with the present grave danger of war in the world.

The "Red Star" complains that there are a great number of faults in the ideological educational work of the Communist youth organizations in the Army. It goes on to stress the fact that the young persons are ignorant of what is being accomplished in the Soviet Union with regard to the Communist reconstruction of the Soviet Republics. Most lecturers not only do not know how to connect the theory of Leninism with practical life, but they also cannot motivate and explain the respective events in the Soviet Union and in the Western world. In the military district of Taurida (Ukraine) many of the young soldiers put the following question during lectures: "What changes can we expect from the decisions of the 20th Party Congress regarding the extension of rights in the various national Soviet Republics?" The lecturers cannot answer such questions as this because they do not know what to say. In Odessa, for instance, young soldiers put the following question: "What is the difference between 'national' capitalism and the capitalism and socialism in the West?" The lecturer was unable to answer this question.

The "Red Star" points out that the fact that such serious questions were asked in the military districts of Odessa and Kherson indicates an "unsound" state of mind amongst the soldiers of the Red Army, whilst the officers, so it is stressed, do not trouble to criticize the present bourgeois ideology. What is meant by this? There can be no doubt that the newspaper uses this expression in order to conceal the nationalist attitude of the non-Russian soldiers in Ukraine. And, incidentally, further information (of course, in other words) on this subject can also be found in the leading article of the above-mentioned newspaper. At the suggestion of the newspaper that such "cases" should not occur in the future, the Supreme Political Department ordered that political enlightenment must be intensified in the above-mentioned military districts and that the lectures which have as their aim and purpose the ideological edu-

cation of the young soldiers, in particular as regards internationalism and the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, must be improved.

In this way Moscow is hoping to replace the nationalism of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union, above all in the Soviet Army, by treacherous internationalism. This "internationalism", which masks Russian imperialism, was propagated in the Soviet Army by Lenin. Stalin tried to offer theoretical reasons for this internationalism by asserting that the Red Army is an international army in which all nations allegedly have equal rights and that the goal of the Red Army is to liberate the world from the capitalistic yoke.

The above-mentioned newspaper likewise informs us that discipline among the young Communists in the army is very bad. This lack of discipline is

Moscow Plans Conquest of Latin America

The Phantom Legion of the Five Hundred Thousand — Seven Thousand in the Soviet Embassy in Mexico — Communism Gaining Ground.

Under these headlines the German paper "General Anzeiger" of February 22/23, 1958, published the following informative article by its correspondent in Spain, Werner Schubert.

"The unrests and tensions in Latin America which have recently led to numerous coups d'état and attempts to start a revolution, have revealed a skilfully organized Communist campaign, which is controlled by a united central organ, whose seat is the Soviet embassy in Mexico. Spanish observers in Central America have recently ascertained that the pay-roll of the Russian embassy in Mexico contains as many as 7,000 names. The Madrid paper "El Espanol" has published a number of extremely informative details about the Communist plans of conquest in Latin American.

Intellectuals as Shock-troops

On the strength of Party membership-lists and various other confidential information which Spanish observers managed to get hold of, the paper "El Espanol" proves that Moscow's vanguard in Latin America consists of about five hundred thousand trustworthy active members of the Communist Party and of the camouflaged organizations which belong to the Party. The headquarters of this vanguard were already set up in Mexico during the war by the Communist trade union leader, Lombardo Toledano, who enjoyed the confidence and support of the then USA President, Roosevelt.

An important part has been played by the group of Cuban intellectuals which was founded by

especially noticeable in the Caucasian military district. The Supreme Military Department ordered an investigation and stressed that special attention must be called to this serious lack of military discipline, so as to ensure that the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Army, on February 28, 1958, would be celebrated in a fitting manner. Social competition amongst the Communist youth in the army has, it is pointed out, decreased above all in the Turkestan military district.

This lack of discipline and ideological "education" is noticeable in the non-Russian countries that have been forcibly occupied by Moscow. This state of affairs results in an undesirable spirit of political fermentation amongst the Red soldiers of non-Russian origin in the above-mentioned military districts. The "Red Star" recommends that the Communist youth of the military district of Moscow should be taken as an example. The most loyal military district is thus that of Moscow. The newspaper stresses the fact that "political events in 1958 may be far more complicated than in 1957". Is Moscow perhaps planning a military aggression against the West in 1958?

Professor Juan Marinello and which publishes periodicals. The latter are so cleverly camouflaged, however, that it has so far not been possible to ban them, despite the fact that the Communist Party has been legally prohibited in Cuba.

The activity of the Communists is concentrated in particular on Venezuela, where, in the event of this country being involved in a war, they plan to deprive the West of the Venezuelan oil fields either by a large-scale subversive campaign or, at least, by acts of sabotage. After the Communist Party was dissolved in Venezuela, agents of the Party succeeded in infiltrating into the syndicates and other parties and securing key positions there. Here, as in the other countries of Latin America, the leadership of Communist propagandist activity rests for the most part with the intellectuals, who are often prominent society men, as for instance Pedro Saas in Ecuador, who comes of a wealthy Lebanese immigrant family and studied in Oxford.

In the course of last year, Communist propaganda to a very considerable extent gained ground in Argentina and took over a number of active members of the deposed Peron regime, so that the Communist shock-troops can now count on about 50,000 to 60,000 supporters. Whereas in Argentina and Chile Communist infiltration is concentrated mainly on the syndicates, in Brazil it is endeavouring to gain a foothold in the universities and in the army. And in this connection the Communists are particularly eager to win over the technical colleges and special institutes. Before the government succeeded in carrying out a political purge there, the Polytechnical Institute of Mexico was for years one of the most important centres of Communist propaganda, although this activity was disguised as nationalist.

Constant Unrest

Disguised in this way, Communism is at present preparing different campaigns in the various countries of Latin America in order to hold up production by constant political unrest and to create social tensions, which are to pave the way for it to carry out a concentrated thrust."

Soviet Government Robs Workers

The Soviet government has suspended redemption of the state loan of 260 milliard roubles, taken up by the people, for 20 years. On the strength of an unofficial Party order, mass meetings were held throughout the Soviet Union — just as in Stalin's time — on the day after this preliminary announcement was made by the head of the Party. During the years from 1941 to 1945 these state loans covered about 15 per cent of the Soviet war costs. So far, every worker in the Soviet Union had to subscribe at least one month's wage to these loans, and the latter were thus equal to a state tax.

lectual strength and intellectual health is of even greater importance to show the Ukrainians their worth as human beings, which can revive their faith in themselves and their faith in what is good, true and just" . . . S. F. Chmel in his work, "Partisan Tactics", published in 1953, stresses religious instruction and training. On page 12 we read the following, "By Command", "Prayers" . . . "One person says the 'Lord's Prayer' aloud and 'Holy Virgin, Mother Mary'". The author then quotes the "Prayer for Ukraine", which begins with the words, "Oh Ukraine, Holy Mother of Heroes" . . .

In this way the Ukrainian liberation movement creates national intellectual and Christian elements which are immune to the Bolshevik Russian pestilence.

P. Poltava sums up the leading revolutionary elements of Ukrainian nationalism as follows in his article in the official journal of the OUN:

1. The idea of Ukrainian independence recognized by Ukrainian nationalists the realization of which is regarded as a strict fundamental principle.

2. The fight for the revival of the intellectual life of the Ukrainian nation, to further the individual Ukrainian's feeling of being his own master on his own soil and to stir in him the spirit of a

fanatical supporter of the cause of an independent Ukraine.

3. Radicalism, the powerful factor of our methods in fighting the Occupation Power; and the realization that the most important task of the Ukrainian nation at present is the organizing of a direct and grim mass struggle for national liberation, a struggle to be waged with all the means at our disposal.

4. The nation shall be the main strength with the help of which the OUN shall fight for and obtain independence, namely the most complete and truest expression of the desire of the Ukrainian masses.

5. The organizing of the anti-Bolshevik fighting forces above all on Ukrainian soil, for Ukraine itself will be the most decisive battle-field in this fight for an independent Ukraine.

6. Furtherance of the just ideology of a free mankind, both in the field of political and social economic practice and in the field of political and social economic theory.

7. High moral demands on all members of the OUN ("Ideas and Deeds", the official journal of the OUN, p. 39, P. Poltava: "Revolutionary Elements of Ukrainian Nationalism"). S. S.

News in Brief

Mr. Yuen Tse-Kien First Chinese Ambassador in Vietnam

In accordance with a decision reached by the governments of China and Vietnam, the legations of China and Vietnam in Saigon and Taipei respectively have been promoted to the status of embassies, as from July 1st, 1958.

Mr. Yuen Tse-Kien, Minister for Chinese Affairs in Saigon, has been appointed first Chinese Ambassador to Vietnam.

460,000 Copies of President Chiang Kai-shek's Book sold in a Year

460,000 copies of the Chinese edition of President Chiang Kai-shek's book, "How The Communists Seized My Country", have been sold since it first appeared on June 24, 1957.

This book has already been translated into English, French, Japanese and Spanish; Vietnamese, Korean, Siamese, Indonesian and German translations are at present being prepared.

Founding of a Settlement Centre for Refugees from Chinese Mainland

Mr. Everett F. Drumright, Ambassador of the United States to the Chinese Republic, was present at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of a Settlement Centre for refugees from the Chinese mainland. In the speech which he made on this occasion he said, "We all know that

Taiwan, which has housing problems of its own, deserves special credit for the way in which it has welcomed the unfortunate refugees, who have escaped from the Communist yoke and are still fleeing from it in even greater numbers, and has helped them to settle here and make a living."

Union of the Croatian Organizations (Foundation of a United Parent Organization)

On July 13, 1958, the Croats living in Europe met in Munich for a congress. The purpose of this meeting was to found a parent organization of all the Croat organizations in Europe, together with their branch organizations and local groups. Twelve Croat organizations were represented on this occasion, namely those which exist in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Holland, Italy, Austria, Great Britain, Sweden and Belgium. These twelve organizations include a total of 72 branches and groups in Europe.

It was unanimously resolved that a Central Committee, the "Union of the Croat Organizations in Europe", was to be founded. This resolution thus set up the general assembly, whose decision was unanimously accepted. At the same time, the executive committee of the new parent organization was also elected (president, vice-president, secretary-general, etc.).

The Croat organizations now united by this new parent organization include more than 90 per cent of all the Croats living in the free countries of Europe, who support the efforts of the Croat Liberation Movement. The latter is not a party, but a national movement, which has as its aim the liberation of Croatia from the Communist terrorist regime and the restoration of an independent Croat state.

were closed down or demolished long ago and that there are no longer any Georgian Catholic priests. Hence it is perfectly obvious that a show was put on for her benefit. A church was improvised somewhere and a priest from one of the satellite states held the service. The Queen-Mother was most enthusiastic about the country and its people, but how unhappy the latter are, she did not realize.

The deportation of young persons of both sexes to Central Asia for the purpose of making them work there, continues unabated. The Georgian Communist Party organ "Kommunisti", of July 10 and July 22, 1958, reports that hundreds of young persons have "volunteered" to work in Central Asia. Pictures of the departure of some of these young people are also published in the said paper. The expression on the faces of the "Volunteers", as they look out of the train, and on the faces of their relatives, standing on the platform, is sad and downcast.



BEYOND THE ODER-NEISSE-LINE

The SED organ, "Neues Deutschland", which is published in East Berlin, reports as follows:

It has been ascertained that during the past few years seed-crop farming has been sadly neglected. Whereas formerly we exported large quantities of seed-crops, at the present time these are hardly sufficient to cover our own needs as regards the cultivation of sugar-beet, fodder plants and pulses, and as far as the cultivation of onions, carrots and other kinds of vegetables are concerned, we are obliged to import seed-crops in spite of the fact that we are extremely short of foreign currency. Here, too, it is a case of gross negligence.



An official report was recently published in the Budapest periodical "Társadalmi Szemle" ("Society Life") on the purges carried out in the Communist Party by Kadar and Münnich. Three former Ministers of State, 10 Vice-Ministers, 9 generals and thousands of soldiers were excluded from the Communist Party because, as the report affirms, they were inspired by national aims and aspirations. Kadar and Münnich estimate the number of Hungarian "rebels", who would at any time be prepared to attack the People's Democracy, at 700,000 and affirm that they are social enemies who are really part of the Fifth Column of the Western imperialists.

For the past few months, a secret Hungarian wireless station known as "RAJK RADIO", which is actually a rightist Communist station, has been working against the leftist Communists. The "Rajk Radio" constantly attacks the present Communist leaders most fiercely.

At a Communist committee meeting, Benke Valeria (Minister of Education) stated that about 30,000 children had not been enrolled for school attendance. In 1957, 15,000 children stayed away from school and a further 40,000 children could not be classified as they attended school so seldom.

In addition, juvenile delinquency has also increased very considerably. The Communist pedagogues are now planning to publish a new text-book for school-children, which is to explain the materialistic philosophy of life and the world in general.



FORMER SLOVAK SOLDIERS EXECUTED

In July this year, five former soldiers of the regular Slovak army were executed in Slovakia for having taken part in combats against Communist partisans towards the end of World War II.

In the spring of this year, they were tried before Communist courts on the said charge and were sentenced to death in two mock trials (in Bratislava and Banska Bystrica), in spite of the fact that they had only been fulfilling their military duty to the Slovak Republic. In these mock trials the prosecutor tried to make out that these valiant

From Behind the Iron Curtain



MANOEUVRES ASSISTED BY SOVIET AIR FORCE DIVISIONS

Soon after the American operations in the Lebanon, the Bulgarian papers on July 18th published a small unobtrusive notice with the harmless title, "Announcement by the Ministry of Defence of the Bulgarian People's Republic". The text of this announcement was equally harmless, namely as follows: "As from today, in accordance with the regular training plan, manoeuvres of the Bulgarian land, air and naval forces will commence, assisted by Soviet air force divisions, under the command of a Soviet marshal". Contrary to the usual practice, no mention was made in the announcement about the duration of these manoeuvres.

Obviously they are manoeuvres on a large scale, assisted by a very considerable number of Soviet air force units, and are connected with events in the Near East and also with the Soviet military deterrent operations in Caucasia and along the Persian Gulf.

At the same time, it is interesting to note that whereas on other occasions Communist propaganda in Bulgaria makes a lot of fuss about military visits from the U.S.S.R. and describes them as a "great honour" accorded to the Bulgarian people by the "illustrious", "invincible" and "brotherly" Soviet Army, the above-mentioned announcement endeavours to conceal the actual location of the Soviet troops as much as possible and also tries to avoid creating the impression that a war is imminent.

It is, therefore, fairly obvious that the masses are definitely opposed to the presence of Soviet military units in their country and also to any belligerent involvement of Bulgarian troops in the Near East.



In July this year, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Organization in Georgia decided to organize training courses for propagandists

at the Soviet and collective farms, technical workshops and machine tractor stations (MTS). These courses are to last for about three weeks. It is very essential that such courses should be organized since the propagandists among Georgian youth are often unable to answer the questions put to them pertaining to the national policy of Moscow in Georgia. And, according to the periodical "The New Communist", No. 6, 1958, the young people of Georgia are often not satisfied with the answers they get.

The Georgian Communist Party and the government have to take their orders from Moscow. The entire power in the Georgian Communist Party lies in the hands of the Second Secretary of the Central Committee, P. Kowanow, who was transferred to Georgia from Moscow.

The First Secretary of the Central Committee, W. Mshawanadse, refers to Moscow's instructions in all his speeches. He was only elected as a candidate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. On May 1st it was not he who held a speech, but the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in Trans-Caucasia, General K. Galitzky.

The Georgian Communists are endeavouring to assert themselves by fostering relations with the satellite countries and with politicians and scholars, etc., from these countries, who frequently visit the Soviet Union and also Georgia. It is interesting to note that these foreigners are shown the buildings of historical importance, the churches and museums in Georgia, and their attention is drawn to the ancient works of Georgian literature and art; in their speeches they stress the fact that the Georgians are a people who possess an ancient history and culture.

In April this year, Elisabeth, the Queen-Mother of Belgium, paid a visit to Georgia. She was given a great reception, and a number of banquets were held in her honour, at which flowery speeches were made. In various press reports the fact was mentioned that she had also attended divine service in the Catholic Church. It is well known, however, that the Catholic churches in Georgia

Slovak patriots were "mass murderers". Communist propaganda, too, attacked the accused and in an infamous way defamed the Slovak Republic because it had declared war on the Soviet Union in 1941. During the mock trials the usual Soviet methods were used against the accused. Witnesses were forced to give false testimony, facts and legal conceptions were distorted, laws which do not apply in Slovakia were cited, and the Slovak soldiers were held responsible for atrocities which were actually committed by Communist partisans.

The names of the former Slovak soldiers who were sentenced to death are: Leon BUNTA, Mikulas SPISIAK, Jan KNAPEK, Jozef ROHKO and Ludovit LACO. The rest of the accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 12 to 25 years.

The execution of these men has caused considerable indignation amongst the people of Slovakia. They regard this infamous action on the part of the Red government of Prague as an attempt to break down the resistance of the Slovak people against the Communist dictatorship and the unlawful and artificial structure of Czecho-Slovakia. The people of Slovakia regard the Slovak soldiers who have been executed as heroes and martyrs of the national resistance fight for a free and independent Slovakia.

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During the period from the beginning of this year up to July 8th, 246 new kolkhozes have been set up in Slovakia by the Communist dictatorship. Compulsory collectivization of agriculture in Slovakia has thus increased to 62.7 per cent of the total acreage under cultivation.

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The Communist "Slovak Publishing House for Political Literature" in Bratislava has so far in the course of this year published two libellous pamphlets attacking the Slovak Republic, in which the former support units of the Hlinka Guards are also defamed. The Vatican, too, is sharply censured for having recognized the Slovak Republic de jure (which, incidentally, the Soviet Union also did).

In June this year, the Prague government published a fake-edition of a Czech emigrant paper which appears in Munich and despatched it by post from Munich to the addresses of various refugees from Bohemia and Slovakia, for the purpose of creating misunderstandings and unrest. In this fake-edition, as in the above-mentioned libellous pamphlets, scurrilous and defamatory attacks are also directed against the President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Professor Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, and his co-worker, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, — both of them leading functionaries of the A.B.N.

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There is a great deal of unemployment in Slovakia at present, but the Communist press keeps quiet about this fact. Indeed, this problem has now become even more serious than it was in former years in the "People's Democracy". Some time ago, the general compulsion to work was abolished because the authorities realized that they would not be able to provide employment for all the persons capable of working. The unemployed, who are not considered in any way whatever, since the Prague Communist regime has been boasting for years that it has done away with unemployment for good, receive no financial support out of public funds at all. Most of the persons who are dismissed from their employment are persons known to be anti-Communists and other "politically untrustworthy elements".



During the past few months, the Juridical Institute in Odessa, which is a department of the Russian Institute of Law of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union in Moscow, has published a number of new books, of which the most significant are the following: "Revolutionary Committees in Ukraine in 1917-1920 — as Extraordinary Organs of the State Government" by L. A. Grekov, and "The Great October Revolution and the Genesis of Jurisprudence" by B. L. Nasarov. The journal "The Soviet State and the Law", No. 6, 1958, recommends lawyers, propagandists and agitators to make a careful study of the above-mentioned

literature "since it explains the problem" connected with the struggle of the Russian Communist Party against Ukrainian "bourgeois" nationalism.

The official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., "Partiynaya Zhizn" ("Party Life"), No. 12, 1958, reports that the Russian Party branch office in Ukraine, the so-called Communist Party of Ukraine, numbers 1,095,250 members. These include 225,000 workers, 155,000 collective farmers, 134,000 persons with higher education, 162,000 persons with secondary school education, and 187,518 women. As regards the national composition, 645,075 persons are Ukrainians (they include persons who have opted for Ukrainian nationality), that is 60.3 per cent; the Russians number 302,669, i. e. 28.2 per cent, and other nationalities 122,726 persons or 11.5 per cent. 34,662 Communists are employed in the coal industry, 38,589 in the metallurgical and 68,149 in the engineering industry. In addition, there are 5,666 persons employed in the chemical industry, 34,380 on the construction of roads, and 154,000 in agriculture.

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The official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., "Partiynaya Zhizn" ("Party Life"), No. 12, 1958, reports that the Party Committee has organized 1,750 women's councils in the industrial enterprises, collectives and Soviet farms in the Stalino area. More than 6,000 women who are members of the regional Party committee will be responsible for the activity of these councils. They will be assigned to the industrial enterprises and collective farms for the purpose of forcing women and young girls (who have completed their education in the ten-year schools) to do heavy work in industry and agriculture; they will also hold lectures on the Communist and atheistic education of children. In addition, these female brigades will distribute propaganda literature, leaflets and appeals, and it will be their duty, above all, to force women to join the paramilitary organization, the Voluntary Society for the Support of the Army, Navy and Air Force (DOSAAF).

In all the industrial enterprises and collective and Soviet farms in Ukraine lectures were held in June and July this year, which were devoted to the so-called 40th anniversary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. For this purpose all the lecturers received in advance from the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party specially prepared reports on subjects such as: "The Communist Party of Ukraine — a loyal champion of the All-Union Communist Party", "The Communist Party of Ukraine and its fight against the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists", "Lenin's national policy in Ukraine and the role of the Party", and many other themes.

The Russian Academic Theatre recently performed a number of plays in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv. All the plays performed were by Russian authors, — as for instance L. Tolstoy, A. Ostrovsky and F. Dostoevsky. Party circles recommended in particular the play "The Eternal Source" by D. Zorin, which stresses the "wisdom" of the Party and the "national" friendship of the peoples. The performances by the Russian actors were allegedly held to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the existence of the Communist Party in Ukraine.

Stop Press

Memorial Service for Mr. J. F. Stewart

On August 19, 1958, a Memorial Service was held for the late Mr. John F. STEWART at the St. John's Church, in Munich, which was attended by all the members of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. and numerous friends of this organization.

Congress of the "American Friends" of A.B.N. in USA

According to information we have received from the U.S.A., the Congress of the "American Friends of A.B.N." is to take place in New York on September 20/21, 1958.

BOOK - REVIEWS

The Red Chinese Variant of the Bolshevik "Thaw" and Its Outcome

The contemporary historical analysis by the well-known anti-Communist intellectual fighter and research scholar, Prof. Cheng Hsueh-chia (Chinese National University of Taiwan), which was published in December, 1957, under the title of "The So-called Enlightened Despotism of Chinese Communists", deserves especial attention in the West, too, — and, indeed, in particular in the West, since this work, in keeping with its direct purpose, not only gives a most exhaustive and precise account of the recent "ideological" and party political intrigues in Mao Tse-tung's totalitarian Red imperium, — an account which is based on a careful compilation and profound analysis of the material published in this connection in the Red Chinese press, but also discusses in detail and clearly solves a problem, which precisely in the West, in definitely anti-Communist circles, too, is dealt with in a number of very different ways; namely, the question of the extent to which the Communist system in Peiping is ideologically and politically dependent (or not dependent) on the Bolshevik system of the Kremlin, in other words, to what extent Mao Tse-tung's Marxism can be compared to Leninism and Stalinism. To begin with, however, we should like to confine ourselves to the main subject of this analysis.

The author himself explains the title of his work as follows: "(In January-February 1957) the Central Politbureau (in Peiping) believed that 'frank criticism' about 'people's internal contradictions' and ways and means meted out to allay and dissolve such contradictions had at least the following advantages: to deal a blow on bureaucratism, to change the method of control, to alleviate popular discontent, and to enhance the prestige of the Communist regime in its attempt to get in touch with people and lead them. Such a political maneuver is known in Chinese history as 'enlightened absolutism'."

This attitude on the part of the Politbureau towards the latent opposition was based on the following weighty reasons: "Is it wise to 'encourage' people to make accusations? — For the solution of this problem, the Central Politbureau was positive, because most of its members believed that 'people's internal contradictions' were objective facts. . . . Now, the admission of the existence of 'contradictions' and sincere expression of the desire (regardless of whether such a desire is sincere or not) to dissolve these 'contradictions' with the cooperation of people were expected to achieve the following two results: Firstly, in the accusations made by people, they would know how many mistakes they had committed in the seven years of their rule. And what were the most serious mistakes? Secondly, it would enhance the prestige of their rule, because, in the exposure of 'contradictions' made by people all over the mainland, bureaucrats of middle and lower levels were the scapegoats of their attack, not members of the Central Politbureau.

They stood aloof to rectify mistakes. . . . Furthermore, as the result of criticism in the course of the 'rectification campaign' and the participation in physical labor by Communist cadres, in the minds of people may create the following misconception: the Communist Party is good and what is bad is individual Communist Party members. This is tantamount to saying that the adoption of this method of control may create a gap between the discontented masses and the rebellious intellectuals."

Accordingly, on February 25, 1957, Li Wei-han, Director of the United Front Department of the CCP Central Committee, declared at the "Preparatory Meeting of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" that the main task of this conference was "to encourage discussion, to unfold criticism and self-criticism. Both the critic and the one who is criticized are given enough chance to debate." And he made an even more explicit statement before a "Forum participated in by the responsible men of the democratic parties and non-party leaders" on May 8th, namely: "It is the first time in the history of the party to rectify our party through the medium of the united front. . . . Among the problems are the principle of equality, independence and freedom in the relationship between the Communist Party and various democratic parties; greater power given and duties assumed by the democratic parties in their cooperation with the Communist Party, greater influence exercised in the affairs of state by the democratic parties; the work of the basic organization of the democratic parties and so forth."

These are, indeed, excellent prospects, and "liberal" as never before! One must, however, take into consideration the fact that the few "democratic parties" in Red China which are tolerated by the Communist regime lead exactly the same political fictitious existence as does the "bourgeois" liberal party in the so-called German Democratic Republic of the Soviet zone, and, furthermore, that most of them are completely permeated and controlled by secret Communists. Nevertheless, "many people began to attack the political, cultural and educational policies of the puppet regime; the loyal members of the Communist Party who followed the party line pretended to accept criticism against them. . . . Thus, the so-called 'People's Democratic Republic' has turned into a 'People's Contradiction Republic' all of a sudden."

Naturally, much of this criticism, precisely as the Communist leaders had wished, was directed against individual mistakes and interference (as, for example, the typical complaint that "a middle school in Peiping only enrolls children of the senior party cadres"); on the other hand, however, some of the criticism voiced openly about certain actual conditions was on the whole by no means favourable to the Communist Party regime, as for instance the criticism of the puppet role of the above-mentioned legal "democratic parties", which, it was affirmed, "do not know much about the work of the state; they do not even know the budget and economic plan of the country. . . . There are some democratic elements who have position and responsibility but no power. . . . The democratic parties are not nose and eyes but brows on the face. That is to say they are just for decoration."

Other public criticism went even further. A member of the Executive Bureau of the Chinese Peasants' and Wor-

kers' Democratic Party stated explicitly: "What 'coexistence' and 'mutual help' mean is equality. But the democratic parties up to the very present do not have material foundation for equality." This, so the author affirms, — and he must know what is meant in Chinese, "is tantamount to saying that to build up the 'material foundation' for the democratic parties, Chinese Communism must give up the system of the nationalization of means of production."

What must have come as a complete surprise, however, to the Communist leaders and was no doubt the main reason why the latter suddenly put a brake on the whole criticism campaign, was the very numerous and extremely active participation of the students, who, in voicing their opposition publicly, not only exceeded the limits of actual academic interests (freedom of instruction in "ideological" subjects, removal of political commissars and observers, etc.), but also assiduously set about taking on the ideological and leading role of the Budapest students in the Hungarian revolution of October, 1956: "They**" attempted to turn the 'Cultural Club of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference' into a kind of Petöfi Club, and to make use of (or even incite) a students' movement to force the Communists to give them more power or a share in politics." One of the prominent men of the "legal opposition", who was later liquidated, was reproached by the Communist press with having publicly affirmed that "the Hungarian revolt broke out under the rule of the Stalinists; it is a revolutionary movement started spontaneously by the people."

How greatly the Communist leaders feared such a turn of events, can best be seen from the attitude adopted by Mao Tse-tung himself. In a lengthy speech which he held at the "11th Enlarged Supreme State Conference" (from February 28 to March 1, 1957), the Red dictator admitted that "the October Revolution in Hungary arose from internal contradictions". The text of this speech, however, which, incidentally, was not published until some weeks later, was worded quite differently: "The tolerably large-scale resistance movement in Hungary resulted from counter-revolutionary factors both within and without that country. This is a special and temporary phenomenon. The reactionary group within the socialist states together with imperialists who take advantage of people's internal contradictions do what they can to create dissensions within the socialist states, so as to realize their intrigue." The author points out quite rightly that "the last few words can well be regarded as a warning to those who were in charge of the student anti-Communist movement at the time."

And what had meanwhile happened to Mao's famous "liberal" watchword, — "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend"? It was by no means retracted, but was merely "interpreted away" in the usual cunning manner by the Communist press. This watchword, so it was affirmed, to some extent needed to be defined in more precise terms, namely as follows: "In 'letting a hundred schools of thought contend', there must be (1) a leadership which is Marxism and Leninism, (2) a direction which is socialism, (3) a scope which is only confined to people with the exclusion of enemies, (4) a standard which is Mao Tse-tung's 'On implementation'; it is also the standard of blooming and contention."

It is, incidentally, very significant that the reprisals taken after June, 1957, were only directed against a very small number (less than a dozen) prominent publicists and members of the academic professions, whereas, on the other hand, several hundred students, whose attitude was one of opposition, were expelled from the colleges and universities. The Communist leaders rightly realized whom they must fear most among their internal enemies.

We can only give a brief summary of the interesting conclusions drawn by the author; they are as follows: (1) Mao and Co. were very foolish in stressing the following point: within the countries of the 'People's Democratic Dictatorship' there are 'internal people's contradictions' (Khrushchev does not admit this fact). They made a greater mistake when they allowed people to openly disclose contradictions. However, having learned the lesson from the recent 'let a hundred flowers bloom' campaign, Mao and Co. learned that it is impossible for a totalitarian regime to enact the role of enlightened absolutism. Because of this reason, we have reason to believe that the despotic Communist officials will be more despotic, and the corrupt Chinese Communist regime, more corrupt.

(2) After the rectification campaign within the Communist Party with the assistance of the democratic parties has been turned into one against the democratic parties by the Communist Party, it clearly shows that any reform of the Communist regime is utterly impossible.

(3) The recent political storm has taught intellectuals on the mainland . . . that under the Communist rule, only those without any trace of human nature are qualified to engage in politics . . . With this lesson, those intellectuals, if they do not reform themselves in the form as the Communists dictate, will no doubt engage clandestinely in their anti-Communist activities.

(4) Such Parties as the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party and the China Democratic League have tried to maintain a sort of independence formerly. From now on, they will be just political tools at the beck and call of the Chinese Communist Party as all other parties.

(5) The relationship between the Communist regime and Soviet Russia is one of master and slave. As the result of the recent upheaval, such a relationship is more firmly entrenched . . . We have reason to believe that some people among the Chinese Communist Party aspired to stand on a footing of equality with the Kremlin. When Mao Tse-tung talked about contradictions among socialist states in his 'speech' at the Supreme State Conference, he might also have mentioned it. However, in his 'article', this part of the speech was omitted . . . This is tantamount to saying that from now on Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party which he leads will take the 'lean-to-one-side' foreign policy which was laid down in 1949 as a permanent one, not to be influenced even by any changes that may go through in Eastern Europe."

This latter assertion on the part of the author seems to us to be one of the few assertions in his book which can be contested. It is true that vital changes in Peiping's policy of solidarity towards Moscow are not only not to be expected, but are entirely out of the question; but this fact cannot prevent the Red Chinese government, under circumstances favourable to itself, from achieving certain results which the Kremlin would prefer to see avoided. It can for instance be affirmed with a fair degree of certainty that Mao Tse-tung made use of the internal disputes in the Kremlin after Stalin's death in order to strengthen Red Chinese control in the puppet state of North Korea and to liquidate politically on the spot (but without much fuss) those prominent persons of the Korean Communist Party who preferred direct dependence on the Kremlin for their state and themselves. The fact that Gomulka, when he found himself in a critical position in the autumn of 1956, received a certain amount of "moral support" from Red China, was, it is true, exaggerated considerably by the Western press, but nevertheless it cannot be denied. The entire "Let a hundred flowers bloom" campaign undertaken by Mao was criticized in the Kremlin, as was indicated by the Soviet press, as a doubtful and somewhat dangerous experiment; but the fact that this campaign failed because of a far more radical attitude on the part of the previously latent opposition (than the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party could have foreseen), can hardly be traced to any recent events in the U.S.S.R. or its satellites. The author is on the wrong track when he refers — though with some reservation — to the fact that "some people were of the opinion that the all-out attack on the 'rightists' in the latter part of June was connected with the power struggle within the Kremlin. In other words, Liu Shao-chi's faction which had cooperated with such staunch Stalinists as Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich attempted to deal a fatal blow on Chou En-lai's faction. The triumph of Khrushchev left Liu Shao-chi no other alternative than to take a more magnanimous measure. Up to the present moment, there is no evidence which can prove that this assumption is correct or not."

Such assumptions should, in our opinion, be rejected from the very outset, for the simple reason that Khrushchev's opponent in his fight for absolute rule showed no divergence of principle from Khrushchev's principles; it was a personal struggle, conducted on both sides with opportunist means, — and the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party are no doubt well aware of this fact. Seeing that Khrushchev won, however, Red China's foreign policy will most probably have to adjust itself more closely to the Soviet foreign policy, but even so, Mao will still be allowed a free hand as regards his home policy; and should slight differences of opinion arise between Peiping and Moscow, they will never lead to a real crisis in their mutual relations, for the two Communist imperiums of the world are far too dependent on each other. Thus, the situation remains unchanged, and the year 1957 has not proved a turning-point in this respect. V. D.

Memoria del Tercer Congreso Contra La Intervención Soviética en América Latina. Lima, Perú, del 10 al 14 de abril de 1957. Organizado por la Confederación de Defensa del Continente, pp. 393.

This publication contains the Minutes of the 3rd Congress against Soviet Russian Intervention in Latin America which was held in Lima, the capital of Peru, from April 10th to 14th, 1957. The Congress was attended by prominent representatives of the political life of South America, by university professors, journalists, editors, students, and also by representatives of the various governments of South America.

The 1st Congress against the increasing Soviet Russian intervention in the South American countries was held in Mexico and had as its aim the suppression of Soviet Russian infiltration in South America. Almost all the Latin American countries were represented at this Congress, at which important resolutions were adopted and a Permanent Commission was set up, whose task was to maintain contacts with the individual Latin America countries and carry into effect the resolutions adopted. At the 2nd Congress, which was held in Rio de Janeiro, the "Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent" was founded by twenty representatives of the Latin American countries. At the same time, the exchange of news, periodical publications, pamphlets and anti-Communist propaganda was also initiated.

The 3rd Congress, as already mentioned, was held in Lima in 1957 and was attended by delegates from twenty-one Latin American countries, by delegations of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and of various anti-Communist organizations of Europe and by a delegate of the International Council for Christian Leadership. In addition, the Congress was honoured by the presence of the President of Peru, Dr. Prado Ugarteche.

The speeches and lectures were followed by lively but objective discussions which resulted in the adoption of various resolutions. We quote some of the most important of these resolutions below:

The Latin American governments are urged to sever their diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and with the latter's satellite states.

The setting up of a common inter-American military organization for defense purposes is to be regarded as extremely urgent.

Methods of combatting Communism are to be elaborated.

It is recommended that the names of various persons in Latin America who are willing to collaborate with the Communists should be published.

The standard of living of the masses should be improved.

A workers' world organization is to be founded in accordance with the resolutions adopted in this respect. The dismissal of Communist professors from university posts is to be regarded as extremely urgent.

The exchange of anti-Communist students between the Latin American countries and the granting of scholarships to them for the purpose of promoting cultural relations among the youth of South America is to be recommended. The founding of an inter-American workers' bank and an exchange of anti-Communist workers should be speeded up.

Attention is to be drawn to Soviet Russian infiltration

in the Latin American armed forces.

A joint anti-Communist publishing firm is to be founded.

Women should be more interested in combatting Communism than was the case so far.

The necessary precautions must be taken in order to prevent Soviet Russian intervention in Latin America.

The 3rd Congress of Lima will recommend the Latin American governments to promulgate anti-Communist laws.

The setting up and organizing of a chain of anti-Communist broadcasting corporations in Latin America is to be regarded as extremely urgent.

An international anti-Communist youth movement is to be organized as soon as possible.

It is interesting to note that the organization of the so-called Russian Solidarists, with its headquarters in Frankfurt-on-Main, Western Germany, has also played a certain part in connection with the anti-Communist movement in Latin America. It may seem paradoxical, but it is nevertheless true that this organization, although it has in the course of time included a number of Soviet Russian agents (several of them were arrested by the authorities both in the USA and in Germany), decided to make use of the Inter-American anti-Communist Confederation for the Defense of the Continent for its pro-Russian imperialist purposes, a plan which was facilitated by the fact that up to that date the organization of the European peoples subjugated by the Kremlin had no contact with anti-Communist Latin America.

Accordingly, the above-mentioned inter-American anti-Communist organization was invited to take part in the so-called anti-Communist world conference held by the Russian Solidarists in Frankfurt-on-Main from September 8th to 11th, 1957. The leading men of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, Admiral Carlos Penna Botto of Brazil, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens of Mexico, and Dr. Sergio Fernandez of Chile, attended this conference, at which it was for instance falsely asserted that the Ukrainians are represented in this pro-Russian imperialist organization of Russian Solidarists and that they do not wish their country to be severed from Russia (see p. 7 of the Minutes). On p. 97 of the Minutes we learn who these "Ukrainians" are who pretend to represent the Ukrainian liberation movement abroad. The Russian Solidarist delegate Tretakov, in greeting the 3rd Congress of the Latin American countries in Lima on behalf of the Russian Solidarists, informed the assembly that the "President" of the non-existent Ukrainian liberation movement, "General" Dionid P. Gulay, also wished to convey his sincere greetings and wishes to the Congress, since he was unable to be present. Incidentally, Gulay was not a member of any Ukrainian organization, but was paid for his treacherous activity in the Russian organization by the Russians themselves.

The head of the Russian delegation to the 3rd Congress, George Okolovich, proposed the following motion: "Because the Soviet Government does not represent the Russian people, the NTS Delegation of the Russian Solidarists recommends to the 3rd Congress against Soviet Intervention in Latin America to substitute for the word 'Russia' the words 'Soviet Union' when the Soviet government is concerned; for instance, to break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union instead of using the word Russia" (p. 263). We should like to point out that the Soviet Union was established by force by the Russians (Kremlin) and that the only masters of the Soviet Union are the Russians. Hence, the Soviet Union is identical with the Russian Red Empire, and it is thus quite unnecessary to substitute "Soviet Union" for "Russia".

The assertion of the Russian delegate that Communist soldiers of Russian descent cooperated with the Hungarian revolutionaries during the Hungarian revolution in the autumn of 1956, is not true. Mr. Zurlyvyi in an article published in 1957 in the Bulletin (No. 12) of the Ukrainian Independent Association for Research of National Problems in Soviet Theory and Practice (Munich) presented some extremely interesting material and quoted from the American, British, German and Austrian press; it was clearly evident from this material that not Russian but Ukrainian soldiers of the Red Army helped the Hungarians to fight the advancing Soviet Russian armies. In addition, we also disagree with Mr. Okolovich's assertion that Communism will be defeated in Russia proper; it can be defeated only in the non-Russian countries that are enslaved by Moscow, and the revolutionary events in Hungary, Poland and Ukraine in the autumn of 1956 have clearly proved this fact.

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Hon. Michael Feighan for National Independence of Subjugated Peoples

An address delivered by the Hon. Michael A. Feighan, U.S. Representative from Ohio, on July 30, 1958, before the 47th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Rio de Janeiro, speaking on the Draft Resolution concerning the development of Representative Assemblies in Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The quest for peace engages the attention and efforts of men of good will in all parts of the world. All humanity is today beset by strife and tensions which, if allowed to persist, will plunge the world into the disaster of another war. This is the overriding challenge of our times. The question before all of us is: How can we remove the strife and tensions which give rise to war?

One of the outstanding causes of strife and tension is injustice. That is, injustice against people and nations.

In our times it is injustices against entire nations which cause unrest on a scale unparalleled in the history of mankind and thereby retard the winning of a lasting peace. The demand for genuine, representative self-government is heard from the people of all nations who are today the victims of colonialism or imperialism in any form.

The old colonialism is giving way to the rising tide of nationalism as the empires of the past are becoming reconciled to the need for a new world order in which all nations shall govern their own affairs and live at peace with their neighbors. This reconciliation carries with it the high responsibility for assisting the people of the old colonial territories in the task of building free political institutions which will assure representative parliamentary bodies. Only through the exercise of a universal vote, free and secret ballots, the right of multiple political parties which take their case to the electorate at fixed intervals,

and parliamentary bodies which adhere to the right of the opposition to dissent, can such free political institutions be built and preserved. In turn this requires responsible local leadership which is responsive to the will of the electorate.

This, then, is the challenge which confronts both the statesmen of the Administering Powers of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and the people of such Territories. It is a common task in which both interests must assume equal responsibility. There is sufficient good will on all sides to assure success once the objectives are clearly defined and a time set for the accomplishment of the task.

Significant and praiseworthy steps have already been taken by the Administering

 +
 + "ABN-Correspondence" would like
 + to take this opportunity of wishing its
 + readers and friends all over the world
 + the compliments of the season and
 + success and prosperity during the
 + coming year.
 +

Powers in many of the Non-Self-Governing Territories. In some, democratic and representative parliamentary bodies are in the process of forming, others are undergoing adjustments to make direct representation of the people a reality. In some the tempo of constructive change is not keeping pace with the popular demands of the politically awakened people. But in practically all these territories the need for a change is recognized and the reconciliation which accompanies it provides the necessary basis for a bright and orderly future.

Turning to the new colonialism, one immediately sees under the yoke of this new imperialism a long array of politically mature and well established nations which today are Non-Self-Governing, which have been deprived of their free political institutions and whose representative parliamentary bodies have been destroyed. These ancient and proud nations, surely no less than the newly awakened nations of Asia and Africa, are worthy of the considerate and continuing interest of this Conference.

During the past forty years this new colonialism, this new imperialism has forcibly incorporated no less than twenty once free, democratic and independent nations into its empire. This new imperialism seeks to accommodate the rising tide of nationalism by spuriously proclaiming that these nations are independent. However, by its own definition the new imperialism limits this independence

Prince Niko Nakashidze

A Tribute to Pope Pius XII

God has called the great Shepherd of Christianity, His Holiness Pope Pius XII, to His Eternal Rest.

He has passed into eternity and into the annals of history. And his passing, in these fateful and troubled times, means an immeasurable loss to the whole world.

In an age when man is prompted by egoism and materialistic thought, His Holiness was the greatest apostle of the Christian faith. Many were the occasions on which he exhorted and urged the peoples and nations of the world to cast out hatred and unite in peace.

His motto was "Opus Justitiae Pax" — "the fruit of justice is peace" — and it was this justice that he demanded for the peoples and nations of the world. He was, indeed, the apostolic advocate of all peoples and nations who have been deprived of their rights and subjugated.

It was not only his knowledge and experience of the world and his wisdom that captivated and fascinated all those who knew him, but, above all, his sensitiveness, sincerity and warm-heartedness.

His Holiness was a man of striking personality and spiritual strength. Truly, a great sovereign on the throne of Peter.

He was the Pontiff of the Catholic Church, but, at the same time, he was also the spiritual leader of the Christians all over the world, and, as such, he will go down in the annals of history as the greatest spiritual head of the Christian Church.

In gratitude and reverence our peoples will always cherish the memory of this great and beloved Pontiff in their prayers.

to hollow form while the substance of the state, that is the very life of the state and its people, is completely controlled by an alien, unwanted and predatory power. Clearly, no nation or territory can be self-governing unless the people therein exercise complete control over the internal affairs of the nation and are undisturbed masters of their destiny. The record of the past forty years demonstrates that the people of these Non-Self-Governing Nations will never be satisfied with "national independence" which is limited to meaningless forms. So long as they are deprived of the essential substance of national independence, which is the right to govern their own affairs free from alien control or direction, they will continue to exercise the only opportunities open to them to dissent, that is, by internal revolts and freedom revolutions.

Within the recent past five years we have witnessed three outstanding expressions of violent dissent by the people of these Non-Self-Governing Nations. In 1953 there was the mass uprising in East Germany in which the workers and peasants sought to throw off alien rule. This was followed in 1956 by the popular revolts in Poland in which all the people

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Russian Political Strategy And Subversive Actions In Asia

The degree to which the Russians have succeeded in fooling the West with their propaganda of "Liberation and Independence," which they allegedly bring to the colonial peoples. I had ample opportunity to assess during two extensive trips to Asia, the Middle East and the Far East that I made in the last two years. Communism is being marketed and propagated under slogans which have nothing at all in common with the Communist doctrine. The slogans deal with national independence, anti-feudalism and anti-colonialism, right to private land ownership for peasants, the freedom of the Islamic and other religions, and so forth. According to the instructions of the Communist Party, Communist subversion is effectively veiled by national revolutionary

Hon. Michael A. Feighan for National Independence of Subjugated Peoples

Continued from page 1

of Poland were in sympathy. Then in October of 1956 the entire Hungarian nation, workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and even some of the new ruling class rose up in a bloody revolution which resulted in the restoration for five historic days of national independence in substance as well as in form. All the people of the world know that it took a major military campaign by the Red Army to return Hungary to the status of a Non-Self-Governing nation. Time does not permit a full recount of the many popular uprisings which have taken place over a period of many years in Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia and in other non-Russian nations which also are clearly Non-Self-Governing. However, the implicit warning carried by the events urges us to find an honorable remedy to end the human strife and dangerous international tensions which they create.

To that end I propose that the Draft Resolution now before this Conference be amended to reflect the urgent need for developing procedures whereby the people of once free and independent nations which have been reduced to the status of Non-Self-Governing Territories shall be accorded the opportunity, under the United Nations supervision, to freely determine the substance as well as the form of their government. Such steps would be in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter.

Allow me to make one point clear, beyond any doubt. I do not include in my proposal the Russian nation itself which, as is well known, is only one of many nations which make up the Soviet Union and its population constitutes a minority. It is strictly an internal matter for the Russian people to determine whether their nation is self-governing . . .

It has always appeared to me to be grossly unjust that in any consideration of the colonial or dependent territory problem the burden is placed only upon the old colonialism, which as I have said has largely reconciled itself to the inevitable changes taking place in the world. The new colonialism, the new imperialism carries with it a far greater threat to the winning of the peace. Surely the non-Communist world in and of itself cannot expect to eliminate the dangerous international tensions which give rise to war. These tensions can be eliminated only by an equal amount of good will and desire for changes on the part of the ruling class of the new colonialism—that is, changes which accord with the freely expressed will of the people . . .

slogans, patriotic phrases and remodeled catchwords of the French Revolution in social aspects. The local Communist Parties have been ordered to make a "common front" with non-Communist patriotic parties, in order to deceive the people and seize the power, after which, of course, a Communist government is established. These tactics were extensively practised e.g. by China or Vietnam. The Russian Communist rulers follow the precept of Lenin, who preached that the road to Paris leads through Peking and Delhi. But Lenin was not the only Russian leader who paid a good deal of attention to Asia. Czar Nicholas II also considered it a "necessity" to annex Korea and thus solidify the Russian positions in the Far East. To this day the imperialist Russian line is being ardently pursued by the Bolsheviks.

The so-called "liberation of the colonial peoples", which policy is being advocated and implemented by the Kremlin, presents a perilous problem for the Western nations, inasmuch as once Moscow gets hold of them they necessarily will become Russian slaves and their countries will be subjected to ruthless Russian Sovietization. To achieve this goal the Russians work insidiously to compromise a nation from within. This was extensively practised by Czarist Russia with respect to the Ukrainian and Polish peoples; special agents were sent in to infiltrate the Ukrainian and Polish social strata in order to subvert them and turn them one against the other.

Russian imperialism and colonialism in the Middle East is masked by a deceitful and pseudo-progressive movement. Its tactics are very clear and wholly flexible, making effective opposition difficult. For instance, one cannot very well oppose slogans against feudalism and those advocating the turning over of property to landless peasants. What is needed here is a full disclosure of the behind-the-scenes operations of the Russians and their purpose in the Middle East and to compare their tactics with those they have used or are using in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe that fell under Russian domination. Moscow is following the same policies in Asia, especially in China, Mongolia and Tibet.

Western psychological warfare efforts in the Middle East and in the other areas menaced by Russian penetration can be successful only when the attack on Communism is coupled with an attack on **traditional Russian imperialism and colonialism**, which comes to enslave the Asian and African peoples in the guise of Communism.

Russia dominates approximately 40 million Moslems. She is availing herself of the services of Moslem Quislings from Turkestan for agitation among the Islamic population, which numbers some 550 million people outside the USSR.

The Soviet radio in Tashkent, where the Russians seem to have concentrated extremely powerful propaganda facilities, broadcasts in some 90 languages and dialects to the Moslem people in Asia and Africa. This vast propaganda work is being done by Russians who very frequently are disguised as "local Moslems."

Significantly, during my travels in Asia I never heard of any systematic propaganda effort by the United States in these areas to offset the Russian drive; yet perhaps there is such an effort. If so, it cannot be a very great one.

Every year Moscow sends hundred of its Moslem Quislings on the "pilgrimage" to Mecca, by which it creates the impression among the Moslems outside the USSR that complete freedom of religion is accorded to the Islamic peoples in the Soviet Union. In addition, the Russians for years have been operating through the so-called "Soviet Solidarity Committee of Asian Countries", which has been very successful in spreading Russian imperialism and Communism throughout Asia and Africa. This was attested to by Veli Kajum Khan, president of the "National Turkestanian Unity Committee" and vice-president of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), who has made extensive visits to the Middle East in the last few months. He said that the absence of any American propaganda was in great measure responsible for the rapid spread of Communism. The local populations do not know the policies and intentions of the United States, and whatever notions they possess are gained from Russian sources, which are always evidently anti-American.

The Russians pose in the Middle East as "protectors of independence and freedom." They smuggle in expert agents and propagandists, especially Moslem priests. They do not propagate Communism outright, but conduct lengthy (and slanted) discussions on religious and philosophical themes, talk loftily about the "solidarity and independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa," and propagate books and pamphlets printed in Tashkent and Samarkand (USSR). Moreover, the "Red Pilgrims" to Mecca bring appropriate letters and "greetings" to Turkestanian emigres from their relatives in the Soviet Union, and stoutly aver that they are "not interested" in politics, but are interested, as Red mullahs, in spreading the "truth about the religious situation in the Soviet Union."

Moscow has launched a new political and religious slogan for the Moslems: "Every Moslem could be a Communist and every Communist could be a Moslem as well, inasmuch as we are not against God and the Prophet."

Regrettably, the Western diplomatic circles in these countries live in complete isolation, away from the local populations, which are subjugated to the systematic Communist propaganda depicting the Americans and other Westerners as "imperialists" and as "enemies" of the liberation and independence of the Asian and African peoples.

The Eisenhower Doctrine is little known. Ground up by the Russian Communist mill, the Doctrine, in mutilated form, is naturally opposed and disliked by the masses. In the absence of any anti-Russian Western information campaign, the Asian and African peoples are ignorant of the situation behind the Iron Curtain. "The Voice of America" does not reach these areas at all. There is no doubt that an effective and successful counter-action could be waged by committees of Free Turkestanians and Azerbaijanians and other Free Muslims who have blood relatives behind the Iron Curtain and who culturally and religiously are very close to those Moslems who live in Russian slavery. Unfortunately, these free Muslims are not "acceptable" to the Western policy-makers, since they stand for their national independence and against both Russian imperialism and Communism. The United States officials will have no truck with these Moslems; the Moslem political aspirations

V. K.

With Whom Do They Cooperate?

In No. 4 of this year's expertly edited "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate", A. Kazem-Bek voices his opinions in an article entitled "The Christian Way to Peace". The first time that he aired his views after his return to Moscow (which took place somewhere about the end of 1956) was in February, 1957, when an article of his, "America Without The Gloss", appeared in the Moscow "Literary Journal". In this article this former "ideological authority" of the Russian emigrants, who for over twenty years had led their anti-Bolshevist activity, began to talk about "America's lack of culture". As the motto for his article and its arguments he quoted the words of the famous American architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, who is said to have affirmed that America was the only nation in the history of the world to have passed from barbarism to degeneration without having created a culture of its own. This article appeared in the Moscow press precisely at a time when the question of the exchange of cultural forces and cultural achievements between America and the Soviet imperium was, for some reason or other, becoming of importance in American-Soviet relations. Accordingly, the motto of the Kremlin was to exchange. And culture now began to be exchanged like goods on a market. The Soviet

writers had received appropriate directives for the part they were to play in the "cultural exchange", for Kazem-Bek had recently written about the "mechanized barbarism of the Americans" and about the "beast with no culture", etc., in their organ (prior to his return to Moscow he was the head professor for Russian literature at Connecticut College). And now, in April this year, Kazem-Bek appears in the organ of the Moscow Patriarch as a "pious man".

In this article he introduces numerous quotations from religious texts (he has thus "re-qualified" himself without delay!). A renegade from the camp of Russian anti-Communism, he endeavours to convince his readers, by referring to these religious texts, that one should fight for peace at any price. He affirms that in this respect it is necessary "to reconstruct old ideas, to revise conceptions of human life and to change one's attitude towards one's fellow-men". Both science and religion, he adds, are agreed that it is essential to train and educate the peace-loving beings "whom our modern times need". All this is contained in the column "Protection of Peace"; and also a typical Moscow threat: "The mutual dependence of human beings on each other precludes all security on this earth". For this reason "it is senseless to plan inaccessible shelters... everything is accessible and vulnerable".

It suffices to recall the numerous notes sent by Khrushchev to the governments of the Western states and, in particular, to the President of the U.S.A., and to compare them with the phrase "everything is accessible", for one to recognize the mutual attitude of the Patriarch in question and of the boastful boss of the Kremlin, — an attitude which consists in trying to frighten the world with Moscow's technical strength. And we are obliged to admit that this intention is to some extent successful. The fear which is created in this way paralyses the thoughts of the Western world and, instead of fighting, the latter is prepared to preserve the present state of corrupt equilibrium, in which millions of persons and entire nations and states are enslaved in fetters, — solely in order to avoid any risks. Naturally, a situation such as this is most advantageous and most desirable from the point of view of the Soviet imperium, since its government is afraid lest the present corrupt equilibrium might be disturbed by the anti-imperialist national forces, of whose existence the leading politicians of the West have so far taken no notice.

And who is this "pious man" of the Soviet imperium, who endeavours to lull the reader with religious texts — in order to safeguard the Kremlin's policy of the "peaceful" offensive — by affirming that it is advisable "to reconstruct old ideas and to revise conceptions of human life"? He is the founder, leader and ideologist of what was once perhaps the strongest Russian political emigrant organization, the "Union of Young Russians", which designated itself as the "second Soviet party" and set itself the task "of overthrowing the Soviet Republic in order to set up a Soviet monarchy". For over twenty years, Kazem-Bek, as an emigrant, was the leader of this organization with a monarchist head and a Soviet trunk, and as such he allegedly fought against Communism for a "social monarchy" — "with a tsar of the working classes as its head, who relies on the proletariat". After World War II and until his return to the Soviet Union, Kazem-Bek, who had settled in America, carried on his activity in the above-mentioned American college and propagated his programme in the American press, too.

The political principles of the "Young Russians" — with which practically all the political forces of the Russian emigrants agree — were clearly formulated in 1933 as follows:

"The Young Russian Movement aims to bring

Bolshevization and Russification are Siamese Twins. If anyone sets out hand in hand with the Russian imperialists to fight Bolshevism, he is sure to lose.

A.B.N. President Testifies Before House Foreign Affairs Committee

Washington. — Upon the invitation of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Executive Session, Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) testified at length on July 30, 1958, in Washington.

The themes of his testimony were the development in the Middle East and its appraisal from the viewpoint of the United States; the policy of liberation with respect to the subjugated non-Russian nations of the USSR; U.S. psychological warfare and, especially, the "Voice of America"; the situation behind the Iron Curtain since the Hungarian revolution, and suggestions for an effective U.S. foreign policy with respect to the subjugated nations of Europe and Asia.

Upon conclusion of Mr. Stetzko's testimony, which lasted over two hours, eleven Congressmen, members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, submitted several pointed and pertinent questions, to which Mr. Stetzko supplied exhaustive and factual answers. Both his written and his oral testimony were taken down in the official record of the Committee.

It is to be recalled that on May 14, 1958, Mr. Stetzko also testified, on that occasion before the House Un-American Activities Committee, when he submitted a documented testimony on the dangers of a new "summit" meeting and on the aggressive Soviet Russian policies in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Present at the session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee were Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University Professor and national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ignatius Bilinsky, editor of "America", the Ukrainian-American Catholic daily of Philadelphia, and Walter Dushnyck, editor of the "Ukrainian Bulletin", who acted as interpreter.

about the reunification of Russian historical traditions and Russian reality, as it should be."

This was and still is the political formula which designates the course of the Russian emigrants with a distant aim. Kazem-Bek's change-over from his "anti-Communist" policy to the Moscow Patriarchate represents the logical termination of his former activity, — the fight against Communist intricacies for the purpose of uniting the present imperialist reality with the historical traditions of Russia. The ideological bridge from the anti-Communism of the Russian emigrants to Soviet "socialism" was first constructed and given a political foundation by the "Young Russians"; their heirs — the Russian "Solidarists" (NTS) — followed in their footsteps, and it is by means of this bridge that Russian pseudo anti-Communism on this side of the Iron Curtain is being brought closer to Soviet Russian reality.

After Kazem-Bek's return, sympathetic conjectures were raised in the Russian press as to what prompts people to return. There can be no denying the fact that Kazem-Bek, a man of aristocratic (and by no means proletarian!) origin, for decades loyally served the imperialist idea, inasmuch as he had connections with agents who did not belong to the Bolshevik secret service alone.

There are still politicians who do not think politically and who tend to regard Bolshevist imperialism (also called Soviet Communism) as a certain realization of the social aims and aspirations of the proletariat, without comprehending that the Russian "proletariat" would neither have been able to revive nor preserve the imperium which collapsed in 1917, had it not been for the support of the dignitaries of tsarism, the majority of the officers of the tsarist army, the imperialist officials' intelligentsia and the "pious men" of the Patriarchate.

Russian Political Strategy . . .

Continued from page 2

seem to run counter to the official United States policy with respect to the Soviet Union.

The West must revise its attitude toward the enslaved nations in Europe and Asia. At the newly-formed "Asian-African Solidarity Conference" in Cairo, both the Soviet Union and Red China have their representatives, who are more than representatives; they are the real power behind the facade of the Afro-Asian representation. At the same time the West is assuming a totally indifferent, if not hostile, attitude toward the independence movements and their leaders from behind the Iron Curtain, who are seeking support and assistance in the free world. Moreover, in the United States the press is waging a rather systematic campaign against British, French or Dutch imperialism, but little attention, if any, is being devoted to Russian imperialism and enslavement. Why is this so? If the little country of Ghana is allowed to realize its independence, why not extend the same right to Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia and the other enslaved countries in the USSR?

On the other hand, the Russians are cleverly juggling with nationalist nomenclature and definitions. For instance, the organ of the Communist Party of Georgia, "Kommunisti" (No. 149, 1957), published an article on Lenin's views regarding national problems and foreign policy. In that article Lenin's attitude to Ukraine is cited:

In his article "Ukraine", which Lenin wrote on June 28, 1917, he outlined a definite program for the solution of the national question, in particular that of Ukraine: "No democrat, let alone a Socialist, can deny the legality of Ukraine's aims. No democrat can deny the right of Ukraine to severance from Russia; it is precisely the unconditional recognition of this right that creates the possibility of propagating the voluntary union of these two peoples in one state. And this in truth. It is only the complete recognition of this right that affords the only possibility of definitely breaking off relations with the past of accursed Czarism, which by every means available helped to alienate these two peoples" . . .

This is a sample of the verbal gymnastics with which the Russians fooled many peoples in the past and do so now with a dismaying success.

Z. Karbowych

FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF

The Second Congress of the "American Friends of A.B.N." in New York

NEW YORK, Sept. 20.—Over two hundred delegates representing seventeen nationalities banded together in an organization of "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" (AF ABN) and hailing from various states held their second congress on September 20-21, 1958, at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City. Among those present, were guests from Canada, Mexico and Argentina. Dr. Shia of Free China also attended the Congress.

The representatives of the Polish Congress Committee were also present as guests.

The principal speakers at the day sessions were Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the Central Committee of the ABN with headquarters in Munich, Germany, and Edward M. O'Connor, former U.S. Displaced Persons Commissioner and now associated with Canisius College in Buffalo, New York. Dr. Gabor de Besseney and Dr. Nestor Procyk delivered addresses during the sessions.

In conjunction with the Congress a reception was held, at which 400 persons were present.

Among the speakers at the banquet were Mr. Stetzko, the Hon. You Chan Yang, Ambassador of Korea, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University and national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Mrs. Edith Hyder, a Canadian radio commentator from Toronto, and Madame Tran Van Chuong, wife of the Vietnamese Ambassador to the United States and Vietnamese observer to the United Nations. Joseph Lesawyer, vice president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and of the Ukrainian National Association, acted as toastmaster at the banquet.

The guests at the reception also included prominent delegates from Canada, as well as representatives of the Ukrainian Liberation

League, of the editorial staff of the "Homin Ukrainy", and of the A.B.N., etc.

Dr. N. Procyk of Buffalo, N. Y. was elected president of the Executive Council, while Dr. Gabor de Besseney was elected chairman of the Council of Representatives of the AF ABN.

In a series of resolutions the congress supported the Administration's Far Eastern policies; it urged the United States to give immediate political and technical assistance to the underground movements in the countries behind the Iron Curtain and further urged the United States to have the broadcast material of the "Voice of America," "Radio Free Europe" and "Radio Liberation" conform with the national and political aspirations of the countries enslaved by Russia.

Hundreds of messages and greetings were received, including salutations from the Office of President Eisenhower, the Department of State's Eastern European Division, FBI Chief Edgar G. Hoover, Rep. Michael A. Feighan, and Chinese Ambassador to the U.N., Dr. Ting-fu F. Tsiang. Many came from U.S. Senators and Representatives and American anti-communist groups and organizations.

The "American Friends of the ABN" consists of the following national groups:

Albanian, Armenian, Bulgarian, Byelorussian, Cossack, Croatian, Estonian, Georgian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Rumanian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian, Turkestanian and Ukrainian.

The organization advocates the abolition of the Russian communist empire and the establishment of free and independent national states.

The Congress was excellently prepared by a special committee, headed by the representative of the Bulgarian National Front, Dr. K. Koitchev.

Appeal To The Western World

It is our firm conviction that there is absolutely no possibility of co-existence between freedom and slavery. For this reason we urge the free world to become alert and recognize the evil political forces which are at work to delude the public with a hope of co-existence. These are the same forces which, having been captivated by the Soviet propaganda, have thrown the greater part of the world into slavery and in these vast areas have turned back the wheel of history for many centuries.

We deplore the fact that there is a company of formidable size at subversive work in education, churches and in all the spheres which have an influence upon public opinion, that is ready to proclaim co-existence apparently to the end of existence. This company has been urging people to meet the enemy at the gates and hand him the keys of the citadel before he storms it. We warn that the enemy is disintegrating public life and preparing this country as a booty for Soviet Russia.

We firmly believe that it is absolutely useless to engage in further conferences between the West and Russia. The Western political leaders have spent time on some 10,000 conferences, but they seem never to have learned that it makes no more sense to negotiate with Moscow than with incurable criminals, guilty of unnamed bestiality. They seem never to

have grasped that they have been misled by the Kremlin rulers, who wanted to win time for their military preparations, and that co-operation in the Kremlin's sense means unconditional surrender to the tyranny of Communism.

We are convinced that the new policy of seeking contacts in cultural relations increases immensely the already existing confusion in this country, since every human being who can come over from the prison of millions of victims has a definite purpose — to spread the deadly germ of Soviet Russian propaganda. The present leadership is toying with the idea of cultural relations, which recalls someone who wants to fight tuberculosis without fighting the germs of tuberculosis.

These "cultural relations" are the surest way to discourage the peoples in the Russian grip who still possess soundness of conscience and mind and as such constitute the greatest spiritual obstacle in the way of indoctrination. These are thereby thrown into a spirit of resignation — all of which is in the interest of the Bolshevik cause.

We are convinced that World War III is inevitable. All the steps, actions and preparations of the Soviet Russians speak a clear language to those who can understand their testimony. What so many nations have experienced of this insatiable bestiality will be

the fate of the free world and you will have to fight whether you want to or not.

Since the Russian tyranny, the most dreadful tyranny the world has seen, is preparing for the final jump, we want the people everywhere who still are free, to realize what this grave situation demands. We must all realize at last that there is something greater on earth than vegetating, namely divine justice and freedom and a life worthy of human beings. Only this realization would give sense and meaning to an existence which has lost its dignity.

At a time when freedom is dying behind the Iron Curtain and the rest of the world is sinking deeper and deeper into defeatism and fear, we urge the leaders of political life to re-evaluate their political aims, to give the nation a sense of mission, something which is more than "peace and prosperity", something which would elevate minds and efforts above all secondary and tertiary troubles. This cannot be obtained without recovery of religion and the power of idealism, ethical values, justice and the spirit of sacrifice.

We are engaged in a mortal struggle with an enemy whose tiger's instinct yearns for a decisive jump. It is high time that we become sober in the midst of all this unparalleled confusion. We adjure not only Christians in all Christian denominations, but believers in other religions, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists and others, to see the tasks and responsibilities which bind all religions together in common cooperation and action, particularly now when the question is before us as to whether we can preserve life under higher responsibility or whether it will be transformed into a man-made mass, to be driven by the whip of sickle and hammer.

We deplore that unspeakable injustice has been done to all nations under Communism and Russian imperialism, which nations are our true allies. These have been betrayed and forgotten. The political leadership has offered no help towards the liberation of enslaved nations, and has not proclaimed that those who rise against the Russian tyrants can count on the moral and material support of the West. This guilt has brought the rest of the free world so far that its very existence is at stake. We adjure all the responsible forces in politics and in the field of religion, education and culture to realize at last that the only security lies in united effort and action.

We firmly believe that material as well as moral help should be given to freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain as well as to those in the Free World. This is the most effective way of destroying Communism and Russian Imperialism.

We appeal to the Free World to launch a speedy and new dynamic liberation policy, the only prerequisite for survival. After the sputniks have shaken the clamor for technical and military predominance, it is high time to turn to the neglected, yet strongest weapon which the West still has, — the yearning of all men to be free. The errors of the past must be corrected. This nation should proclaim that the United States will not tolerate the continuation of enslavement of other nations by Russia regardless of the time of their conquest. This new course would electrify all

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

the betrayed human beings, would elevate their minds and would throw the greatest potential into the struggle of life and death.

The ideals of the Free World should not be peace at any price but freedom, justice, and dignity for individuals and nations, since no lasting peace can be achieved as long as freedom is divided and as long as the Russian imperialists are permitted to suppress freedom and keep it divided.

We are living in an age characterized by the collapse of the empires and by the triumphant advance of the national idea in the

world; the idea of independent nations should be the guiding principle for the policy of the Free World. It is illogical, therefore, to favor the disintegration of the British, French, or Dutch empires and at the same time to defend the Soviet Union's borders. The United States' foreign policy should be the policy of liberation, the aim of which would be disintegration of the Russian Empire and restoration of national independence for countries enslaved by it, i. e. not only for the so-called satellite countries, but also those within the borders of the USSR.

not yet members of the United Nations Organization.

The foreign policy of the free nations should be a policy of liberation which would clearly and unmistakably raise the problem of the disintegration of the Russian empire as such and of the restoration of national independence of all the nations subjugated in it, i. e. not only the so-called satellite countries but also those included within the U.S.S.R.

At a recent press conference devoted to the question of the Middle East, President Eisenhower declared that he supports the idea of nationalism with regard to the Arab countries. This idea is equally valid for the subjugated nations behind the Iron, the Bamboo and the Tito-Curtain, especially those in the U.S.S.R. The present-day struggle is the struggle of the national idea which is realized in the form of a national independent state against the world imperialist idea that is defended by Russia in the form of the world U.S.S.R.

National liberation revolutions of the nations enslaved within the U.S.S.R. and in the so-called satellite countries, carried out simultaneously and in a coordinated manner, with effective assistance of the Free world, are the only alternative to an atomic world war.

"United in Genuine Friendship"

An address delivered by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the ABN, at a banquet held on the occasion of the Second Congress of the American Friends of ABN, in New York, on October 20, 1958.

Mr. Chairman, Very, Reverend Fathers, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, My dear friends!

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which comprises the Committee "Free Armenia", Bulgarian National Front, Byelorussian Central Council, Cossack National Liberation Movement, Croatian National Liberation Movement, Czech National Committee, Estonian Liberation Movement, Union of the Estonian Fighters for Freedom, Georgian National Organization, Hungarian Liberation Movement, Hungarian Mindszenty Movement, Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism, Lithuanian Rebirth Movement, Organization of Serbian Nationalists, Slovak Liberation Committee, National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Ukrainian Hetman Union, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, I extend my humble greetings.

It is not accidental that today at a single political event there are participating the distinguished representatives of Korea, and Viet Nam whose countries stand in the first line of the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism, together with American guests and some of the spokesmen of the national liberation organizations of the countries subjugated by the same enemy in Europe and in Western Asia. In the said Asian lands as in the European countries, Communism and totalitarianism are imported hostile systems from Russia. These countries experienced a similar expansionist pressure from Tsarist Russia. Speaking about Korea, for example, Tsar Nicholas II said that Korea should be included in the sphere of influence of Russia as regards the importance of the Pacific Ocean.

To Lenin's words that the road to Paris leads through Peking and Delhi we add "and through Washington."

We are being united in genuine friendship with the Korean, Vietnamese and Chinese peoples in the struggle against the common enemy. When I visited Free China and Free Viet Nam, I had plenty of opportunity to admire these heroic peoples and the democratic order applied there, as well as their staunch anti-Communist stand.

We are firmly convinced that the local liberation of any one country alone is impossible. All our countries will be liberated simultaneously or Russian darkness will envelop the entire world. Our common cause is the cause of the entire free world, whether one wishes it to be so or not.

We are glad to meet among ourselves distinguished guests, representatives of Mexico, from Canada, and particularly the famous radio commentator Mrs. Hyder, a true friend of the A.B.N. We are also glad to see the Ukrainian representative from Argentina, Mr. Hryhuorchuk, who was so kind as to honor this Congress by his presence. We are particularly grateful to our American friends for their words of solidarity and encouragement and we are aware of the great historical role which is bestowed on the freedom-loving American Nation as the leading power of the Free World against the Russian and Communist evil and tyranny.

We express feelings of deep solidarity with the heroic defenders of Quemoy and Matsu, who simultaneously defend the nations of the world that are still free, as well as fight for the freedom urge of the subjugated nations.

We strive at the same time to refresh the memory and conscience of the Western nations about the noble and brave Hungarian national revolution,



The Hon. Edward M. O'Connor addressing the 2nd AF ABN Congress in New York

which was engulfed by masses of Russian ammunition, guns, and planes, while many were passive onlookers.

We allow ourselves at this Congress to recall the grand manifestation of the will to freedom expressed by the non-Russian inmates in the Russian concentration camps in Vorkuta, Norylsk, Kingiri, and other places during revolts in recent years; and we shall always revere the memory of the 500 defenseless Ukrainian women who died for the freedom and independence of Ukraine when they were mown down by Russian tanks in the concentration camps of Kingiri.

We strongly denounce the admission of Moscow's puppet government in Peiping to the United Nations, because the only legal and truly national Chinese Government is the Government of the Republic of China in Taipei.

We demand the expulsion from the United Nations of the U.S.S.R. delegation as well as of the delegations of all other Communist governments and the inclusion therein of the delegations from the national liberation centers of the subjugated peoples which stand in the vanguard of the freedom fight.

We think the United Nations should be transformed into a center of anti-Russian and anti-Communist struggle, but not serve as the forum of co-existence with the Russian prison of nations, the most terrible that history has ever known. It is strange that Free Korea and Free Viet Nam are

We must not fear an atomic war, for no human being created mankind and without the will of Providence it will not be destroyed. We have only to carry out our duty with regard to God and our country and to fight fearlessly against the Kingdom of Evil which Moscow is building. In the foreground must be placed not "peace" but justice, human and national dignity, which cannot exist as long as the Russian empire is still intact.

We should never forget that no one is so wealthy as to be able to buy his enemies by concessions!

A Letter from the Prime Minister of Free China

September 8, 1958

Dear Mr. Stetzko,

I thank you very much for your letter of August 1, 1958, and especially the warm greetings that you have so kindly expressed therein on the occasion of my appointment as President of the Executive Yuan.

I fully share with you the belief that the liberation forces of all nations will join hands and the hope that there will soon arise a worldwide anti-communist liberation centre. I can also say with confidence that in our common struggle against communist tyranny the final victory will be ours.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Chen Cheng

National Independence - Dominant Idea of Our Time

Resolutions of the Second Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.

Fundamental Principles

WHEREAS the American Friends of ABN pledge allegiance to the basic human rights and to the principles of independence and sovereignty of all nations regardless of race, creed, political beliefs and relative size; and

WHEREAS the greatest danger and menace to the very existence based on these basic principles stems from Communism and Russian imperialism; and

WHEREAS the false ideology of Marxism and Leninism was capable of capturing the imagination of some segments of the population of the free world, particularly in less developed countries, by false promises of national independence, social justice, economic development, freedom, of religion and international peace; and

WHEREAS the Soviet-Russian dictatorial system has enslaved many nations of Eastern Europe, and is maintaining large military and police forces for the purpose of perpetuating the enslavement of these nations; and

WHEREAS Russia, and other Communist powers, in order to hide from the free world its aim of world domination, to disorganize morally and politically the free world, and to eliminate American military bases, is propagating the so-called peaceful coexistence, banning atomic tests, neutralization of some European and Asian nations, the so-called cultural exchanges, etc.; and

WHEREAS the national revolutionary liberation organizations and their representatives abroad, the ABN as well as AF ABN have been calling attention to the major deficiencies in the West's strategy in facing the challenge of Russia and Communism;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the safeguarding of our civilization from total destruction by world Communism and Russia imperialism requires moral, political and military cooperation between the free world and the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we profess our allegiance to the same ideals for which our compatriots behind the Iron Curtain have been fighting for many years. The struggle for liberation continues uninterrupted behind the Iron Curtain (e.g. we have the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Baltic Underground, Polish Riots in Poznan, Bulgarian revolutionary movement, Hungarian revolution, Croatian Liberation Movement, etc.); and

BE IT RESOLVED, that the success of the anti-Communist struggle will depend on effective political and military assistance by the USA and by the entire free world to the coordinated national liberation revolutions of the peoples enslaved within the USSR and in the satellites. Simultaneously, the free nations must fight the Fifth Columns and their fellow-travelers in all sectors of life. In this respect, the ABN is the organization that can rightfully expect consideration as an agency for the implementation of the above mentioned objectives.

Liberation Policy and International Politics

WHEREAS while the nations under Russian domination in Europe and in Asia are engaged in a bitter struggle for freedom under most unfavorable conditions i.e. under the grip of the bestial terror of MVD, their national representatives abroad are endeavoring to support this fight by all means;

WHEREAS at the root of the present Communist domination of Eastern Europe and Asia lie the traditional imperialistic policies of pre-revolutionary Russia, which throughout centuries used either their so-called Pan Slavism or the doctrines of Christian Orthodoxy in a similar way as it uses, since 1917, the doctrines of the atheistic Marxism i.e. as a cover for territorial expansion and for subjugation of scores of small and great nations; and

WHEREAS the national liberation movements are either left without any support by the West or are carrying on their activities independently of each other while the free world is throwing its support generously behind political groups and movements implicated in collaboration with the Communist parties, various Titoist groups, Natio-

nalno-Trudovoy Sojuz (NTS) ("Russian Solidarists"), or the so-called Green Internationale etc; and

WHEREAS the long experience that the nations behind the Iron Curtain have had in relations with Russia proves beyond any doubt that Russia respects neither the letter nor the spirit of any international agreement but only sheer power or naked threat of power. She uses all diplomatic negotiations as a means of skilful but deceitful propaganda as a part of the Big Lie technique; and

WHEREAS out of the 200 million of Soviet Union's population only about 80 million are Russians and the majority i.e. about 120 million are non-Russians who are well disposed toward the West, similarly as Norway or France were disposed toward the USA and Great Britain during World War II. Thus there do not exist any serious obstacles on the way to cooperation and a close alliance of free nations with the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples; and

WHEREAS regardless of how and when the present Middle East or Far East crises will be settled,

President Eisenhower on Freedom and Nationalism

Washington, D.C.—In restating U.S. foreign policy aims, President Eisenhower said at his press conference on August 6, 1958:

"... We believe that freedom and the principle of liberty are indivisible in the world and, therefore, when the freedom of the weak, the independence of the weak, is threatened, the United States has a very deep responsibility . . ."

"... We believe in nationalism. This Administration believes in nationalism. We believe it for ourselves, and we believe that any nation, any peoples, have the right to their independence."

Russian imperialism will find new danger spots and new and more refined tactics to undermine the position of the free world; and

WHEREAS the dominant political idea of our time is the idea of gaining national independence. This is true not only for the nations subjugated by Russia after 1939 or 1945 but also before, i.e. after 1917 when non-Russian nations enslaved in the present-day USSR established their independent and sovereign states. In spite of this, certain Western circles disregard those important facts proclaiming the so-called "non-predetermination" line with respect to the rights of the nations enslaved by Russia and international Communism; and

WHEREAS the ABN has continuously and persistently warned the leaders of the free world of the dangers of Russian imperialism and has kept them informed about the ideas and importance of the national movements;

BE IT RESOLVED, that there cannot be a compromise between imperialists of whatever color and the forces striving for the liberation of the peoples under Communist domination;

BE IT RESOLVED, that support be given to underground movements. By helping the subjugated nations the West would help itself, because the predominant part of the Soviet Army consists of members of non-Russian nationalities and under influence of liberation ideas of national revolutionary organizations those soldiers would become allies of the West when the West accepts the concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that such a support could take the form of a political and technical assistance to the freedom-fighters; setting up of radio stations for the use of national liberation movements united in the ABN in countries bordering on the USSR and Red China; founding of a political planning center for the purpose of permanent cooperation of the free world with national liberation organizations of the subjugated nations; the expansion of the representative missions of national revolutionary organizations united in the ABN in the Middle and Far East, namely in Pakistan, South Korea, Viet Nam etc., similar to the

ABN mission already existing in Free China, for the purpose of more intensive penetration behind the Iron Curtain and Bamboo Curtain; the proclamation by the US Government of a Great Charter of National Independence for all peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism regardless of the time of their conquest.

Widening of Liberation Front

WHEREAS the current crisis in the Middle East stems from the age-old imperialistic drive of Russia toward the Mediterranean via the Adriatic Sea; the present crisis in the Far East indicates synchronization of Communist-Chinese plans with those of Russian expansionists.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Middle East situation be solved not as a local affair but as a general recognition of nationalism of all the nations striving for their independence including the nations enslaved in the Russian empire. The delusive tactics of Russia are very evident in this area since she seemingly supports nationalistic movements to independence in Middle East, but at the same time suppresses with all brutality such national movements for independence when they arise behind the Iron Curtain e.g. fight for freedom of UPA, Poznan Polish riots or Hungarian revolution. Therefore the Western Governments should exploit these "internal contradictions" of Communism and Russian imperialism on a greater scale.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we endorse the convocation of the Preparatory Conference for the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation which stated in part as follows:

"Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism with the clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international Communism and Russian imperialism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, now existing in the form of the so-called USSR and satellites, and the re-establishing of national independent states on the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and/or Central Europe and Asia."

The Second Congress of AF ABN believes that only on the basis of the program adopted by the Mexico Preparatory Conference should the World Anti-Communist Congress be called and fully supports all its resolutions.

We proclaim full confidence in the President of the ABN and are ready to endorse such actions as the ABN may undertake for furtherance of our cause.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the AF ABN does highly value the political cooperation between the ABN and the Anti-Communist organizations of Asia, united in the APACL (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League) in the direction toward establishing a worldwide anti-Communist coordination center. We firmly believe APACL will further the complete dismemberment of the Russian empire.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that AF ABN favor the cooperation with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, applauds its sponsorship of the Mexico Preparatory Conference and its firm stand thereon against Russian imperialism of any kind.

On Selected Issues of American Foreign Policy

WHEREAS the planning authorities of current American foreign policy are anxiously searching for an alternative to atomic war; and

WHEREAS some pressure is being exerted in favor of the abandoning of American commitments to defend Nationalist China; and

WHEREAS the way is being paved for membership of Red China in the United Nations Organization; and

WHEREAS the "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism", "Radio Liberation", "Radio Free Europe" and the "Voice of America" are ineffective media in anti-Communist psychological warfare inasmuch as they base their liberat-

Messages of Goodwill to Second A.F.A.B.N. Congress

On the occasion of its Second Congress the organization of the "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" (AF ABN) received hundreds of messages of goodwill and greetings from all over the world. Below we publish some excerpts from these messages:

The White House, Washington

. . . I know the President would want me to send best wishes for a successful event.

Frederic Fox,
Special Assistant in the White House

Department of State, Washington

. . . Officials of the Department who follow developments in Eastern Europe will read with interest any information you may be able to provide on the discussions that take place at the Congress.

Henry P. Leverich,
Deputy Director
Office of Eastern European Affairs

Department of State, Washington

In Secretary Dulles' absence, I am replying to your letter of September 9, . . . However, I am sure that he would wish me to extend on his behalf best wishes for a successful banquet.

Maurice S. Rice,
Chief Public Services Division

ion policy on the principle of the indivisibility of the Russian Empire; and

WHEREAS the Soviet Union has frequently violated the Charter of United Nations and by abusing its veto power made that organization powerless and in confusion; and

WHEREAS inaction by the West in face of such behaviour has resulted in the turning of this organization from a guardian of human justice, as it was conceived, into a guardian of slavery and injustice in peace; and

WHEREAS the so-called "summit conference" would serve the aim of the Communist bloc to obtain recognition of the *status quo* by the West, thus assuring a basis for future conquests by the Russian imperialists and Chinese Communists, and also producing a state of affairs highly unfavorable for the enslaved nations who would regard the United States and the Western powers as the perpetuators and co-guarantors of their enslavement;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the alternative to atomic war and annihilation of our civilization is a true liberation policy as proclaimed in various statements, memorandums and resolutions of ABN and AF ABN. In this context the principled position taken by Senator Knowland in matters of liberation strategy of American Foreign Policy deserves our appreciation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we fully support the firm stand of President Eisenhower on the Quemoy and Matsu crisis and his declaration that there will not be a "Pacific Munich";

BE IT RESOLVED, that we are opposed to any Summit Meetings with Khrushchev, who is co-responsible for the murder of many millions of innocent peoples, particularly for forced collectivization and resulting hunger and death of more than 6 million peasants of Ukraine and who, with tanks and machine-guns, suppressed the 1956 freedom revolution of the Hungarian people;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the entire program and political line of "Radio Liberation," "Radio Free Europe" and "The Voice of America" should be adjusted so as to conform with the desires and political aspirations of the nations subjugated by Russia, international Communism and so-called Yugoslav National Communism;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" as well as "The Institute for the Study of Culture and History of the USSR" in future formulate and conduct their policies and research in the spirit conducive to the interests of the nations enslaved by Moscow, that is, in the direction of the disintegration of the Russian Empire into independent national states;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the heroic defense of Quemoy should receive the unanimous approval and support of the West as well as of the entire free world.

Department of State, Washington

. . . I would be interested in reading any reports issued by the Congress which you may be able to send me.

Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.,
Special Assistant
Office of Eastern European Affairs

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives. I feel honored to have been asked to send a message to the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, whose unceasing efforts to bring to the American people a clear understanding of the national liberation movements in the countries now subjugated by Soviet Russia are well known.

Yet there is very little that I can tell you, for you do not need to be convinced of the sweetness of freedom nor the infamy of Communism. You do not need urging to unite and act against Communist oppression wherever it is found, for your day by day work, your meeting this weekend, give hope that at a not too far off time there can be held a *Congress of the American Friends of the Liberated Bloc of Nations.*

I do, however, offer humbly my congratulations to you and my prayer that liberty will soon be known in every part of the world because of your efforts now.

Francis E. Dorn

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives. I want to take this opportunity to commend the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations for its courageous attitude and constant efforts in behalf of the national liberation movement of the peoples subjugated by Communism.

The United States does not seek one foot of new territory but is exerting its strength and leadership in an effort to see that freedom of thought and action are the rights of every man and woman in the world. Your organization is to be commended for what it is doing to help suppressed peoples wherever Communism has imposed its forces on them.

Congressman Edwin B. Dooley

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives. Much as I should like to be present and am honored by your invitation, I must decline and explain that my schedule will make it impossible for me to participate. However, I will deeply appreciate your conveying to your membership my warm personal greetings and regards, and my wish for a most successful and rewarding meeting. Your organization has made tremendous strides in bringing to the American people a better understanding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and is to be commended for its efforts and achievements.

Vincent J. Dellay, M. C.

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives . . . As I explained to you in my letter of September 4th, other commitments made it impossible for me to attend the said meeting, although you may be assured of my sincere interest in anything to curb communism.

William S. Curtin, Member of Congress

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives. I regret that I was unable to attend the Congress of the AF ABN which was held September 19-20, but I was in Europe on a tour of active duty with the United States Marine Corps at that time, or else I would surely have gotten off a message of encouragement to all of you on the vital work you are doing.

Donald L. Jackson, M. C.

State of New Jersey

Office of the Governor, Trenton

Please convey to your delegates and guests my greetings and best wishes. I hope that you have a most successful gathering that will make increasingly effective the work you are doing to free captive countries from the Soviet yoke.

Robert B. Meyner, Governor

Press Comments on Second A.F. A.B.N. Congress

The American press took a lively interest in the sessions of the Second Congress held by the "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" (A.F. A.B.N.) and published some very favourable reports in this respect. The "New York Times", incidentally, was represented at the Congress by its own correspondent. Below we quote some of the reports which appeared in the American papers.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Sept. 21, 1958:

True Soviet a myth, Anti-Reds are told

Pseudo-experts were denounced yesterday for perpetuating the "myth" of a Soviet people or a true Soviet Union.

Edward M. O'Connor, who was Commissioner of Displaced Persons in the Administration of former President Harry S. Truman, called for "a realistic and positive policy" that would recognize the Soviet Union as "a Russian empire comprised of many enslaved peoples".

Mr. O'Connor, now on the Roman Catholic institution in Buffalo, spoke at the New Yorker Hotel at the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The congress is scheduled to end today by adopting a resolution declaring that World War III is inevitable and by urging the West to support the partitioning of the Soviet Union into separate national states.

Representatives of seventeen national groups are attending the congress.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Sept. 21, 1958:

Korean Envoy Vows Aid To 'Free China'

The South Korean Ambassador to the United States implied last night that his country might take action against North Korea should the crisis in the Taiwan Straits worsen.

Dr. You Chan Yang declared "Should the Free Chinese people request our aid, we are ready to offer them any and all material and men necessary to stem the Communist tide of aggression".

Dr. Yang spoke at a dinner in the New Yorker Hotel. The event was part of a Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, Sept. 22, 1958:

Far East Stand Backed

Anti-Bolshevik Congress Here Urges Quemoy Defense.

The Administration's Far Eastern policy was upheld yesterday by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in a resolution adopted at its second congress.

In doing so, the group, which is made up of political refugees from seventeen Iron Curtain countries, urged a firm defense of the Chinese offshore islands to avoid a "Pacific Munich".

The delegates, meeting at the New Yorker Hotel, also called upon the United States to abandon attempts at achieving peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and to give immediate political and technical aid to underground movements in the satellite nations.

THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, Sept. 22, 1958:

Urge U.S. To Aid Underground In Red Nations

A group of immigrants from seventeen Soviet republics and Iron Curtain countries yesterday urged the United States to abandon efforts to coexist with Russia, and, instead, to assist underground movements in the Soviet satellite nations.

The immigrants — members of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — made this proposal at their second congress at the Hotel New Yorker. They also warned that the Western nations "must fight the fifth columns and their fellow travelers in all sectors of life" and recommended a firm defense of Matsu and the Quemoy.

Messages of Goodwill to Second A.F.A.B.N. Congress

National Council of Canadian Labour

At this critical juncture in world affairs, the ABN must exert every effort to intensify the struggle against communism by alerting more and more people against the horrible menace they face, and by acquainting them more fully with the national liberation movements which struggle to free their nations from communist domination. Full understanding and awareness by the free world of the great significance of the various national liberation movements is essential. Enslaved nations must be assisted to become free once more, or else the whole world will become enslaved in the end.

On the occasion of your second congress in the U.S., I extend my deepest best wishes for the success of your efforts, and my personal salute to Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko and all who are working with him in this, the greatest struggle of our times.

Clive Thomas,
General Secretary
National Council of Canadian Labour

Scottish League for European Freedom

... We regret that distance makes it impossible for a representative to be sent. We send our best wishes for the success of the conference. There is a great need for the co-ordination and unification of all the world's vast reservoir of anti-Communist feeling. A dynamic spiritual lead is wanted now, and the idea of social justice for every human being is one that must be realized if the world is to have proper peace.

T. G. M. Guise,
Vice Chairman and Hon. Secy.

Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China

... I wish I could avail myself of this opportunity to attend the Congress ... But, much to my regret, owing to the current tense situation as a result of the Chinese Communist attack on the off-shore islands in the Taiwan straits, I am prevented from leaving here at this time.

I take occasion of this letter to offer, on behalf of all members of this organization, our sincere congratulations, and wish the Congress every success.

Ku Cheng-kang, President

Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent, Havana, Cuba

In spirit I am with the magnificent effort of this Second Congress. Congratulations.

Turkish Revolutionary Hearts, Istanbul, Turkey

I am exceedingly sorry that I will not be able to have the great pleasure and honour of personally participating in your great Congress. But morally and intellectually I and all the Turks are always by the side of you, of your esteemed society and our co-idealists members of the AF ABN, who are struggling with great determination for the victory of the National Liberation Movements of our subjugated nations behind that miserable frontier, the most unscrupulous Russian imperialistic Iron Curtain.

Dr. Arin Engin,
Member of the Turkish Historical
Society (Turkish Academy) and of
the Turkish Revolutionary Hearts.

National Turkistan Unity Committee, New York City

On behalf of the Turkestanians living in this country, I express my sincere greetings. The Turkistanians consider themselves a fellow nation of the member nations of ABN in the struggle for independence of Soviet rule.

Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, London

... Bearing in mind the political situation in the world today, it must be stressed that at this very moment, whilst the Western world in its naive approach to the obvious danger bases its policy towards Soviet Russia rather more on material gains than on moral principles, the enslaved peoples carefully watch not only what measures are taken to restrain Moscow imperialism, but also what practical steps it proposes to take to help overthrow "the Prison of Nations". It is our task and responsibility to remind and to explain to the

Western politicians that, although we rely on our own means in our struggle for Freedom, they, for the sake of their own countries, cannot avoid an active participation in the common fight for freedom and a just peace.

D. Lewyckyj, President
T. I. Kudlyk, Secretary & Executive
Director

Byelorussian Liberation Front, London, Gt. Britain

We, at the Headquarters of the Byelorussian Liberation Front in Great Britain, would like to take this opportunity of wishing all the Delegates a successful meeting, and we hasten to assure you that we heartily support and endorse any observations and ultimate resolutions you may make to combat the Communist oppressors.

Prof. R. Ostrovsky

The Slovak Liberation Committee, Toronto, Canada

On behalf of the Peoples' Council of the ABN and of the Slovak Liberation Committee I am greeting the Congress of the American Friends of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. We trust that the USA in the spirit of her national tradition will support our fight for liberty and independence. The liberty of the whole of mankind is now endangered. There is no security for the USA as long as one-third of the world is enslaved by Moscow's tyrannical imperialism.

Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky

Dr. D. Donzov

Moscow The Heir Of Eight Empires?

This title is not a rhetorical question, even though the high priests of the Western democracies fail to see, or refuse to see, the deeper connections, in spite of the fact that it is a question of the existence or non-existence of themselves and their peoples.

The fact that Moscovia overran the territories of the ancient Ukrainian principality of Kyiv has been forgotten. Nor does one mention the fact that all the territories of the former Polish kingdom, as well as those countries formerly under Prussian and Austrian rule, became the prey of the insatiable greed of the Muscovite boa constrictor. On the contrary, these annexations received the blessing of the Western democracies.

And who troubles to recall that Russia annexed the territories of the Mongolian empire, — the Crimea, Kazan, Astrakhan, Siberia, Central Asia, Turkestan and Outer Mongolia?

And the fact that Moscow incorporated the territories of the former Ottoman Empire — the Crimea and the Balkan states — into its predatory imperium, was tacitly accepted by the West as a normal state of affairs.

But this is by no means all! It was Moscow that benefited by the destruction of the German and the Habsburg empires (with the approval of the West!) after the first World War. After World War II, half of Germany and practically all the countries of the Habsburg monarchy — Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, likewise fell a prey to the insatiable greed for power of the Muscovite horde.

And what is happening now? The Kremlin is at present preparing to enter on the inheritance of the British Empire, which has been shaken in its foundations. The Arab states, formerly British protectorates, have become either Russian semi-satellites or Russian spheres of influence. Moscow has not yet digested this booty, but is, nevertheless, already taking the necessary steps to get the Arab countries in the French territory of Africa under its guidance and, subsequently, under its despotic rule.

The countries of Genghis Khan, of the Turkish caliphs, of ancient Kyiv, of Warsaw and of both German powers (Vienna and Berlin) are now lying on the operating-table of the Muscovite Dr. Procrustes like experimental guinea-pigs. And the ferocious beast is already dreaming of setting up the emblems of the

Professor Armstrong, the University of Wisconsin, USA

I am very sorry indeed that inescapable commitments for this weekend in Washington will prevent me from attending the Congress in person, especially as I should welcome the opportunity to see my old friend Mr. Stetzko again. Let me express, however, my ardent hope that the Congress will help in bringing a message of freedom to the peoples suffering behind the Iron Curtain. In these days, when even the minor concessions made by the Communist rulers a few years ago have been replaced by the full rigor of totalitarianism, it is most important to show that the free world has not forgotten the victims of this totalitarianism.

Clarence A. Manning, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages, Columbia University, USA

This is a very timely and necessary Congress, for there can be little doubt that the stopping of the Russian Communist drive for world domination and the liberation of those peoples who have been already enslaved directly or indirectly by Moscow is the most important task before the United States and the free world ... There is only one way to relieve the tensions of the moment—that is, by the collapse of either the Communist empire or the free world ... Communist success has been amazing and not least by their persuading the mass of Slavists and other experts that the unity of the Russian Empire—USSR—is an old and traditional phenomenon, even though much of the territory brought under Russian-Communist sway has been under that sway for far less time than the history of the U.S.

sickle and hammer not only on the Great Mosque of St. Sophia in Constantinople, but also on St. Peter's in Rome, on Notre Dame in Paris and on St. Paul's in London.

And what about America? This country, too, has not been overlooked, for the Kremlin is already trying to stir up Canada and South America against the United States.

Such is the situation at present! If the West does not want to commit suicide, it must come to its senses before it is too late. It is imperative that it should put its fate in the hands of men of the stamp of McCarthy or MacArthur or of those American war veterans who recently demanded that diplomatic relations with Russia should be severed.

And what about the future? It will subsequently be essential to pursue a policy which is to the advantage and benefit of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, who are allegedly enslaved by Western "imperialism" and "capitalism".

The disintegration of the monstrous Muscovite empire and the liberation of all the nations enslaved by Moscow must be the ultimate aim of such a policy. For this is the only way to save the Christian Occident from the deadly danger which threatens it.

Soviet Press Attacks ABN Member

On the occasion of the Congress of Asian and African Writers in the Soviet Union, which was held in Tashkent (Turkestan), our friend, Dr. Baymirza Hayit, a member of the Turkestanian delegation of the ABN, published an article entitled "Moscow Penetrating the Intellectual Life of the Orient" ("Turkestan as a Warning"), in the Swiss paper "Basler Nachrichten". In this article the author explained in detail and exposed the Orient policy pursued by Moscow.

Moscow felt that it had been unmasked and, accordingly, the Soviet press received orders to launch a fierce and angry attack against Dr. B. Hayit. These outbursts of wrath on the part of the Soviets appear on the front pages of the papers "Literaturnaja Gazeta" of September 27, 1958, "Pravda Vostoka" of September 30, 1958, "Qizil Usbekistan" of September 30, 1958, and "Usbekistan Madaniyati" of October 1, 1958.

But who is likely to believe all these Soviet propaganda lies! The sufferings of the subjugated peoples are known to the whole world.

Guatemala Conference - A Big Step Forwards

The 4th Anti-Communist Continental Congress of Latin America convened in the ancient city of Antigua, Guatemala, from October 12th to 16th, 1958. It was held under the auspices of the Guatemalan Government and was presided over by the Guatemalan representative Antonio Valladares Aycinena. A large audience was present at the opening session and included the President of Guatemala, General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, and the President of Honduras, Dr. Ramon Villeda Morales, the presidents of these two respective parliaments, Modesto Rodas Alvado

At the second day's session, the various committees were elected. By special invitation Mr. J. Stetzko joined the committee working on the question of "Russo-Communist conquests and the present-day situation". This committee also drafted the resolutions which define the historical development of Russian imperialism and illustrate the danger which the latter represents to the free world today. In order to eliminate this danger once for all, the resolutions demand the disintegration of the Russian empire into national independent states on their ethnic territories, through full

the question of "Russia directs the international Communist movements". This committee proposed that the resolution of the U.S. Congressman, the Hon. Michael A. Feighan, demanding independence for all nations subjugated by Russia, be supported, that cordial greetings be sent to the national liberation movements, insurgent units and underground Churches, and that the real instigators of the campaign against Vice-President Nixon in the Latin-Americas be exposed.

A separate resolution was devoted to the Quemoy tension. An expression of sympathy and solidarity was extended to President Chiang Kai-shek and the heroic Nationalist Chinese army. This resolution also demanded full support, through accredited representatives, in the United Nations. It is particularly interesting to note that a resolution on religious problems was also passed, in which religion was stressed as an important factor in the fight against Communism and, especially, in the education of youth.

Thus, seen as a whole, the Guatemala Conference definitely represents a big step forwards in the fight against Russian imperialism and Communism.

Congress strongly Backs the Fight for Liberation

Address to the IV Anti-Communist Continental Congress delivered by Doctor Nestor Procyk, delegate of the United States of America, New York, President of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations:

Having followed with great interest the work done by the Fourth Anti-Communist Continental Congress in the course of the last four days, it gives me immense pleasure to be able to state that the spirit of solidarity of the people of the American Continent in their fight against Communism for Freedom and Liberation manifested itself once again in the activities of the delegates of the Congress, reflecting the great interest in general in the common problems of the American Continent as well as in those of the other nations of the world.

Well aware of the necessity of procuring and securing friendly relations, of guaranteeing mutual aid and of continuing the common policy to eliminate the menace of the Russian Imperialism and Colonialism, I propose the following resolutions:

(I) The Fourth Anti-Communist Continental Congress confirms that by its subversive action and active intervention Moscow intends to pit the people of the American Continent one against the other by creating problems between them in order to forge them into a workable instrument of its aggression. The throwing of stones at Vice-President Nixon was an example of this subversive action of the Kremlin and its agents, but by no means the expression of the feelings and the attitude of the Latin-America people.

The Fourth Anti-Communist Continental Congress states that the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent did everything with respect to revealing the true objectives of Moscow, and for this reason it will take all measures to repel its aggression by means of a united front, and by means of the liberation of the oppressed people to obtain true peace and permanent security in the world.

(II) The Fourth Continental Congress directs the fervent request to President Eisenhower and his Administration, as well as to the Governments of the whole of the American Continent and of the Free World to follow decisively the way of the policy of liberation of those peoples oppressed by Russia and by the other communist regimes, and of the communist system by splitting up the Russian Empire. The firm position and the support of the



From right to left:
Guatemala Conference Delegates of
Cuba, ABN, Brazil, Guatemala,
Mexico, Free China, AF ABN,
Israel

and Julio Prado Garkoja Salas, the presidents of the Supreme Courts of Honduras and Guatemala, Jose Pineda Gomez and Luis (Antonio) Valladares Aycinena, the Secretary-General of the Organizations of the Central American States (O.D.E.C.A.), Dr. J. Guillermo Trabanino, the Archbishop of Guatemala, Monseigneur Mariano Rossell Arellano, the delegations of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Columbia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Canada, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, the United States, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela, Guatemala, the delegate-observers from Germany, Spain, Israel, Ukraine, ABN, the delegates of the governments of Nationalist China and Haiti, diplomatic and consular corps, members of the Guatemalan government, and the members of the presidium of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent.

The Presidents of Guatemala and Honduras delivered short addresses at the opening session. On this occasion, too, a minute's silence was observed by those present in commemoration of the death of Pope Pius XII.

In the evening of the same day, the President of Guatemala gave a reception, in the course of which the A.B.N. and A.F. A.B.N. representatives, Mr. J. Stetzko and Dr. N. Procyk, had an opportunity to make the acquaintance of the President and of many other well-known anti-Communist personalities.

support for the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. After these resolutions had been proposed to the plenum by the committee chairman, Dr. Salvador Mendoza, the chairman of the delegation from Argentina, Mr. Alberto Daniel Faleroni, proposed that they should be approved by acclamation and sent to the U.N.O., to all international organizations and to the governments of the free world, in order to help the free nations to realize the danger which Russian imperialism represents to them and the ways in which it can be successfully counter-attacked and finally eliminated. Mr. Faleroni's proposal was supported by the delegates from Mexico (Dr. Laurens), Nicaragua (Mr. Garcia), Mexico (Mr. Fernandez), Guatemala (Mr. Portillio), Peru (Mr. K. Mendivil), and Argentina (Dr. Ramon Vasquez). One of the delegates submitted a proposal to the effect that the resolutions should include the demand to the Latin American countries, in particular, to sever all relations with Russia and its Communist Bloc. The resolutions were accepted by the Congress by acclamation.

This is the first time that the Latin American countries have taken such a clear stand identical with the conceptions of the A.B.N. Mr. Stetzko and Dr. Procyk incidentally delivered their speeches in Spanish in order to enable the audience to become better acquainted with the problems of the subjugated nations. During the Congress Dr. Procyk was appointed to the committee working on

Milwaukee AF ABN Holds Anti-Menshikov Demonstration

On October 17, 1958, the Russian Ambassador Menshikov arrived in Milwaukee, U.S.A. The purpose of his visit was to hold a lecture, sponsored by the "Club for International Affairs," before an audience of professors and students. An hour before the lecture was due to begin, an unusual activity was to be noticed in the streets of this American city. Crowds, bearing banners inscribed with slogans such as "We want a Free Latvia," "The routes to Moscow are covered with the bones of millions of Ukrainians," etc., assembled in front of the building in which the lecture was to be held. When Menshikov appeared, he was greeted with shouts and jeers, and thousands of leaflets, telling the truth about the U.S.S.R., were distributed amongst the guests who attended the lecture. In fact, these leaflets were distributed all over the city—in public offices, railway stations, libraries, etc. And a detailed interview was given to the press and to the broadcasting and television companies by the AF ABN.

Menshikov's lecture, incidentally, was received critically by his audience. Mr. W. Pyskir raised some pertinent questions, as for instance: "Mr. Menshikov, you were presented here as a representative of the U.S.S.R. Why do you keep saying 'we Russians'? We know that the U.S.S.R. comprises 16 separate Republics." To which Menshikov replied: "When I say Russia, I mean the U.S.S.R., and Russia is only one of the republics. You are right, the U.S.S.R. is comprised of 16 Republics." The following question was then raised: "We all know that Ukraine and Byelorussia are recognized as independent states and therefore they are members of the U.N. Why don't they have their own ambassadors, instead of being represented by the Russian embassy?" Menshikov's answer was "Are you prepared to accept them here?" Whereupon the audience replied "We are!"

Detailed reports of the anti-Menshikov demonstration were given in the evening radio programmes and it was also televised by several stations. The newspapers "Milwaukee Journal" and "Milwaukee Sentinel" published several reports on the demonstration and mentioned the fact that it was similar in nature to the demonstrations which took place in Baltimore and Philadelphia earlier this year, when Menshikov visited these cities.

Numerous pickets carrying anti-Russian and anti-Communist placards denouncing Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov and his government for the persecution of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. were the main attraction of the Baltimore press on June 10, 1958. On that day, at the Lord Baltimore Hotel, the Baltimore Bar Association gave a banquet for Ambassador Menshikov, who

Chinese Nationalists in their defence of Quemoy and Matsu would be the truest expression of this policy.

(III) The Fourth Anti-Communist Continental Congress strongly backs the fight for liberation which the peoples oppressed by Russia and by all other communist regimes are carrying on through the national revolutionary movements and by the insurrection groups.

We bow our heads in honour of those who have fallen so heroically in this fight against the tyranny of Russian Imperialism and of World Communism.

The Congress will not forget those valiant fighters who were taken prisoner and at present are still in the concentration camps, suffering for their faith in God, for human dignity and for the independence of their countries.

The Congress further wants to express its deep respect for the Churches of different creeds, each of which, despite this terrible persecution never so great in the history of humanity, is proudly flying its flag of faith in God against the helligerent atheists, thereby giving an example of unequalled martyrdom and heroism for the common ideas of the whole of humanity.

Antigua Guat, October 15th, 1958

Dr. Nestor Procyk

delivered an address on "Russian-American Relations and the Soviet Code of Penal Law".

Anti-Communist organizations of Baltimore, under the leadership of the Baltimore Branch of the *Ukrainian Congress Committee*, organized a demonstration to denounce the duplicity of the Soviet Union and the persecution of the non-Russian nations. A float was staged representing Russian MVD police guarding slave labourers in a concentration camp. Some 300 persons carried posters with inscriptions: "In U.S.A. Workers Have Social Security — in U.S.S.R. Concentration Camps"; "Khrushchev — Executioner of Ukraine and Butcher of the Hungarian People"; "Menshikov, Go Home", etc.

Ukrainian organizations, groups of *Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Hungarians* and members of the local V.F.W. post participated in the anti-Menshikov demonstration. The local press, radio and T.V. network gave extensive coverage to the anti-Russian demonstration.

On June 11, 1958, similar demonstrations against the presence of Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov took place outside the Sheraton Hotel in Philadelphia, where Mayor R. Dilworth and the City's Eldermen gave a banquet for Ambassador Menshikov. Ironically, during the banquet Mayor Dilworth presented Menshikov with a picture of "Independence Hall", while Menshikov gave him a box depicting the Kremlin, symbol of slavery and Russian imperialist Communism.

Anti-Communist
AF ABN
Demonstration
in front of U.N.
Building



Outside the hotel hundreds of pickets, organized by the Philadelphia chapter of the "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations", denounced Menshikov and the Soviet Russian government. They also milled around the Convention Hall, where the Moiseyev Dance Company was making an appearance, which was attended by Ambassador and Mrs. Menshikov. Despite a strong police cordon, the demonstrators surrounded the Menshikovs' party, shouting anti-Russian slogans and displaying anti-Communist posters. Thousands of anti-Russian leaflets and brochures were distributed, describing the persecution of Ukraine and other countries by Moscow.

Report Three Ukrainian Divisions Deserted to Hungarian Freedom Fighters

New York. — A highly placed Hungarian refugee leader has told the representative of "The Ukrainian Bulletin" the following:

"During the Hungarian revolution in 1956 the freedom fighters received their tanks and ammunition exclusively from Soviet tank divisions stationed in Hungary.

Some of the Soviet officers and men asked for

Anti-Communist Demonstration in New York

Whilst the Second Congress of the "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" (A.F. A.B.N.) was in progress, an anti-Communist demonstration was held in front of the building of the United Nations Organization in New York City. Thousands of A.F. A.B.N. leaflets and also leaflets of the "Organization for Four Freedoms of Ukraine" were distributed on this occasion. Below we publish the text of the A.F. A.B.N. leaflets:

Americans and the free world!

Break off all relations with Russia and the Communist bloc! Throw them out of the United Nations!

Give all support to the national liberation revolutionary movements behind the Iron Curtain!

Disintegration of the Russian colonial empire into independent states is the only way to the just peace and the security of the world!

(From the demands of the 2nd Congress of American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — A.B.N.).

Attend the Congress of A.F. A.B.N. held at the New Yorker Hotel, 8th Avenue & 34th Street, on September 20-21.

Freedom For Nations!

Freedom For Individuals!

civilian clothes and Hungarian identity papers in exchange for the tanks. Others went over to the revolutionaries with their tanks.

At the time of the uprising three Soviet tank divisions, consisting almost entirely of Ukrainians, were stationed in Hungary. These divisions were later disarmed by Mongolian divisions, which had been concentrated at the Hungarian frontier on the day the revolution broke out, because a great part of the officers and men of the Ukrainian divisions had gone over to the Hungarians.

The officers and men of the three disarmed Ukrainian divisions were then interned in a concentration camp at Garany, near Satoraljaújhely in the northeastern part of Hungary. They were kept there until January, 1957, at which time they were taken in sealed boxcars to the Soviet Union. Remnants of another group of Ukrainian officers and men were prisoners at a concentration camp at Szombathely.

Paragraph 4 of the proclamation issued by the Hungarian Revolutionary Students' Council on November 1, 1956, demanded amnesty and political asylum for all Soviet officers and men who had joined or had supported it by supplying the freedom fighters with weapons and ammunition."

Not Accept Status Quo Under Any Conditions

Resolutions Adopted by the Political Conference of ABN-Canada

On November 8, 1958, the political Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, was held in Toronto, Ontario. The aim of the Conference was threefold:

1. To review the current international situation and the present conditions behind the Iron Curtain;
2. To consider ways and means of support for liberation movements of nations enslaved by Russia and Communism;
3. To stress the implications for the world policy in view of the constantly growing menace of Russian imperialism and Communism.

The adopted resolutions represent the point of view of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, a Canadian association dedicated to the task of bringing a better understanding to the Canadian people of the aims and work of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the co-ordinating centre of the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Russia, which was formed fifteen years ago in the Ukraine at the time when the military resistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was organized against the Russian and Nazi German oppressors.

Current international situation

The development of international relations is influenced now as it was influenced before by the struggle between the totalitarian camp having its centre and supreme leadership in Russia, and the camp of democracies. All efforts to find out the ways of peaceful co-operation and common understanding have been in vain. Each step and every constructive suggestion made or proposed by the Western powers has been interpreted as a sign of weakness of the Western world and used by Moscow for its advantage in political warfare.

The recent period in international relations is significant for the fact that Soviet Russia has strengthened her intention to profit from the unsolved problems of the economically under-developed countries of Asia and Africa by selling them the idea of speedy industrial development by "revolutionary means", combined with a rejection of the traditional dependence on the Western "colonizers". This new phase in the struggle between the Communist Bloc and the West, known as a period of competitive co-existence, has already brought very unpleasant results for the Western world, especially in the Middle East.

In the deliberate, skilful, and highly organized action now waged by Russia, there is at stake political allegiance of the majority of the world's peoples, the vast potential resources of their native countries, and, ultimately the fate of the free world and human freedom.

But, notwithstanding that fact, the Western world has very vague ideas of what Russia is up to with her new policy and what to do about it.

The Western world, although it spends billions and billions of dollars for military defence, so far has not formulated a constructive policy with a plan not only to prevent the further advance of Russian imperialism, but also to liquidate once and forever the growing strength of the Russian empire and put an end to its ambitions of world dominance.

Above all, the Western world avoids and even refuses to exploit the internal complications of the Communist Bloc, its weaknesses, although in recent years there have been some very favourable opportunities to do so (East Berlin, Poland, Hungary, upheavals in Ukraine and other non-Russian countries, in the Soviet Union itself, etc.).

But it is necessary to register much more dangerous symptoms in the Western world. Following the Russian line of co-existence, some prominent politicians, businessmen, intellectuals in various countries and in Canada are pressing for a policy of appeasement toward Moscow. These people are asking the governments to adopt a more flexible line toward the totalitarian regime of the USSR and the satellites, especially Communist China. It must be stated that such pro-Moscow activity negatively influences public opinion, demobilizes people and weakens their resistance.

Conditions behind the Iron Curtain

The post-Stalin era which brought a short period of relaxation behind the Iron Curtain came to an end when all hopes of the subjugated peoples to secure more freedom were quashed after the stabilization of the Kremlin regime. The new Russian leaders decided to follow the Stalinist policy of complete subordination of all non-Russian nations to Moscow interests and all efforts to break with Moscow were crushed with military force.

The re-establishment of Stalinist ways of dealing with the opposition should be regarded as an essential weakness of the new regime, which had no other possibility except brute force to secure its position in the country.

- b) Be prepared to follow with necessary action in case of a real crisis within the Soviet bloc;
- c) Reaffirm that it will not accept under any conditions the status quo of the conquests of Russian imperialism at any period of its historical development and that the ultimate aim of its policy is to secure individual and national freedom and independence for all nations and peoples enslaved by Russia and Communism;
- d) Regard the liberation movements of the enslaved nations as true representatives of their countries;
- e) Prevent Russian penetration into the economically under-developed countries of



Canadian Federal Minister, the Hon. Michael Starr addressing ABN-Canada Conference

Internal contradictions which started to develop within the USSR and the entire Soviet bloc under Stalin are growing stronger. The short period of thaw brought to the surface these contradictions, but they were not solved. The wants of the peoples were not satisfied and there is no chance that those wants will be satisfied in the near future.

On the other hand, the peoples behind the Iron Curtain were compelled to learn the bitter lesson about the policy of the Western world. At a time when they rose up against the totalitarian regime to regain freedom and national independence, they were left to fight alone, without weapons, against the Russian military might.

The so-called policy of liberation advocated by the United States of America proved to be only a political and propagandistic manoeuvre without any practical importance. The Western world was not ready and not willing to help and, of course, the Soviet-Russian regime did not fail to exploit such an excellent opportunity to break the armed resistance and undermine the confidence of the enslaved peoples in the free World.

General implications for the free world policy

The self-interest of the Western world requires the pursuance of the policy which ultimately shall bring the collapse and liquidation of the Russian empire and the destruction of Communism. Although the situation within the Soviet bloc was not exploited by the Western powers after Stalin's death and a rare chance was thus missed, it may serve as an illustration that opportunities of this kind may arise again and could be used to better advantage by the Western world.

Under the present circumstances, the Western world shall:

- a) Render moral and material support to the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain;

Asia and Africa, trying to eliminate as far as possible the remaining real justification for complaints against the Western countries, and to counteract politically Russian and Communist propaganda, bringing to light the actual practice of the Russian Communist regime in the subjugated countries in the Soviet Union and other areas of Russian domination, especially showing the real picture of the Soviet Russian nationality policy which means forceful Russification and dispersal or even physical destruction of whole national groups.

Anti-Communist organizations and appraisal of their activities

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, endorse the work done by the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and is ready to endorse such actions as the Central Committee of A.B.N. may undertake for furtherance of our cause.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, favours the co-operation with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent and applauds its firm stand against Russian imperialism and its support for the national liberation movements of nations behind the Iron Curtain.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, does highly value the political co-operation between the A.B.N. and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, in the belief that this co-operation will strengthen the anti-Communist front in the struggle with Russian imperialism.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, endorses the convocation of the Preparatory Conference for the First World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation which stated in part as follows:

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Is a Free and United Korea a Beclouding Commitment?

We are herewith publishing an open letter by Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, a Member of the Steering Committee of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation, to the "The Korean Republic", published in Seoul.

October 21, 1958

Dear Editor:

The editorial on "Free World Unity" which appeared in the August 9 issue of your organ, *The Korean Republic*, was recently brought to my attention. Despite the date of this editorial, the points raised by you will probably be reiterated by others in the future. As an American member of the steering committee for a Free World Anti-Communist Congress, I feel obliged to comment on some of these points in the hope that a fairer understanding of the issues may be attained in the present as well as in the future.

You characterize the resignation of Mr. Charles Edison and two other Americans on the steering committee, which was set up last spring in Mexico City, as "a defeat" for our common objectives. You even declare that "there can be no doubt about that." Then your editorial suggests that a different course be taken through the combined efforts of some "American organization" and your own outstanding Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League.

This entire sequence of reasoning is premised by your earlier statement that "It would seem sensible to insist that everything else is academic until the Communist threat has been eliminated, and this has been the guiding spirit of Korea's foreign policy..." This premise is later buttressed by the statement that "from the very beginning, the steering committee faced the acute difficulty of trying to operate in an atmosphere beclouded with commitments as to what is to be done after Communism has been defeated."

Your argumentation and conclusions are in my judgement most unfortunate. Indeed, I venture to say that it does not even do fair justice to the "guiding spirit of Korea's foreign policy" as understood by many sympathetic Americans who follow closely the declarations of your valiant President and your highly principled Ambassador in the United States. A careful re-reading of your own editorial will show that your approach is completely negative, seeking simply the elimination of the Communist threat. It fails to relate ends and means in such a way as to bring this proximate objective about with political expedition and economy. From both a political and historical viewpoint your approach is unrealistic, and no better proof of this can be offered than the negative results piled up over the years by the American Committee For Liberation to which Mr. Edison belongs.

This issue is not a new one on the American scene. Fortunately, many leading Americans, including Vice President Nixon, are beginning to recognize the hollowness of this approach when they now stress the need for supporting the forces of legitimate nationalism everywhere. And this means within the Soviet Union itself, which after all is the basic empire of the minority Russian

nation. As a people who fought and are really still fighting against colonialism and imperialism—this time far worse ones than before—you can sympathetically share the feelings of the non-Russian patriots and nationalists in Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and elsewhere in the U.S.S.R. empire which is dominated and governed by the minority Russian colonialists. Like yourselves, these captive non-Russian nations are struggling against Communist imperialism and colonialism. The significant difference is that they are fully occupied by the alien power of imperialist Russia: Korea is only partly occupied by the puppets of this power.

Logically, then, the basic question is how do we eliminate the imperialist Russian Communist threat and, as a consequence, all its dependent branches in Peiping, Pyongyang, Budapest, Warsaw, Kiev, Tashkent and other non-Russian centers? Surely, to merely aver that we are against Communism—whatever this means in strict ideological terms—is not enough. The answer to the question rests in what each of the completely or partly captive non-Russian peoples is struggling for. Free Koreans are certainly for a completely independent, free and united Korea. This natural end is also the efficient cause for the liquidation of the partial Communist occupation which ultimately is sustained by imperialist Moscow. This consummate goal provides the elan vital, the will, determination, and spiritual means for the defeat of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism which is at the root of the global threat. This means is in the nature of the powerful force of nationalism, and it applies to

every captive nation within and outside the Soviet Union as it does, indeed, to Korea and other partly captive nations.

I feel certain that you would not regard a free, independent, and united Korea as a beclouding "commitment." Thus a free, independent, and united Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania or any of the other countries in the Russian Communist Empire could not likewise be so regarded. Rather than beclouding commitments, these goals and also efficient causes are actually enlightening commitments which tap the one powerful force that is capable of liquidating Communist colonialism, namely legitimate nationalism. To understand this is to follow a positive and moral approach to our common problem.

The resignations you mention do not represent a defeat. On the contrary, they have constructively led the way for the candidacy of an internationally renowned American whom Moscow and Communists everywhere have feared for many years. He understands these issues and he is a long-standing friend of the Korean, Chinese, and other Asian peoples. I am confident that when you hear his name and also reconsider your position in the light of these comments, you will agree with me and others that we are now on a solid course of mutual endeavor.

Your courtesy in publishing this letter so that others may judge the merits of these views will be greatly appreciated. As ever, I am one with you on the spiritual and political commitments which are real and far beyond what you have mistakenly called "academic."

Respectfully yours,

Lev E. Dobriansky,
Georgetown University,
Washington, D. C.

The Nationalist Chinese Press On A.B.N.

An interview with the representative of the A.B.N. in Free China (Formosa), Mr. Volodymyr Kosyk, was recently published by the official organ of the Kuomintang, "Central Daily News", in its edition of September 7, 1958. The press centre in Taiwan (Formosa) also passed on this interview to other Nationalist Chinese papers, including various papers which are published outside Taiwan. The full text of the interview, incidentally, also appeared in the well-known Nationalist Chinese daily published in Hong Kong, the "Kung Sheng Daily News", of September 8, 1958.

In its edition of September 17, 1958, this Hong Kong paper also published a long article by Volodymyr Kosyk, dealing with the A.B.N. in particular, in Chinese. This article contains interesting information on the history of the common struggle of the peoples subjugated by Communist Moscow in the U.S.S.R., on the participation of freedom fighters of various nationalities in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and on the history of the A.B.N., its aims, its activity and its composition.

In its September issue, the scientific monthly journal, "Problems and Studies", which is published by the Chinese Institute for International Connections in Taiwan (Formosa), printed an interesting article on the peoples of the Soviet Union by *Funeng Sung*, a member of the said Institute and a leading East Asian authority on the problems pertaining to the subjugation of the peoples in the

U.S.S.R. The author divides the subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R. into four large groups: 1) Ukraine and Byelorussia (White Ruthenia), 2) Caucasia, 3) Turkistan, and 4) the Baltic countries. This article is, incidentally, the first article to be published in a semi-official journal of Free China which deals with the national problems of the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Union in a thorough and objective way.

In its edition of September 22, 1958, the above-mentioned organ of the Kuomintang, "Central Daily News", published a report by its special correspondent in the USA on the Congress of the "American Friends of A.B.N." (AF ABN) and on the speeches made during the banquet which was held at the close of this Congress. With great satisfaction this Nationalist Chinese daily stresses that the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Jaroslaw Stetzko, in his toast to the success of the soldiers fighting in Quemoy, affirmed that the defenders of Quemoy were fighting not only in the interests of Free China, but also in the interests of the entire free world.

The Nationalist Chinese daily, "Tsin-Sheng-Pao", which appears in Taipei (Formosa), published a long article entitled "The Present Fight of the Ukrainian People against Communism and Russian Imperialism", in its edition of September 22, 1958. This article gives a general survey of the armed fight, of the religious, cultural and economic resistance, as well as of the insurrections in the Soviet

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"Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism with the clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international Communism and Russian imperialism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, now existing in the form of the so-called USSR and satellites, and the re-establishment of national independent states on the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and/or Central Europe and Asia."

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, believes that only on the basis of the program adopted by the Mexico Preparatory Conference should the World Anti-Communist Congress be called and fully supports all its resolutions.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Canada, sends greetings to all national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain and expresses its hope that our common struggle will bring freedom and political independence for all nations enslaved by Russian imperialism.

Mr. Ku-Cheng-Kang and leading APDCLROC personalities with the members of ABN Mission



Determined to Hold Kinmen and Matsu at All Costs

(A Letter to the "ABN Correspondence")

Dear Sir:

Over two months the Chinese Communists have created a tense situation in the Far East area by launching severe attacks on the offshore islands of Kinmen and Matsu under a premeditated plan. In our opinion, the current development of the Taiwan Strait tension has a great important bearing on the security of the Western Pacific area, Asia and the free world. It is imperative for peoples throughout the free world to rise up unitedly to take immediate action to deter the armed aggression of the Communists. Hence, I sincerely propose that you would employ every possible means to issue, in the name of your organization, a public statement, or publish your remarks or special articles in your newspapers, so as to give us a strong support to our defense of Kinmen and Matsu. I should like to offer the following points for your reference:

1. The present attack by the Communists on the off-shore islands in the Taiwan Strait is not aimed at Kinmen and Matsu only, but is a preliminary step to threaten the security of Taiwan, to gain control of the Western Pacific area, and thus to accomplish the international Communist bloc's insidious objective of conquering the whole of Asia and the free world as well. Hence, our determination to hold Kinmen and Matsu at all costs is also to defend Free Asia as well as the whole free world.

If the free world does not take a timely and firm stand to deter, and strike a strong blow to the endless expansion of Communist aggression, then the free world will be nibbled away, bit by bit, by the Communists. Such being the situation, the free world should therefore give strong support to the Republic of China in its defense of Kinmen and Matsu.

2. We are of the opinion that the appeasement policy towards the Communists by the democratic countries will only lead to more military adventures and more political blackmail on the part of the aggressors. We must, therefore, call upon all free nations, especially the United States, the leader of the free world, to be vigilant and to stand firm, in order to put into effect the no-appeasement policy towards the Communists, as advocated by US President Eisenhower in his speech of September 12, concerning the Taiwan Strait tension, and outrightly call off any talks with the Chinese Communists, and adopt, instead, all-effective measures to deal a severe blow to the Chinese Communist aggressors.

I am confident that the effort you exert enthusiastically in this move will be of great help and encouragement to our present struggle. I take occasion of this letter to offer in advance my hearty thanks to you.

Truly yours,

Ku Cheng-kang, President APACROC.

An Important German Opinion On The Bombardment Of Quemoy

Whereas the recent Red Chinese artillery attack on the islands of Free China merely aroused fears in most leading political circles of the Western world lest it might lead to a "hot" war, in the Federal Republic of Germany an outstanding, far-sighted and freedom-loving statesman did not hesitate to express his opinion on this question. Dr. *Richard Jaeger*, the Vice-President of the Bundestag and for many years one of the main leaders of the Christian Democratic Union, the actual government party in the Federal Republic (together with the Christian Social Union, which is closely allied to it), who visited Taiwan (Formosa) a year ago, has expressed his opinion on the Quemoy conflict in an article entitled "War in China", published in the Munich "Abendzeitung", No. 212 (of September 4), 1958. We are herewith publishing a translation of this article, without comment, since it is meant to show the positive attitude of leading West German political circles towards Free China.

"The victory of the Bolsheviks on the mainland in 1949 did not bring the Chinese Civil War to an end. Chiang Kai-shek continued to hold Formosa, the Pescadores and the islands of Quemoy and Matsu. For years, only occasional air and naval combats took place between Communist and Free China.

When in January this year, I gazed across from Quemoy, which the Chinese call Kin-Men, to the Red Chinese coast, only 2,300 metres away, I was reminded of the Western front during the winter of 1939-1940; both sides behaved in a warlike manner, but, apart from an occasional exchange of artillery fire, they gave no indication of any intention to start a combat in earnest. With the bombardment of Quemoy, however, the situation has changed completely. As was to be expected in view of the spirit and discipline of the Nationalist Chinese army, the troops occupying the island fortress have refused to capitulate. What now? Are the Red Chinese only bluffing, or do they intend to seize Quemoy or possibly to venture to attack Formosa?

One thing is definitely certain: an attack on Formosa would mean war with the U.S.A. For the

concentration camps, and then goes on to discuss the cooperation of the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples in their fight both against the Communist regime and the Russian imperium as such, which has occupied their countries. The publication of this article was carried out in connection with the exchange of material between the A.B.N. press bureau and the Nationalist Chinese agency of the youth and students' press, through the medium of the A.B.N. Mission in Taipeh (Formosa).

U.S.A. have long since given a plainly formulated guarantee for Formosa, the key position of their defence system in the Pacific, and the Pescadores, off the coast of Formosa. They have, however, not defined their attitude as regards Quemoy and Matsu. These two groups of islands are not essential for the direct defence of Formosa. It is of greater moral than strategic importance to Free China to retain possession of them. And as far as Red China, too, is concerned, the present situation represents a loss in prestige and self-confidence rather than a weakening of its economic or military strength. It is true that Quemoy blocks the harbour of Amoy and gives the Nationalist Chinese forces control of the Straits of Formosa; but Red China possesses more and better ports. It is true that Quemoy is tying down strong forces of the enemy's army, but the assertion that it is a deployment base for Chiang Kai-shek's troops is no doubt nothing but a propagandist theory upheld by both sides. Thus, the U.S.A. have so far not been able to make up their mind to give a definite guarantee in this case. It rests with the U.S. President as to how he would react in the event of an attack on Quemoy. Nevertheless, there was an American colonel on the island as official adviser in January this year. And, in addition, Eisenhower recently stressed the increasing importance of Quemoy, since one-third of the Nationalist Chinese army are said to be stationed there.

In the present international political situation it is hardly to be assumed that Peking would provoke

A French Opinion On The Bombardment Of Quemoy

In a leading article entitled "Intermittences du Coeur" ("Intermittence of the Heart"), published in the leading Paris moderate Conservative paper, "Le Figaro", of September 25, 1958, the well-known French writer, *Thierry Maulnier*, expresses his opinion — from his unbiased anti-Communist (but no longer!) point of view — on the recent fighting in the Straits of Formosa, and, in doing so, throws light on an aspect of this question which so far has not been stressed at all by the world press, namely the ruthless behaviour of the Chinese Communists towards the civilian population. Since the French press so rarely expresses any sympathy and understanding for the anti-Communist fight of Free China (a few months ago, the same paper, "Le Figaro", explicitly supported the book of

OBITUARY

Father Michael Tarkhnishwili

It is with deep sorrow that we announce the death of the well-known Georgian scholar, Father Michael Tarkhnishwili, who passed away in Rome after a serious illness. His death has come as a heavy blow and immeasurable loss to the Georgians, all the more so, as he was still in his prime and not yet sixty years of age.

Not only was Father Tarkhnishwili a notable representative of Georgian learning abroad, but he was also unofficially the representative of the Georgian Christian Church in the free world. Although he was a Catholic priest, he constantly supported the cause of the Georgian Christian Church without any discrimination of confessions.

Father Tarkhnishwili was a native of the Georgian province of Meskheti, which since time immemorial has been the cultural and political centre of Georgia. Incidentally, the people of this province — the Georgian tribe of the Mesken (or Mesched) — are already mentioned in the Bible, in the Book of Genesis.

The majority of the population in this province are Roman Catholics, and many are the Georgian Catholic priests who have come from their midst. As a boy, Father Tarkhnishwili attended the school of the Georgian Catholic monastery in Constantinople and subsequently studied at the theological college in Bavaria. He later went to Rome and engaged in scholarly research at the Vatican.

He regularly contributed articles to the Belgian journal "Le Muséon", to the German periodical "Der Christliche Orient", and to many other cultural journals published in England, France and elsewhere. In addition, he also published a number of works and treatises dealing with the history of Georgia, the Georgian Church and Georgian literature. There are numerous historical documents on Georgia in the libraries of the Vatican, for Georgia in former times belonged to the Occidental world of culture and the kings of Georgia were always in close contact with the Popes. Father Tarkhnishwili's works and treatises are of such outstanding merit and value that some of them have even been reprinted and published in Soviet Georgia.

Father Tarkhnishwili was not only a scholar, but also a great Georgian patriot and national fighter. Many Georgian Catholic priests have done the political and cultural life of the nation a great service, and their example was followed by the deceased, who devoted himself wholeheartedly to this cause. To the end, his love and his sorrow for his country and his people were with him. His name will go down in the annals of Georgian culture. We, his fellow-countrymen, will always cherish the memory of our great compatriot in our hearts.

Niko Nakashidze.

a world war and provide Moscow with rear cover in this case.

But even if Quemoy and Matsu are only positions of secondary importance from the political and strategical point of view, they are nevertheless a part of the free world which the soldiers of Chiang Kai-shek are determined to defend against Bolshevik tyranny."

travel by the former French Prime Minister, *Edgar Faure*, which propagates the idea of fostering diplomatic relations with Red China), we are herewith publishing an exact translation of the above-mentioned article. We have added certain footnotes, in which errors made by the author are rectified.

"This has been going on for weeks, and for weeks we have been waiting.

We have been waiting for an indignant opinion to be expressed in the Tribunal of Nations, for a protest on the part of the League for Human Rights, for fourteen columns by *Jean-Paul Sartre*, for a demonstration on the part of the students of the Ecole Normale, and, finally, for some sign of indignation on the part of those persons who, either here in our own country or beyond its

borders, have professed themselves to be representatives of the world's conscience and defenders of the human race.

For weeks, the artillery and air force of Mr. Mao Tse-tung have been firing thousands of shells and dropping thousands of bombs on the little island of Quemoy and the neighbouring isles, every day. I am well aware of the fact that these shells and bombs are on principle destined for military targets, that is to say, the soldiers of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek¹⁾, who refuse to become Communists, a fact which casts a certain amount of blame on them. But there are also civilians living on Quemoy, — about twenty thousand, that is, as many civilians as there are soldiers²⁾. These civilians are also suffering starvation as a result of the blockade and are also receiving an ample share of the shells fired on their island by the revolutionary apostolate. They are dying. They are dying in large numbers . . . Several hundreds, so we have been informed, in the course of a single bombardment. How many in the course of the past weeks? The entire world seems to think that this is perfectly normal.

We are even being overwhelmed with reassurances, — to the effect that Communist China does not want a war. That it has not even the intention of seizing the islands in

"We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed". II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

the Straits of Formosa by force. That it wants to negotiate. That it wants to show that it is an adult person and that one should recognize the legitimacy of its government as speedily as possible. And that, incidentally, it is not attacking anybody. What is going on, is going on amongst the Chinese. That a Chinese government, to put it in general terms, is letting the Americans know that it intends to kill off a certain number of Chinese every day in keeping with diplomatic pressure.

I am quite prepared to believe so. And the representatives of the world's conscience might tell me that several hundred or thousand Chinese are not of any particular importance, since, on the one hand, there are 650 million Chinese in any case, and, on the other hand, the Chinese revolution has already claimed millions of victims without anyone getting very indignant about this fact. But such arguments as these would hardly befit the representatives of the world's conscience.

Not long ago, the French air force dropped bombs on a number of machine-gun nests, from which our troops were being attacked, and caused casualties in a Tunisian village. The loud cries of indignation, which were raised all over the world on this occasion, still resound in our ears. Even the papers of the countries that are our allies classed us as belonging to the ranks of the worst hangmen and destroyers of this century.

How can the contrast be explained between the universal condemnation to which we were subjected after Sakiet and the calm indifference, mingled with a touch of respect, with which our strictest censors at present look on whilst volleys of liberation shells are fired on the civilian population of Quemoy.

This is indeed a very interesting example of the intermittence of the heart."

¹⁾ President Chiang Kai-shek actually has the military rank of a Generalissimo.

²⁾ Obviously incorrect, for the number of soldiers on the islands in question by far exceeds the number of civilians.

An Inspiring Lesson to the Free World

October 5th, a Protest Manifestation on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the genocidal policy of the Kremlin rulers, which resulted in the death of about six million Ukrainians, took place in New York City, at the Manhattan Center, on West 34th Street.

It was quite a tremendous affair. Stirring speeches about Ukraine's plight under Soviet Russian rule, about Ukraine's fight for freedom, were delivered by New York Governor Averell A. Harriman, Republican Candidate for Governor, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Candidate for United States, Kenneth B. Keating, Cuban representative at the United Nations, Dr. Emilio Nunez Portuando, Dr. Lev Dobriansky of the Georgetown University faculty, who is national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and Prof. Ivan Wovduik, president of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine.

Picketing of the Soviet Consulate and the Red United Nations quarters, at Park Avenue and 69th street, took place Saturday, October 4th last, from 3 to 6 p. m. The picketing was an impressive affair also, and orderly as well. The pickets milling around the building carried the American Stars and Stripes and the Ukrainian blue and yellow national banners and placards which carried the story of the famine in Ukraine—a famine deliberately started and maintained by the Russian Communists in an all out effort to break the spirit of the Ukrainians and to eradicate an element in the Soviet Union that milder methods, comparatively speaking, had failed to sway the Ukrainian Nation.

Both the Saturday demonstration and Sunday manifestation were well reported in the New York press, particularly in the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, the latter which carried a better story of the affair.

From the Speech by New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller:

"It is an honor to be here today; to reaffirm with you our basic belief in man's inalienable right to be free.

The whole planet today is torn with conflict over that belief. The struggle goes on continuously in economic, political and diplomatic spheres; and periodically, it erupts on the battlefield.

It is graphically symbolized in the struggle between the free world and the Soviet slave empire.

But it goes deeper than national or political boundaries.

The conflict that really divides the world today is between those, on the one hand, who believe in the freedom of opportunity for the individual everywhere, to develop his capacities to the fullest — spiritual, intellectual and intuitive, and those on the other hand, who believe in the individual as a cog in a machine, so disciplined, so conditioned that he loses all power of independent thought, and even the capacity for religious experience.

In this context, there is no conflict between the American people and the peoples of Eastern Europe.

This is particularly true of the Ukrainians.

The Ukraine was the first and greatest victim of Soviet oppression. And the hearts of the American people beat in warm sympathy for their national aspiration.

The Yalta promise to grant to the Ukraine a separate seat in the United Nations is one of the great betrayals in history. It was a betrayal both of the Ukrainian people and the United Nations.

Instead, the Kremlin conspirators merely installed another Soviet puppet in the United Nations General Assembly, who dutifully defends such Soviet assaults on freedom as those in Hungary and Poland.

Yet an independent Ukraine remains as a goal. The Ukrainian thirst for freedom is unquenchable.

The external pressures used by the Kremlin to justify Communist tyranny over its vast empire have disappeared. Today, no nation threatens Eastern Europe with conquest. The Ukrainians know it. The Ukrainian American Organizations know it. You know that the forces of the free world have been mobilized only to resist further Communist conquests in Europe, Asia and the Middle East.

We must all work and pray for the day when the

masters of the Soviet Union will acknowledge this truth. Then the Ukraine can lead the way to freedom, not only for itself but for the other enslaved nations.

Here in this great country, which was founded on a brief in the dignity of the individual, we have a special responsibility, to ourselves and to the world.

We must make freedom and opportunity a reality for all men.

We have not always succeeded in that goal, but today we must redouble our efforts to achieve it."

From the Speech by New York Ex-Governor Averell A. Harriman:

"With the collapse of the Russian Tsarist Empire the national independence movement blossomed forth from the Baltic to the Caspian Seas, and on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian nation declared its independence. Much of the strength for this great political monument came from the inspiring stimulus President Woodrow Wilson gave all subjugated nations through his vigorous advocacy of the right of all people to national self-determination. It was natural, therefore, that the many independent nations which rose up from the ruins of the Russian empire patterned their Declarations of Independence and their Constitutions after those of the United States. Individual liberty and protection of all the basic freedoms was the popular demand of the day. The newly independent Ukrainian nation was in the forefront of this great political movement.

But meanwhile, the Bolsheviks in Petrograd were consolidating their power over the Russian nation at Petrograd, and it was not long before they launched campaigns of intrigue and military aggression against the newly independent nations. Ukraine was a special target of the Bolsheviks because of its strategic location, vast natural wealth and a vigorous population of over 30 million people. The Bolsheviks were defeated in these initial skirmishes, and entered into a treaty of peace with Ukraine which recognized the sovereignty of that nation and pledged peaceful cooperation and non-aggression. But this was not to endure. Very shortly, without provocation and in violation of the treaty of peace, the Russians invaded Ukraine and placed it under military occupation.

The Russian Bolsheviks made captives of the Ukrainian people. But they failed utterly to secure the support of the Ukrainian people for Russian rulers and their communist doctrines and programs. The resistance of the Ukrainian people was such that the communists were faced with failure in all their efforts to communize the country. Nowhere was the resistance stronger than among the peasants who for centuries had kept alive the rich culture, folklore, traditions and aspirations of the nation. With the communist failure came increasing force and terror by the alien communist regime established at Kiev.

The Ukrainian peasants refused to collaborate in the communist program of collective farms. The communists responded with a campaign of terror against all those who refused to collaborate, but they soon learned that no terror, no brutality, was too great for the Ukrainian people to endure.

This was deliberately planned and organized by the Communists in an effort to break the national spirit of the Ukrainian nation.

And let's remember this: Nikita Khrushchev was at that time Assistant Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, having been assigned there by Stalin to help carry out this program of planned starvation. Regardless of his pretenses today, Khrushchev was one of Stalin's principal agents in robbing the Ukrainian peasants of their grain in the cruel winter of 1932-1933, and was responsible for the resulting death of millions of Ukrainians by starvation. Estimates place the number of victims of this crime at between 3 and 5 million people.

But not even this dreadful punishment, nor any of the other evil deeds perpetrated by the Kremlin, have succeeded in breaking the national spirit of Ukraine. This is everlastingly to their credit, and an inspiration to all freedom-loving people. Those who have known the blessings of human freedom will never surrender their birthright to the despot. That is the inspiring lesson which the Ukrainian nation has given to the world."

Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wierer

Congress of Refugee Experts in Baden

From September 17th to 20th, 1958, the 8th General Assembly of the "Research Society for the World Refugee Problem" (AWR) and the "European Research Group for Refugee Problems" (AER), which is almost identical with the former, took place in Baden near Vienna. This double organization includes experts and scholars interested in the refugee question from various countries (Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Liechtenstein, Norway, Austria and Turkey), as well as many persons interested in this question from the non-European countries, from the states of the Arab League, from Israel, Vietnam and Japan. The President of the two organizations is Prof. Dr. Fahreddin F. Gökyay, the Turkish Ambassador in Berne; the Secretary-General is the Calvinist Pastor René Oderbolz of Vesé-naz near Geneva, whilst the deputies for the secretary-general of the AWR and of the AER are Dr. Theodor Veiter of Feldkirch and Dr. Gottfried Hobus of Bonn, respectively. Both associations are represented by a general committee and a board of curators for scientific questions, which, on an equal footing, consist of the representatives of the members of each state. The countless refugees from the Eastern half of Europe are grouped according to the territorial principle in the national sections of the countries where they are now domiciled. Thus, for example, the author of this article is the Vice-President of the German section, whilst Dr. Eugen Antalovsky of Salzburg is the Vice-President of the Austrian section.

At the above-mentioned Congress in Baden, the tragic consequences of the big upheaval caused by the Bolshevik expansion of power were clearly stressed in the opening speeches of various prominent guests. In particular, the Austrian Minister of the Interior, Oskar Helmer, emphasized the moral obligation of the free world towards the refugees and expellees.

The lectures held during the Congress showed in an interesting way that the refugee problem is extremely important for the whole world. This was stressed above all in the lecture by the German Federal Minister of Refugees, Prof. Dr. Dr. Oberländer, entitled "The Refugee Question as a World Problem", which was read by Dr. Wolfrum, Ministerial Counsellor, and which rightly emphasized, in particular, the special character of the refugee problem in Asia. Prof. Dr. Walter Heinrich (Vienna) in his lecture discussed the dangerous consequences of expulsion. An interesting attitude was adopted by Dr. Fritz Zimmermann (Eisenstadt) in his lecture, "Flight as a Symptom of Disease in National Life and the Possibilities of Prevention and Cure", in which he stressed that refugee welfare should be regarded not only as a curative, but also as a preventive measure.

Economic questions were discussed by Dr. J. W. Ludovici (Jochgrim) in his lecture, "Employment and Accommodation for Refugees in Relation to Modern Industrial Economy"; by Dr. Gerhard Ziemer, director of the LAG Bank (Bad Godesberg), in his lecture, "Financing Principles and the Incorporation of Expellees and Refugees in the Federal Republic"; by Jörg Wiesner in his report, "The Social and Economic Status of the German Refugees from Rural Areas prior to their Expulsion (1918-1945)"; and, finally, by Dr. G. Reichling (Bad Homburg) in his lecture, "The Lost Wealth of the Refugees from East Europe on the Strength of the Assessment of Claims".

Cultural problems were discussed in detail by Dr. Karl Heinz Gehrman (Lüneburg) in his lecture, "The Cultural Incorporation of the Refugees". In a lecture on the international law of property protection for refugees' property, Dr. Veiter dealt with some general legal problems. Specifically Austrian refugee problems were discussed by Dr. Theodor Blahut (Vienna) in his lecture, "The Problem of the Yugoslav Refugees in Austria", and by Dr. Laszlo Taubinger in his lecture, "The Present and Future of the Hungarian Refugees in Austria". Dr. Blahut, in particular, mentioned the great difficulties arising out of the fact that the International Refugee Convention of 1950 only assures the right of asylum in the free states to persons who are purely, or in the narrowest sense, political refugees. Accordingly, so he added, the majority of refugees, whose economic existence, religious and national attitude and views had been

seriously endangered in the Communist countries by the economic and political measures of the governments in question, thus felt that their existence was threatened.

The discussions held in the course of the Congress on the problems of homeless foreigners were particularly interesting and informative. In this conjunction Prof. Dr. Hans Harmsen (Hamburg) submitted his detailed thesis, "The Integration of Homeless Foreigners and non-German Refugees in Western Germany", and also discussed these problems in his lectures, "The Problems of Subnormal Refugee Children" and "Reasons for the Need of Assistance of Homeless Foreigners in West Germany". Mrs. Irmgard Wrede (Oslo) suggested that the AER and AWR should support the idea of the European villages initiated by the Belgian, Father Pire. Two interesting papers on this subject were read to the members of the Congress, namely, "The Perspectives of the Authors in Exile" by Peter Aigars, and "The Cultural Life of the Ukrainian Emigrants" by Elisabeth Kottmeier. At the close of the Congress an extremely interesting and informative excursion was undertaken to the Austrian province of Burgenland, adjoining the Hungarian frontier.

The discussions and the documents of the Congress were undoubtedly of great interest to the experts, but what was even more interesting was the general survey of the reasons for expulsion, of the dire need and poverty which in many cases still exist among the refugees, of the numerous escapes through the Iron Curtain to the West which are still being undertaken at the present time in connection with the threatening prospect of possible expulsions in the future, which may perhaps occur sooner than we think. I modestly venture to affirm that the excellent work and achievements of the Congress demand an equal counterpart in political life: an organization and an organ which are thoroughly acquainted with all the necessary facts, as well as with the destructive work of Bolshevism, and are prepared to take not only repressive, but also preventive measures. We modest but determined ones, who see, know and understand all this and look to the future, are happy to have found these positive qualities in the organization of the A.B.N. and in its activity.

"Problems of the East" Congress in Germany

Ath the end of October, a Congress on the "Problems of the East", which was arranged by the Catholic organization of expellees and refugees, the Eichendorff Guild, and by the ABN, was held in Hanover.

The Congress, which lasted two days, greatly attracted the interest of the public, and on both days, the large hall in which it convened was packed. Those taking part in the Congress included representatives of political and public life, of the press, the Federal German army and the American consulate.

Considerable interest and great applause were aroused by the lectures held by Lieutenant-Colonel Jacobi, of the Ministry of Defence in Bonn, on "Europe's Defence", by Mr. E. Salter, of "Radio Free Berlin", on "The Status and Prospects of Germany's Union", by Dr. B. Hayit, of the National Turkastanian Unity Committee, on "Russia and the Orient", and by the chairman of the French International Culture Exchange Centre in Paris, Mr. Georges Greciano, on "East and West. The Power of the Will".

Subsequently, speeches were also held by Dr. Count Henkel von Donnersmark on "The East Expellees and Their Slav Neighbours", by Prof. Dr. Wierer on "The NATO or a European Security Pact?", by W. Sienko, of Byelorussia, on "The Communist Parties in the West and Their Underground Activity", and by Prince Niko Nakashidze on "Moscow Forces the Free World to a Decision".

The lively discussions which took place after these lectures and speeches had been held were once again proof of the great interest on the part of the public in these problems.

At the close of the Congress, those present expressed their thanks most warmly to the chairman of the Eichendorff Guild, Mr. Josef Mosler, for the excellent way in which he had organized the Congress.

Cuban U.N. Delegate Chides Russians on Colonialism

Senor Emilio Nunez Portuando, head of the Cuban Delegation to the United Nations, addressing the U.N. Emergency Session of the General Assembly, said, among other things:

"The Moscow Government bound itself by solemn treaties to respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and martyred Hungary. All these States have been subjugated to a pitiless colonialism, which is maintained by vast Russian armies. We could say the same of China which has signed a treaty of friendship—later violated—with the Soviet Union, of Outer Mongolia, the Ukraine, East Germany, North Korea and North Vietnam. Thousands of square miles have been conquered and colonized by the Soviet Union in recent years and the number of human beings now beneath its pitiless yoke runs into hundreds of millions..."

BOOK-REVIEWS

Charles Warren Hostler: *Turkism and the Soviets*. Washington, 1957.

This book, written by the American Colonel C. W. Hostler of the U.S. Air Force in Washington, is one of the most informative books ever published in English on the subject of the Turks. It gives an excellent picture of the tremendous force of Turkism, which plays a part in the lives of about 65,000,000 Turks, the majority of whom are obliged to endure the terrible conditions of Russian tyranny, but are ready to join forces with the free world in a united attempt to destroy the evil, demonic force of Soviet Russia.

Published in 1957, this outstanding book has already had considerable influence on intellectual and political circles in Turkey. Indeed, the Turkish Historical Society (Turkish Academy) has decided that it should be translated into Turkish and re-published in Turkey without delay.

The thought that inevitably comes to one's mind on reading this book is that the leading political circles of the West would do well to avail themselves of this vast movement, Turkism, by giving it and also the liberation movements of the Ukrainian and other subjugated nations every support and activating it for the common cause of destroying the Russian empire, which is using the terrorist Communist ideology as a means to achieve its ultimate aim, namely conquest of the world, and is enforcing the Russian language and culture on the subjugated nations as a dominant world language and culture.

At present, about 40,000,000 Turks, who are descended from one of the most ancient civilized races, who speak almost the same language, have the same culture and cherish the same national traditions and ideals, are forced to live under Russian tyranny. Since the highest ideal of Turkism, as defined by the great Turkist leader, Ismail Gaspiraly of Crimea, who can be regarded as a second Atatürk, is "Unity in Language, Unity in Thought, Unity in Action", this movement is a powerful force which is of the greatest importance to the free world.

Many readers may perhaps not know that the Turks, prior to Russian colonialism—whether "red" or "white", had their own national independent states for hundreds of years as well as their own highly developed culture, which considerably influenced the civilization of the world. It was not until the middle of the 19th century that they were ruthlessly subjugated by the Russians, who resorted to their usual methods of devastating the country and murdering millions of innocent persons, including women and children, by artificially created famines and by tanks.

And there are no doubt also many readers who do not know that it was the Russians who divided the Turks in Turkestan into the Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Turkmen Soviet Republics, in spite of the fact that these peoples all belong to one and the same nation. Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazakh and Turkmen are merely historical tribal names. The peoples of these regions all use the same Turkish language—with slight local variations; they have the same culture and historical traditions and also the same religious faith. The same also applies in the case of the Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, Crimean and North Caucasian Turks and the Turks of Eastern Turkestan, who are also designated by a separate name—Uygurs. The principles of Russian colonial policy are thus perfectly obvious: divide and rule, and rule with terror. Whether "red" or "white", the Russian policy of colonialism bears little resemblance to Western colonialism in the past, for it is a policy of Russification by terrorist methods. And these methods include enforcing the Russian alphabet, compulsory introduction of the Russian language even in elementary schools, application of the immigration policy of "voluntary settlers", enforcing the cultivation of cotton instead of wheat for the purpose of creating famines if necessary, and, in particular, "purging" the intellectual, political and economic leaders of this great nation by forcing them to "confess" their crimes.

In the face of all these inhuman methods, Turkism is undoubtedly the most powerful liberation movement which can unite all the Turks into one formidable front to combat the evil Russian force, the enemy of all mankind. But one factor is most essential in this respect, and that is the combination and co-ordination of the efforts of all the subjugated nations and the so-called satellites in their fight to bring about the disintegration of the Rus-

From Behind the Iron Curtain

"LIBERAL ATTITUDE" OF RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IN BALTIC STATES

Millions of dead and living slaves are an important aspect of the established pattern of the so-called workers' paradise. This pattern has been repeated over and over again in the Baltic States, Poland, Ukraine, Hungary... It might sober up those who say "better Soviet occupation than atomic war" to study a Soviet secret police order, No. 0054, now in the hands of a Select Committee of the United States Congress, which directed the nominal Communist boss of occupied Lithuania to list without delay "all suspect persons, all enemies of the people."

The list is not based upon individual actions or individual crimes as would be the case in a free country. Instead, suspect persons are listed by category. The individual may have done nothing. He may even have been pro-Soviet or pro-Communist. But if he happened to fall into one of the categories, his name was placed on the secret police list.

The following are the main categories according to which persons are classified as "enemies of the people":

- 1) All former members of anti-Soviet political parties, organizations and groups;
- 2) Active members of student fraternities and riflemen's associations;
- 3) Former policemen, employees of political and criminal police, and of prisons;
- 4) Persons expelled from the Communist Party and Communist youth organizations;
- 5) All citizens of foreign countries, representatives of all foreign firms, employees in foreign firms' offices, former citizens of foreign countries;
- 6) Persons having personal contacts and maintaining correspondence abroad with foreign legations and consulates, esperantists and philatelists;
- 7) Former workers of the Red Cross;
- 8) Religionists, priests, pastors, members of sects and active members of religious committees;
- 9) Former aristocracy, estate owners, merchants, bankers, businessmen, small shopowners and owners of hotels and restaurants.

When, in 1941, action was taken to supplement this list, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania within a few months lost 124,602 persons from a total population of 6 million. Soviet records which have meanwhile been discovered show that this was only the first stage of the planned campaign of deportation to Siberia, where starvation and death claimed these victims one by one. The same records also give the following itemized figures for the various vocational groups to which these persons belonged: 23,588 employed in agriculture, 23,048 — industrialists and shopkeepers, 12,217 — workers (skilled and unskilled), 14,016 — state and municipal officials, 3,220 — professional occupations, 6,939 — students, 2,103 — domestic workers, 2,813 — children up to 6 years, and 36,638 — unknown.

After the war, the Baltic nations were the victims of further waves of deportations. It is estimated that during the period 1944-1950 the deportees from Latvia alone numbered at least 140,000. In recent years there have been no mass deportations, but arrests and deportations of individuals have been and still are an everyday occurrence.

sian empire, to establish their own independent, national, democratic states and to save mankind from the evil Russian force.

The policies of containment or coexistence pursued by certain circles in the free world are, sooner or later, bound to invite an atomic war. Effective and active support and help for the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain, including China, is the only way to save humanity from complete destruction by atomic warfare.

Thanks to the efforts of the Hon. Michael A. Feighan of the U.S. House of Representatives and of his excellent co-workers, this policy, which is the only acceptable liberation policy, is being advocated effectively amongst the people of America and in the whole free world. Here in Turkey we are following their noble efforts with great interest and sympathy, and we wish them every success and shall give them all the help possible in their struggle — which is ours, too, — to liberate the enslaved nations from the terrible Russian prison of peoples and to deliver the whole world from this cancerous growth in the human organism.

Dr. Arin Engin,
Member of the Turkish Historical
Society.

Some "peace campaigners" have offered this as evidence of a new liberal attitude on the part of the Russian government. Some people — who know the Communists better — reason that any further depopulation might endanger the economic plan. Further, it can be assumed that the bulk of the "people's enemies" has been liquidated. These are more realistic conclusions. Some support is forthcoming from Comrade Khrushchev, who declared during his visit to Britain that there were no social democrats left in Russia. It is also interesting to note that this Communist boss, known as the "butcher of Ukraine", when lamenting in his speech about Stalin's crimes, was sorry only for his fellow-Communists, but not for the millions of Ukrainian, Polish, Baltic and Roumanian "enemies of the people".

The mentality of the Communist rulers is characterized by a death warrant for 78 Latvians. The long list of names is endorsed with the following decision by S. Shustin, the People's Commissar for State Security: "Considering the social danger they represent, all must be shot". This document, now in the hands of Latvian refugees, lists the following reasons for their execution: "Ancestors were bourgeois." "Was caught singing national songs." "Has exploited the work of others." "Was a police officer." "Has anti-Communist convictions." "Has insulted the Communist Party." "Was caught in the forest", and so on.

The Latvian nation will never forget the atrocities and crimes of the Soviet regime. The Latvians are convinced that those guilty will not escape their just punishment. June 14th, the day on which in 1941 about 15,600 men, women and children were arrested and taken away, has become a traditional day of mourning.

HUNGARY

It is reported from Hungary that a large-scale political purge has recently been carried out in the mining industry by the competent state authorities. About 2,500 miners have been dismissed, — that is to say, all those who have been designated by various "honest and upright" miners as enemies of the Party and as persons guilty of sabotage.

The paper "Hétfői Hírek" is conducting a violent attack against the Vatican and Catholic circles of the "People's Republic", because the Catholic priests in Hungary are claiming the right to express their attitude as regards political questions. The paper points out that in Hungary there are only two alternatives as far as expressing one's attitude is concerned, — namely, in the interests of the people, or against the people, "as Cardinal Mindszenty has done. All the Hungarian priests who have decided to take the part of the people are being grossly insulted and defamed by the Vatican and by Catholic circles".

An "ecclesiastical gazette" entitled "Katolikus Szó" has recently appeared in Hungary. The editor is a priest by the name of Horvath, who in 1957 was excommunicated by the Vatican on account of his activity in connection with the Hungarian "Peace Movement".

A new wave of arrests in Hungary has been in progress since the summer. The fact that the victims are not sent to prison, but are put into labour camps indicates that this is one of the usual campaigns frequently conducted in the "People's Democracies" for the purpose of "re-training" certain

Erratum

Owing to an unfortunate error, an article was published in our last issue, No. 9/10, September/October 1958, under the title "Africa — the Fate of Mankind" by Mohamed Admed Mosler. The correct title should read "Asia's and Africa's Intelligentsia at the Cross-Roads" by Maulan Islamzada.

members of the population by slave labour and obtaining cheap labour.

Details have now been learnt as regards the manner in which the news of the execution of the former Prime Minister Imre Nagy and his co-workers was received by the Hungarian people. It is stated that there was every indication of deep mourning on the part of the population; the streets of Budapest were deserted and silence was observed in all the public restaurants. The pupils at a number of elementary schools appeared with wreaths, bearing candles.

A Russian broad-gauge railway-track has now been laid in East Hungary, 50 kilometres from the Soviet frontier. It extends as far as the town of Nyirbogyany, that is to say, to the oil refinery located there.

Under the supervision of Russian officers, necessary preparatory measures are now to be undertaken as regards the network of Hungarian state railways, in order to ensure the smooth functioning of the traffic and transport system in the event of a war.

The Russian occupation forces in Hungary now number about 160,000 soldiers. Five divisions are stationed beyond the Danube, 2 divisions in the Danube Teisz region, and 3 divisions in East Hungary. In addition, the Russians have also reinforced the air force and anti-aircraft units stationed in Hungary.

RUMANIA

A "Conference" was held in Iasi-Jassy, in September this year, by Russian and Roumanian delegates for the purpose of working out a "complete" utilization programme regarding the waters of the Pruth.

It was stated that the following points were settled on this occasion: 1) the drawing up of a project for building dams and draining the river-course; 2) the resumption of shipping on the river, which has no longer been possible owing to large deposits of silt, and 3) an extensive project for the accumulation of water, for the purpose of constructing a reservoir and an irrigation system.

The report published by the "Conference", however, does not mention how far these projects have progressed and when they are likely to be carried out.

The legislative commission of the Bucharest parliament, headed by Professor Traian Ionascu, is at present engaged in compiling a new edition of the penal code. The penal code which is valid at present was introduced in 1938.

The new edition is influenced exclusively by Communist legislation and doctrine, and promises to be a true copy of the Russian penal code. This fact can already be seen in practice, namely from the various legal papers and journals at present published in Roumania, which untiringly cite and glorify Soviet judicature.

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