

# A.B.N. CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. IV. No. 1/2. Jan./Feb. 1953

\* Published in English, French and German \*

Price: 1 s; 40 c

Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of A.B.N.

## THE TURN OF THE YEAR

Another year has passed, without having brought any change in the fate of the subjugated peoples. On the threshold of this new year we stand with bowed heads before fresh victims of terrorism and in awe of the invincible fighting spirit on the fronts behind the Iron Curtain, where again so many of our resistance soldiers have died heroic deaths. At Christmas, which in the free world around us is celebrated as a happy family festival, our thoughts turn to our imprisoned brothers and sisters at home who have to pass this time of Christian charity, year after year, with dimmed eyes, alone and without the light of Christmas candles.

As messengers of our peoples we did our best in the past year to arouse the West to a better understanding of our peoples and their fate and to bring our problems nearer to them. The fact that all our emigrants have rallied to our cause and support our struggle is a proof that we, as the trustees of our nations, are acting as they would wish.

In the West, however, our efforts did not meet with the echo due to them, even in the past year, and which, in their own interest in these parlous times for the world, is urgent. The same lack of understanding, the same indifference, sometimes even hostility, prevails in certain circles; although, it is true, there are signs that the ice is broken, so that in America, Great Britain, Canada, and also in France and Germany, we were able to gain sympathy for our nations. People like General Fuller, Harold Stassen, John Foster Dulles and others came forward and spoke of the importance of our peoples, recommending the support of our struggle. Even America's President, General Eisenhower, in his election campaign, took up the cause of our peoples and described the policy of continuing their present bolshevist enslavement in perpetuity, as immoral and suicidal. The official attitude towards us in the West, however, has remained unaltered.

We are still without any political or moral support and find ourselves at the end of the year as dependent on our own resources as ever.

Official circles in the West distance themselves from our cause rather than give any evidence of solidarity with our ideas and aim. They say they cannot interfere in Russia's internal affairs. That excuse bears no weight, for when Hitler occupied Europe, the West felt obliged to come to the rescue. But when Moscow, to-day, behind a sham facade of national "independent" Soviet republics, or of forced "peoples' democracies", persecutes and tortures dozens of alien races in order to exploit them for Russian aims at conquest, then suddenly such brazen disregard of the elemen-

tary principles of international law is called "Russia's internal affairs" and, what is more, respected.

While in conflicts, such as for instance, the Tunisian, some Western Powers are ready to intervene, and while the imperial state structures of our era are changing rapidly into commonwealths, the Russian empire with the whole of its enormous sphere of influence is declared taboo, and that at a time when the irresistible process of national liberation is forcing the Soviet Russian despots themselves to play the role of protectors of national sovereignty, this side and the other side of the Iron Curtain, and to take good care not to

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## American Politics at the Cross-Roads

*W. After the atomic bombs had fallen on Nagasaki and Hiroshima and with Japan's capitulation, the victory apparently sealed, President Truman said, in effect, "The United States is now the greatest power in the world. No one is mightier than we are. That gives us the obligation to watch over the world and see that peace is consolidated and maintained."*

*What the President said was no less than the admission of unlimited, universal intervention and the express announcement of America's claim to leadership in world politics. Perhaps these unusual words were meant, in particular, as a warning to the Russian bear, which in the honey moon of victory let fall its sheep's skin and showed the West, unmistakably, its teeth. Many an American may have thought those words presumptuous at the time, and there is hardly a doubt but that at the end of the war most Americans would have preferred to return to the old "isolation" and keep America out of any further conflict, than to take over the delicate role of a world policeman.*

*It turned out very soon, however, that the world situation had altered so completely that America had no choice in its future policy. The war had been won, but the peace lost. In the form of what is called the "East Bloc" to which China was soon to be added, another world power, with America's assistance, had arisen. A power which not only challenged America's leadership but announced its own and, furthermore, began to realize its aggressive plans for world conquest.*

*It so turned out that the expectations that the bolshevik monster could be appeased by yielding and satisfied by blood sacrifice were mistaken. The peoples and countries of Central and Eastern Europe so lightly thrown into the jaws of Moscow had satisfied its hunger as little as all those victims which had earlier been taken into the "Soviet Union". The Russian bear had tasted blood and was no longer to*

*be kept within bounds. Czechoslovakia in the west and Korea in the Far East became the new victims and belated danger signals which shook America's last illusions and may have convinced her that it was time to look after her own skin.*

*The all American "isolation" was finally thrown overboard and in a night America was involved up to the neck in world politics. Washington can no longer be indifferent to the course of events without sacrificing her own vital interests. The change in the White House in January will not have the slightest effect on that. In spite of the isolationist tradition, the Republican government will not be able to leave the path of intervention on a grand scale that has already been entered upon, willy nilly, since the end of the war. Merely the course of American world politics, that is the concrete single aims, means and ways may be discussed and, as to them, there is much difference of opinion. The differences sketched below will, perhaps justify the headline of this article.*

*America's efforts for peace and security in the world, not having brought humanity one step nearer the longed for aim and the world, eight years after the end of the war, being in a more precarious position than ever, an impatient feeling that the past years had been more to the advantage of a world conspiracy hatched out in the Kremlin than the efforts for peace made and worked for by the West, seized the American public. The cul de sac into which the Korean war landed and which the average American regards as a bleeding wound has probably added to that feeling of irritation. There are not a few in U.S.A., who allege that their politics are still running in the wake of Moscow. A demand is made that Washington should, at long last, seize the initiative and take the privilege of action out of Stalin's hands even in the cold war. The*

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## American Politics at the Cross-Roads

basic alternatives in American's foreign policy at present are about like that. The antithesis in detail may be analysed as follows:

1. "The maintenance of peace and balance of power" in the world, retaining the status quo, which means the continuation of the futile attempts to guarantee peace and security in the West at the expense of the eternal enslavement of the people of the East in order to achieve reconciliation with tyranny, or "restoration of peace and freedom which have practically been abolished by Moscow, cancellation of all concessions made to the Soviet Union and abused by it, and a demand for the release of all subjugated and oppressed peoples as the first condition for any agreement. The first alternative requires the damming up of the bolshevik menace to the world by erecting a "cordon sanitaire", resp. by some kind of non-aggression pact and the continuation of the cold war for an indefinite period. The second, — a systematic campaign against world bolshevism and its annihilation, putting a check on continuous aggression by weakening the power of Russian imperialism. To-day there is indeed no third alternative for American policy, and the realization of the fact alone would be welcome progress in America's conception of world politics.

2. Estimating and combatting communism and bolshevism, merely as social political ideology and an internal system of government, and recognition of the Russian imperium, or even the present Russian sphere of power, or, on the other hand, the realization that world bolshevism is a powerful variety of Russian world imperialism which must be destroyed for the sake of peace and security in the world.

3. Clinging to arbitrary regulations of space and upholding violent state structures against the will of the inhabitants, ideas inspired by Russian imperialists and also by those deriving profit from the unhappy Paris peace treaty, or, a decided break with all fatal prejudices and a return to the wholesome principles of national self-determination and equality as understood by Wilson, who, at the peace conference 1919, was out-trumped by European imperialists and profiteers to the detriment of Europe and the world and who later collapsed with a nervous breakdown. The first alternative is a temptation to make promises to retain the great Russian empire after Kerensky's pseudo-democratic recipe even after the overthrow of bolshevism, which would mean the complete paralysis of the revolutionary forces of the numerous non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. and be a slap in the face of the suffering peoples of the Benes "democracy" and those of the "national communist" Tito paradise. The latter alternative, however, would mean guaranteeing a stable reorganization of Eurasia on the basis of the national independence of all the peoples hitherto subjected, and including them as willing and self-sacrificing allies in the fight against a bolshevik menace to the world.

4. To continue further in following the treacherous catchword of "anti-fascism" under the cloak of which the national idea, as the strong pillar of anti-bolshevik resistance, is to be undermined in the West and the national forces defamed, or, the recognition of the national idea, with which even Stalin begins to speculate now, as the motive power to burst the bonds of bolshevik dominion; with the national forces as standard bearers against tyranny. The first alternative would just be the continuation of prevailing conditions which Stalin wishes, so that the forces in psychological warfare would be paralyzed and

espionage, sabotage, sedition rampant in the western countries. The second alternative, however, would frustrate the Kremlin's plans.

5. Continued cooperation with pseudo-democratic favorites among the exiles, even those who until quite lately were disciples of Moscow and pace-makers of bolshevism in their own countries. Wit the exclusion of the exiles who know no compromise concerning bolshevism, but who are slandered as fascists only because in self-defence they went against Moscow during the last world war, or, on the other hand, the unconditional recog-

### Our Path knows no Compromise

The National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.), always uncompromising in its struggle for liberation, will never compromise with the Russian imperialists. Collaboration with them will never bring about independence for Turkistan.

For these reasons the N.T.U.C. did not participate in the meetings of the Russian imperialists and the russophile circles arranged by the American Committee, which took place on 20. 8. 1951 in Stuttgart, on 3. 7. 51 in Wiesbaden, on 19—21. 6. 52 in Starnberg and on 10—17. 10. 52 in Munich (all in Germany). The aim of these meetings was to unite Russians and non-Russians under a Russian hegemony. The N.T.U.C. is opposed to their resolutions, plans and programmes.

The N.T.U.C. will never collaborate with Russian imperialism, as their aim is to free Turkistan from the Russians and to found an independent Turkestanian State. The aims of the Turkestanian emigration are also those of the N.T.U.C.

National Turkestanian Unity Committee.

and inclusion in the common front against bolshevism with a radical extirpation of all communist elements working as fifth column men for Moscow, thus undermining the west and playing the atomic bombs into Stalins hands.

These are some of the controversies which are characteristic of the present division in American politics. They are also the essential opposing views in the foreign political program of the late democratic government and the future republican, which has the majority in the new Congress. General Eisenhower, America's President, seems to see his new mission as holding the scales between unity at home and security abroad. There is every reason to hope that under his leadership American foreign policy will overcome some of the fatal mistakes made in the past, in order to win a way through to a better future, worthy of America's great tradition, through the sober recognition and constructive principles of our portentous times.

The leading American newspaper, the New York Times, which is regarded as politically independent, hit the nail on the head recently, when, on the much discussed occasion of the Stalin interview, it said:

"... The Soviet record shows that whenever the Soviets have committed some particularly outrageous deed or were preparing for a new one Mr. Stalin invariably assumed his jovial "Uncle Joe" role and issued some soothing pronouncement, either publicly or in diplomatic conference, to reconcile the

## THE TURN OF THE YEAR

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mention anything like the "indivisibility of Russia". Seen in that light, western attempts at solving the problem of the anti-bolshevik struggle by an integral "Russia" seem merely a bad joke. If the question of forwarding our peoples and consolidating the world of tomorrow, is seriously contemplated, then the least our peoples can expect from the West is the recognition of their national sovereignty.

Another question: why should the acceptance of our programme be regarded as interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, when, according to the Soviet constitution, our peoples have been expressly, though hypocritically, granted the right to secede from the "Union" if they so desire, while, on the other hand, for a Kerensky or Melgunov, who are only out to abolish the communist regime, support is accorded without hesitation? The system of government a country is, or is not to have, is surely more of an "internal affair" than the claim to the licence to rule over an alien people with violence, and to practice genocide.

At the Moscow Conference, last year, the way the bolshevik psychological war is to be waged in the future was revealed. The power of our ideas is so great that even the Kremlin is forced to try and falsify it and misuse it for its own purposes. These ideas represent principles of independence and social justice, against which Stalin himself dare not openly take a stand. Is someone to do so now in the West?

In the present conflict between two worlds, victory does not depend alone on the excellence of empty propaganda phrases, but, above all, on the better ideas and, still more, on the sincerity one brings to them, that is, the readiness to turn them into action. The oceans of blood and the fresh ruins a future war will cause, cannot be vindicated if one existing tyranny is to be replaced by another, or the world divided according to an imperialist pattern. Enough of terrorism, murder, exploitation, fear and hunger. Enough of national and social oppression. Our peoples yearn for freedom and justice and are willing for any sacrifice to attain them. But for that alone.

world to Soviet faits accomplis and to avert any "interference" with them. He fooled two American Presidents that way, and he may be hoping to fool a third."

That sober language seems to be a ray of light and gives reason to believe that critical point at the cross-roads in American politics has been passed.

While America is on the way to lay aside all the fatal illusions of the past and is more and more immune to the Kremlin's deceptions, there are, paradoxically, in European countries, lying within easy reach of the bolshevik jaws, signs of a relapse into vain delusions and readiness for compromise. The most shocking example was given by the chief editor of one of the "leading" south German papers in his comments on the Stalin interview in the Munich wireless. He proposed that Stalin's outstretched hand should be seized at once and an agreement come to with him, by writing off all that lies behind the Iron Curtain, for "only then would there be any chance of living side by side in peace!"

Sancta simplicitas! Mentors like that in the West seem to have no idea that the next phase of that kind of "understanding" would be the inevitable swallowing up of the whole of Europe, and that is what will happen before all too long, if world bolshevism is allowed "to live at peace" at the very doors of the still free places in the world.

Gen. Col. Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak

## The Significance of the Subjugated Nations and their Emigrants for the Western War Potential

The opposite views held in our era have caused an ideological cleft, which cannot be bridged over. They will irresistibly lead to a merciless contest to the death all over the globe. A third world war is inevitable and certain to be waged with all possible means and forces.

Space and time have shrunk to dwarfish dimensions through the great speeds achieved, as there is no distance which cannot be covered in the shortest time by jet, turbo, or rocket aeroplanes. Ocean or continent no longer means separation. The globe has become alarmingly small. On this earth thus dwindled, two groups of world powers are facing each other; the Soviet block, universally aggressive, and the Western powers in defence. Both are preparing for the inevitable encounter.

The Korean war is but an irrelevant intermezzo in the struggle of the world powers for positions conquered during World War II. It is obvious that the attack on the free Western world has not been initiated by the North Korean Government. The real creator, the Soviet Union — is lying in wait in the background, the only power which dares to rival the United States. Since the U.N. forces in Korea have restricted themselves to defence, it lies in the Kremlin's hand where, when and how long this fight, with the assistance of China and the Satellites, is to be continued. It depends whether Moscow wants to come to a quick decision or to wear slowly down and disunite its adversaries. Waiting in the background, the Soviet Union passes itself off as neutral, easily gaining war experience at the cost of others.

In view of the expected world wide conflagration, in April 1949, 12 Western nations concluded the North Atlantic Treaty, later joined by Greece and Turkey. A joint commission of defence is to elaborate defensive plans for the N.A.T.O. powers and to organize combined military forces. European, American, and other defence plans are in preparation, and several lines of defence to protect the countries on land, on sea and in the air, are said to be maturing.

The final aim of the Soviet Union is to rule totally and alone all over the world; a nearer aim of Russia's is to occupy Europe in order to possess itself of the strategic sea ports and to control the vital sources of raw materials. To frustrate these intentions, it is not enough that the Western powers merely take note of the cold war, which has lasted for years now and can burst out into a hot one at any moment. It is necessary, instead, to make an active counter-attack, in the psychological field as well as in the military.

By the incorporation of China, the Soviet block was increased to 800 million people. The Soviet State commands at present the biggest armed force in the world, ready for action at a moment's notice; its armament industries have been working feverishly at their maximum capacity since end of the last war.

The N.A.T.O. nations, in comparison, though comprising nearly double the space, have hardly half the number of people available (about 500 million) to encounter the Soviets. The army contingents they command at present are hardly worth mentioning. The armament industries will require some time to come up to full capacity. The Western output, however, is far greater than that of the Soviet block, provided that production is not hampered by hostile actions. The N.A.T.O. nations, again, have a multiplicity of skilled workers, so would be able to outbalance the Soviet production in a very short time.

The main power and the arsenal are the United States. In common with Canada, they are the core and the geographical centre of the Western world. Western Europe, the Near, East, India, South Asia, appear to be but big

continental bridge-heads of theirs; The oceans and Africa serve as their supply lines.

The vital areas and centres of the Soviet industries can be reached best only by crossing the North Pole and the Polar region, whereas the industries in the eastern States of America can be damaged or even destroyed, now already, by guided missiles shot from submarines.

The Soviet Union has created a broad glacis and thus particular military protection by means of its satellites. Excellent possibilities for bringing up troops, especially against Western Europe, are offered by their net of communications. Some hundred divisions, most of them motorized, a strong air force and a considerable fleet of submarines are always prepared to overrun the European and Asiatic bridge-heads of the N.A.T.O. nations.

Yet the Western powers cannot afford the luxury, even temporarily, of leaving the Eu-

ropean double-continent to the Soviets, and conquering it back later by invasion. Regardless of the fact that in such an event nothing would remain of Occidental culture but graveyards and ruins, this strategy would require so much time, trouble and expenditure that it appears dubious whether the American continent, thus isolated, would at all be able to carry out invasions.

But, whereas the Soviet world danger, fifth column, lines of defence etc. are spoken and written about at length in the Western world, strikingly little is to be heard of those nations, which are already subjugated by the Soviets.

The great historical responsibility of tolerating this status and looking inactively at the martyrdom of these peoples is scarcely felt, although the unfortunate masses of the millions belonging to these nations crave the western aid for their liberation.

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## Turkistan's Immortal Fight for Freedom

By Dr. M. H. Ertürk

Concluded from A.B.N. Correspondence No. 11/12

### The Basmachi Movement — its Fight and its Aims

"Turkistan for the Turkistanians!" — "Away with Alien Dominion!" "Independent Turkistan — Free from Russia!" Those were and still are the catchwords with which the Basmachi movement has been waging its fight up to the present, as the Soviet political commissioner, Ginsburg, who was ordered to combat the Basmachi with the assistance of the Red Army, himself stated in an illuminating article in the magazine *Novy Vostok* No. 10/11.

The overthrow of the autonomous Turkestanian government in 1917 was a bitter experience for the people. The fighters for independence therefore proclaimed the Provisional Government under the leadership of Mahmed Amin Beg on September 24, 1919 which was intended as an interim regime until the full independence of Turkistan was achieved. After having concluded an armistice on March 7, 1920, however, the head of the government Mahmed Amin Beg, was shot by the fighters for freedom and his government dissolved.

On May 3, 1920, the leader of the Basmachi movement of the Fergana area, Shermuhammed Beg, promulgated a provisional government of Turkistan which had been formally proclaimed as the Islamic Turkish Independent Republic of Turkistan, in Samarkand in April 1920. Section 2 paragraph 9 of the resolution passed at the congress runs as follows:

"... Unless the Soviet Government changes its policy of refusing the Moslems of Turkistan a trustworthy self-government, adjusted to the prevailing living conditions, and unless the Soviet Government re-establishes all Turkistan's political and cultural rights, we — the Moslems of Turkistan — will wage war against the Soviet regime, armed or not, to the last drop of our blood."

On May 12, 1922, the resolutions of the congress were handed to the Soviet Russian representatives in Tashkent and that with the following letter:

"... The Soviet Government is to evacuate the whole of Turkistan within the next two months. Only after the Russian army and the Russian officials have left Turkestan will the Turkestanian government be ready to enter into diplomatic relations with Moscow. A state of war will be continued up to that day between Russia and Turkistan, or to the final victory of freedom. In the latter case, Russia alone will be responsible for the blood shed. The government of Turkistan draws the Russian Government's attention to the fact that the people is

determined to fight to the last man, unless the evacuation is carried out. On the other hand, however, the Turkestanian people is willing to live at peace, side by side with the Russians, if the Russian troops and officials are withdrawn from Turkestanian territory; provided that the Soviet government recognizes the national independence of Turkistan and refrains from any further attack against this country. There is no question but that war will become permanent should our demand be rejected. We are equally convinced that freedom and justice will finally triumph — tomorrow if not to-day."

As soon as the above declaration was handed to Rudzutak, the representative of the Soviet Russian government, he had the whole Turkestanian delegation arrested, not one of whose members ever returned. The government of the Independent Republic of Turkistan only survived three months after that, because it could not make itself heard in the world outside. The Turkestanian people became involved in an unequal, desperate fight for freedom against superior forces, without the least support or assistance from outside.

### Enver Pasha sends an Ultimatum to Moscow

When the former Turkish Commander-in-Chief, Enver Pasha, intervened in 1921, the fight took on a sanguinary turn. Having succeeded in overcoming the differences among the various leaders, he took supreme command of the combined national forces of Turkistan, including the military forces of the independent republics of Bukhara and Khorezm and carried out telling operations against the Red Army, so that Moscow found itself obliged to send prominent political and military representatives, such as Trotzky, Budyonny and Kuybyshev to Turkistan, while the supreme command over the red divisions put in against Turkistan was given to the deputy commander-in-chief of the Russian army, Zinovyev. When the struggle had reached its climax, Enver Pasha sent an ultimatum to the Russian government, May 5, 1922, running as follows:

"... The Red Army must be ordered back to Russia within two weeks. All Soviet administrative authorities in Turkistan must be dissolved during the same period. Should the Russian Government not think it necessary to comply with the will of the Moslem peoples who are suffering under the yoke of perfidious commissaires and have taken up arms to free their countries from alien domination, I shall be compelled to take steps at my own discretion two weeks from the day this declaration is presented..."

The ultimatum was not answered by the Soviet government. Considerable military reinforcements and a number of spies and informers led by the notorious chief of the G.P.U., Agabekov, were ordered to Turkistan instead. As soon as Enver Pasha's headquarters were discovered by G.P.U. spies, there was an onslaught by Red Army soldiers and the Commander-in-Chief, Enver Pasha, was killed after a three hour's battle. In him the Turkestanian fighters lost not only a highly talented military leader, but also a statesman of historical mark.

Sami Pasha was appointed his successor and he continued the fight until 1926, subsequent to that there followed a period of disunited military leadership, lasting up to 1932/33, when authority was again centralized under the supreme command of Ibrahim Bek. He was captured by the Russians in 1933, and once more military operations were led by local commanders.

### A Memorable Fight for Freedom Summed up

At the end of 1926 the Soviet council of war for revolutions and the General Staff for the purpose of crushing the Basmachi movement were dissolved and their duties transferred to a Central Asia Military District, charged with the final suppression of the Turkistan fight for independence, i. e. the Basmachi forces. The power and extent of those national revolutionary struggles become evident from the following statistics of the Red Army contingents which had to be employed against the Turkestanian insurgents:

- 1) 106,000 soldiers of the former tsarist troops stationed in Turkistan and later incorporated in the Red Army.
- 2) More than 90,000 German and Austrian ex-prisoners of war, who after their release were employed in the Red Army.
- 3) 75,000 Russian colonists in Turkistan, armed and set up as rifle brigades by the bolsheviks.
- 4) A special bolshevik army which after the raising of the Orenburg front line was sent to Turkistan in 1921.
- 5) A Tartar brigade of about 8,000 men.
- 6) Two regiments of Turkestanians.

Against those odds of regular and well-equipped Red Army forces, there stood altogether 60,000 armed and 225,000 unarmed Turkestanian fighters, morally and materially supported by the entire population.

In that memorable struggle Russia lost a total of about 395,000 and Turkistan no fewer than 700,000 men. After 1926 about 270,000 Turkestanians were arrested for sympathizing with the Basmachi movement. 120 villages were razed to the ground during hostilities.

The tragic epilogue is evident even from the description of the events given by the communist party functionary, Rustan Beg Taga ev, who entitles his book (published in Moscow, 1935) "In the Valley of Roses and Blood".

### The Turkestanians' Immortal Will for Independence

Russia, by brutal force and military superiority, succeeded in temporarily suppressing the Turkestanian fight for independence. The mass revolt, planned in 1937 and 1938 was prevented by the Russian rule of terrorism, although the insurrection had been prepared in every detail, and seats of revolt had been planted in every Soviet party office, in every kolkhose and even in every elementary school in the country. Neither force nor terrorism could eradicate the will for freedom and the immortal fighting spirit of the Turkestanian people. The Basmachi movement is still alive and active among the population, though it is well-known that, in view of the Soviet Russian occupation, the colonial information service and the net of spies, a sally against the alien domination of the Soviets will have no chance of success for the time being. Thus an endeavour is made to preserve the national characteristics of the people against the Soviet Russian policy of obliteration, and they keep up their national consciousness and fighting spirit for the big contest that is bound to come. The undiminished urge for the independence of Turkistan and the readiness of the population to continue the struggle are convincingly proved by the never-ending measures and sanctions of the Soviets against the repeated "national deviations" in Turkistan, as the Soviet press is compelled to report again and again. That will not alter up to the day when the blood-soaked sacred freedom of Turkistan becomes reality.

## The Significance of the Subjugated Nations . . .

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Hundreds of thousands of them succeeded in escaping the hell of their home and taking asylum in the free Western world. After they had to leave their people, their home and their properties, they met in refugee camps and huts to find ways and means for the liberation of their native countries. These expelled sons of subjugated nations, actuated by the knowledge that they were fellow-sufferers, have found each other and made it their common cause to fight against bolshevism, side by side as true comrades and to be the vanguard in the forthcoming campaign of deliverance in their countries.

Though completely on their own, but inspired by their aim, the freedom movements among the emigrants have stirred and toiled for years to promote this idea of the common cause. They feel the same idea animating their people and the resistance movements at home. This team spirit and this deep longing for freedom and this disinterested work for their native countries is what ought to be regarded as an important factor in Western strategy.

The emigrants who make up these movements must not only be thought of as premonitory victims of a tragic fate or impoverished and deplorable refugees; but must also be considered as heralds, and as the living conscience of their tormented peoples; reclaiming liberty and dignity, impatiently waiting for the battle of freedom and ready for any sacrifice, knowing that there is no victory without fighting and no liberation without immolation. A hundred such fighters would equal a thousand Western soldiers, as they have been sufficiently hardened in the fire of the communist hell and have known the malice of bolshevism. The native resistance movements and the

surgents, though lacking modern armament, would kindle rebellions everywhere, as soon as they were sure of support. When the time comes, their fanaticism and defiance of death will not only balance, but even outbalance the lack of modern equipment.

The firm determination of the suppressed millions to fight, has created a third power. The resistance movements can be a real second front, able to be decisively active when required. This is the vulnerable point of the Soviets, and the West had better give more heed to this point of its strategy than at present.

The Kremlin is sufficiently aware, from Russian history, what this rebellious potency of subjugated people means for the functioning of its power apparatus.

The Soviet-rulers are equally conscious of the fact that this hostile power was increased by the expansion of the Soviet rule over new nations, and do not indulge in illusions as to the efficiency of a possible explosion.

In fact, this power permeates invisibly all domains of Soviet rule. Resistance and hatred against the Soviet Russian alien regime is lurking in all offices, parties and even the Red Army. Therefore, the bolshevik regimes endeavour everywhere to deaden the souls of nations and men by all possible means. Therefore, convict prisons have been made out of countries conquered, as they know very well that these are time-fuse atomic bombs with their fuses still in the West.

But, whereas in the West only the necessity of suffocating all communist activity and eradicating Moscow's fifth columns and encountering bolshevik ideology trustingly with a common telling idea is spoken of, the bolshevisation of the nation behind the Iron Curtain is advanced ruthlessly and with full force. Hundreds of thousands are deported, the indigenous culture of the nations is obliterated, terrorism is intensified. All these measures are undermining the explosive force of the said atomic bomb, as the belief of the subjugated in the good will of the West is weakened, the soil for psychological warfare may become arid.

The whole of the Western world is menaced by ruin. No nation can hope for escape, if thinking only of its own protection. Only cooperation and the united front of all nations — the free as well as the subjugated — can be successful in the long run. A military power with central authority only, in cooperation with the potency of the subjugated nation, can abolish the bolshevik danger and save the world.

It is evident, that defence along the Rhine or even along the Pyrenees will not be effective. There must be offensive operations right into that space where the second front of the subjugated nations can take action and cooperate with the Western forces.

The well-known British military writer, General Fuller, recently expressed the opinion that, of course, it was very important to increase the military forces of the West, but it was even more important to grant the subjugated nations that aid which was necessary to establish a second front behind the Iron Curtain. He laid particular stress on the significance of this latent second front as a mighty strategic instrument without prejudice to the Atlantic Pact.

In concluding this article it may be stated: If the Western powers want to win the next war without losing the peace once more, they will have to bring their strategy to conform with the demands mentioned above, which in principal coincide with the aims and ideas of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). In fact, the A.B.N. embodies the common front of all subjugated nations and their resistance movements within the Soviet Russian domination, the significance of which must not be disregarded by any sensible man. The A.B.N. is, therefore, just the organisation, which may lay claim to considerable Western aid, and that in the express interest of the Western powers themselves and, furthermore, of the whole world.

### Attitude Towards C.C.A.C.

The Conference confirms the will of the Caucasian Organization to carry on a decisive fight to overthrow Soviet tyranny and welcomes the co-operation in this respect with all national and international organizations recognizing the right to the restoration of the independence of the Caucasian Republics and other state foundations on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Conference regrets, however, the impossibility of working with the Co-ordination Centre of the Anti-bolshevik Campaign (C.C.A.C.), constituted in Munich on October 16, 1952, and declares that neither the before-mentioned nor the association of Wiesbaden of November 7, 1951, recognize the principles of a recognition of the restoration of the independence of the Caucasian Republics unconditionally.

The Co-ordination Centre of the anti-bolshevik Campaign grants that right only to the Baltic States and is evidently taking a stand that is in contradiction to historical facts and the express will of the Caucasian peoples, contained in the Declaration of Independence given in 1918.

The Conference strongly disapproves of the behaviour of those Caucasians who signed the convention of Wiesbaden and Munich in the name of unknown and but recently founded organizations, together with other organizations which do not recognize the unconditional restoration of the Caucasian Republics and thus attempt to make the restoration of the sovereignty of the Caucasian Republics an inner-Russian concern.

The Conference expresses the hope that representatives of the states and organizations, including the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia concerned with the national problem within the U.S.S.R., will be led by the just democratic principle of self-determination of the peoples as laid down in the Atlantic Charter.

**Prince of Tokary, Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz**  
former Minister and Ambassador of Ukraine

## Make the Black Sea a Bridge-head of Peace

*The Black Sea area has been, and still is, a critical field in world politics. This is in consequence of the Russian imperialistic efforts, which interfere with vital interests of the world powers in this sphere; which deprive the neighbour nations of Russia of their independence and peace and impair their friendly terms by playing them off against each other.*

*Turkey, in particular, had to consider these permanent tensions in their policies, as it played the thankless part of a guard at the important strategic place, along side the straits, always having an eye on the imperialistic urge of Russia towards the Mediterranean.*

*Paradoxical as it may seem, the proper Black Sea peoples, who have lived on the shore all the time, are willing to live in peace as a good team, in particular as best economical and political premises are given; Russia, however, made them objects of its imperialistic policies, though the Russian people in itself has no ethnographical connection whatsoever with the Black Sea.*

*Especially Ukrainians, Georgians, North-Caucasians, Cossacks, Aserbaijanians had to suffer from these circumstances and were the first victims of Russian pressure towards the Black Sea. Only after their incorporation, as well know, could Russia act as a state having interests in the Black Sea. A further step of converting this important sea into a Russian lake was the recent subjugation of Rumania and Bulgaria. All the pressure of Russia and its satellites in this area decisive for strategy is now exerted on Turkey alone, thus charging it with a grave and awkward duty in the forthcoming contest.*

*Foreseeing this fatal development and knowing their common interests, initiatives were early taken among the Black Sea peoples proper, supported especially by Ukraine in the North and Turkey in the South, aiming for a pax pontica, i. e. a Black Sea Peace Pact, which the other Black Sea nations wished to join. It was intended to neutralize the Russian pressure and to resolve this field of controversies and conflicts of world policies into a factor of peace. Now, that these thoughts are again one of the first-rank political topics, we quote in the following some records on the subject by Prince of Tokary, the former minister of free Ukraine, who is also Ukrainian ambassador in Constantinople and is one of the creators and formers of the said initiative. (Ed.)*

As early as autumn 1917, a congress of the Black Sea nations was convoked at Kyiv to tighten their neighbourly relations. In 1919, the Ukrainian foreign minister K. Maziyevich, proposed to form an alliance of the Caucasian and the Cossack peoples with Ukraine, which Rumania etc. were to join later. This alliance was, first of all, to be recognized by Turkey and the victorious powers after the first world war. Negotiations referring to this also took place then in Odessa with the headquarters of the unfortunate French landing, which, according to Marshall Franchet d'Esperey's own words, "knew nothing about the affairs of the East in general and of Ukraine in particular.

A circumstantial memorandum of the Ukrainian government was then forwarded to the Peace Conference in Paris, but was disregarded as expected.

The so-called Entente was not only not delighted, then, by the idea of a Black Sea federation, but granted substantial support to Denikin, Wrangel and other restorers of "the united and in-

divisible Russian Empire". The fruits of this "Great Russian unity" so re-established and consolidated can be seen now.

Then already, in 1919, there were two conceptions to settle the affairs of eastern Europe. The one was, to maintain the unity of the Russian Empire, and the other, to divide it up into independent national states. There was no other possibility and none has been found up to the present, as there is no other solution, in fact, beside this alternative.

Then, it was the first conception which prevailed on the political market of the West and still contravenes the conception of the A.B.N. This may account for the fact that the A.B.N. does not yet receive all the sympathy it deserves.

Some people may worry about the dissolution of the Russian Empire and still prefer now, to support ideas of such Russian emigrants as the so-called "Coordination Centre or the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign" (C.C.A.C.). This conception it was which has resulted in such "fortunate" consequence as we experience now.

Yet the Ukrainians, as well as all other subjugated and concerned peoples, have not at all been discouraged by the ignoring of their conception in 1919. The representatives of their foreign policy have changed, but the principal conception, in particular the idea of forming a Black Sea alliance, revived in 1921. Ukrainian government then instructed its ambassador in Constantinople to resume the plan and to make the Black Sea states, i. e. their governments and deputations in exile, cooperate. As now, the view of Turkey on this initiative played an important figure then.

It is clear, that the Ukrainian ambassador, when fulfilling his commission and negotiating with the Caucasian and Cossack representatives on the subject, had to give close consideration to the Turkish standpoint. Even in the government of the Sultan at the Sublime Porte, there were such politicians of the old system at that time as Damad Ferid Pasha, Tewfik Pasha, Marshal Ahmed Izzet Pasha and Sefa Bey, who signed the peace treaty with Ukraine in Brest Litovsk. All these men grasped well the advantage for Turkey "when Russia was no longer on the shores of the Black Sea", i. e. when the Russians were restricted to their ethnographical territory.

The sultanage, however, was about to fall and the core of Turkish circles sympathized with Ukrainian endeavours to form a Black Sea alliance

### Election of the Presidency of the Hungarian Liberty Movement

The Central Presidency of the Hungarian Freedom Movement, which represents the Hungarian people and its fight for liberation as a member of the A.B.N., has been newly elected for the next three years, pursuant to its statutes based on democratic principles.

General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak has been re-elected first chairman. Co-chairmen: Jozef Nyirö, Dr. Lajos Liptay and Emil Jusztly.

Members of the Central Council are: Istvan Andreanszky (Belgium), Dr. Ferenc Horvath (Morocco), Imre Kalman (Austria), Dr. Jozsef Szappanos (England), Prof. Dr. Vilmos Szepesvaralyay-Haendel, Dr. Tibor Thorma and Dr. Sandor Zayzon (Germany). Thus the intellectual and political élite of Hungary is represented in the newly elected committee and that by the following representative persons: a vice-president and member of the last constitutional parliament, a member of the last Hungarian Upper House, a writer of worldwide fame, a high-ranked officer, a university professor, publicists, journalists etc.

The new combination of the Central Council of the Hungarian movement of Freedom is a further and sure guarantee for the successful continuation of the fight against Bolshevism in order to deliver Hungary, as well as all other subjugated countries and peoples, belonging to the A.B.N.

including Turkey. There were many like-minded among the followers of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and in the circles of the editors of the "Ifham" and the "Vakat" from among whom some ambassadors and ministers of our time have come.

The endeavours for a Black Sea Pact have been continued and on July 28, 1925 an alliance between the Caucasian republics and Ukraine was concluded, similar to the Treaty of Constantinople of November 1921.

This prospective conception, which Ukrainians tried to realize, is now shared and taken to heart by all the deputies of all nations of the A.B.N. and considered to be the sole honest and constructive base for solving the problems of the East in general and of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean in particular. To exclude the Russian intruder, this way, from the shore of the Black Sea will meet the general interest and give lasting peace to this territory.

It has been, and still is nowadays, one of the main problems of world politics, how to restore the normal status of the Black Sea as a part of the Mediterranean; how to make it equally free and prevent its becoming a Russian lake. Many a politician of the past, like Count Walewski, the foreign minister of Napoleon III, owed his career to this question, whereas others — David Urquhart is an instance in point — broke their necks on it. But, however the problem is to be solved, the Turkish republic will nowadays play a decisive part in it.

In summer 1952, R. Stephens, the noted correspondent of the London "Observer" in Ankara, expressed his pleasure about the new Turkey, which had come up to a totally western structure, and laid particular stress on the influence of American aid. Considering the great innovations in the civil and, still more, the military domain, General Ridgway had good reason to state in Paris recently, that none of the 14 armies of the N.A.T.O. would be better than the Turkish, which is not astonishing in view of all the great deeds by Turkish soldiers. There can be no doubt about the value and importance of Turkey as a military factor in the forthcoming war.

Yet, however great the military force of Turkey may be, it has to rely on other factors and forces in the East, namely its natural allies, to protect its Persian border, where something may happen at any moment, or its borders towards Iraq or Syria, where the Russians make their influence felt.

Recently the news was spread by the press, that Great Britain and Turkey fully agreed as to a possible line of defence and some people are glad about the fact that Turkey succeeded in convincing the N.A.T.O. members, that the Near East has to be defended on the shortest front of the Caucasus. To this end Turkey shall be assisted by the Arabian states.

But the well-known English military writer, General H. G. Martin, speaks of a line of defence from Batum to Basra and takes account of Turkey on this long frontline with partly very unreliable basis positions. From this line, however, no immediate contact between the Turks and related peoples behind the Iron Curtain could be closed, whereas the enemy would have free play to take up connections with the Kurds and other movements on both sides of the border line.

Thus political forethought appears, on strategic plans already, as important as a military force, and we hope that the Turks will make use of their political prudence, which held good for the 500 years of their Osmanian Empire.

And so we have returned to the said idea, that an agreement of Turkey with its close neighbours on the Black Sea is necessary and not less important than that among the Arabian States. But then Turkey must candidly profess the principle: "that there is no Russia on the Black Sea". as did the ministers of the Sultan in 1921. Certainly, every honest Turk sympathizes with the struggle of the suppressed peoples in Russia who have so many relatives of Turks among them, and with the programme of the A.B.N. for the restoration of independent national states and with

Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn

## Science in the U.S.S.R.

### I. Linguistics

Of all the scientific subjects cared for, or merely tolerated, in the Soviet Union, probably none has undergone such a far-reaching change in the last few years as linguistics, and for that reason we shall begin this short article with that branch.

The booklet published by the almighty and no less "omniscient" Comrade Stalin, in 1950, "*Marxism and the Problem of Linguistics*" which of course, possesses dogmatic validity for every Soviet linguist, down to the most insignificant teacher of grammar or foreign languages (in so far as he does not wish to be stamped as a "people's enemy and political criminal"), has not only changed the directives, but also the content of what was understood by the Soviets as philology, and that thoroughly. Not, however, methods of the state and party control — that is never done without. And when Stalin reproaches the "Japhetic" school, — to which he is antagonistic, or to put it plainly, which he has forbidden, — of the late Professor N. Marr, that it has introduced an "Arakcheyev regime" in linguistics (in Russian idiom that means a senseless and ruthless police regime), he overlooks the fact on purpose that it was the Soviet state and party authorities which not so long ago supported N. Marr and his school by the systematic extirpation of his scientist opponents.

The matter is so, Professor Nikolaus Marr, by birth a Georgian, member of the Russian Academy of Science before the revolution and, moreover, a highly meritorious specialist in the field of Georgian and Armenian palaeography and the investigation of sources, who in 1920 had not the slightest idea of Marxism, (he was all enthusiasm for raising the Georgian literary language to the every day language of all Caucasian peoples and tribes), began, in the middle of the twenties, to mix up radical Marxist principles more and more in the "Japhetic doctrine" he had excoagitated himself, in order to impress the uneducated heads of the Soviet cultural policy" and with their assistance, to rout the recognized historical and comparative science of language as an anti-Marxist and "bourgeois" theory. In a few years he succeeded: maintaining that language, at bottom, was not a national, but a class matter, no tool for mutual understanding, but one for class warfare, all changes in language life took place "by leaps and bounds" (i. e. according to the laws of Marx-Engels dialectics). It was just such arbitrary and irresponsible assertions that procured Marr and his followers, at the time, tremendous esteem among those concerned with "Soviet culture", although it was clear to everyone with a knowledge of linguistics that Marr's whole "theory of language", disguised as it was in the phraseology of Marx, was only a means to an end and that end was to achieve official recognition for his "Japhetic" heresy.

Now, however, Stalin himself has thrown over that whole phraseology, declaring flatly: no, language is first of all a national matter, though sometimes used in class warfare; it belongs neither

a fraternal cooperation in the subsequent peacetime. And one should not try to cool such feelings.

But it is necessary, basing on this conception, to prepare and realize cooperation, by making use of the numerous emigrants from behind the Iron Curtain. Courageous and well equipped as the soldiers may be, strategic key-positions and war mechanism alone will not suffice. In a contest as the forthcoming one will be, one ought to try and win the soul of one's neighbours, who are equally interested in the victory and will be of immense usefulness as potential fellow-fighters.

The defensive position on the Black Sea appears to-day more difficult than ever. The Kremlin has neither forgotten the will of Peter I, nor the privileges according to the Treaties of Montreux, entitling Russia to keep an unrestricted navy in the Black Sea and have it pass through the straits. Albania is now already a Russian base on the Adriatic. Whether the Western powers will succeed under these circumstances, in breaking the Rus-

to the Marxist "economic basis" nor to Marxist "ideological superstructure", as it usually outlives both; without language there is no thinking at all, whether class-conscious or not; furthermore the changes in a language come gradually and slowly, there is no such thing as a "language revolution".

It cannot be denied that Stalin's main theses are fairly harmless, if not banal, and after Marr's eccentricities, sound like a return to commonsense. It is, however, not so simple as all that, or Stalin would not have had to wait twenty years before interfering in linguistic theories. On looking at the matter more closely, we see that Stalin's arguments are suited to the present interests of Soviet Russian national policy: yes, language is a national matter, otherwise how could the superiority of the Russian national language be maintained over other national languages within the Soviet Union and outside it? Language, too, has little to do with class warfare, as in "classless" Soviet Union to-day, there can be no class strife; still less can there be any talk of revolutionary changes coming by "leaps and bounds" under a regime that is concerned first and foremost with its own consolidation and has no wish to hear of any changes at all. Fundamentally Soviet philology remains exactly where it was before Stalin's directives were issued: a handmaid of Russian Soviet national and cultural policy, only with slightly altered prognostic.

With the dethronement of "Marrism", it is true, a great deal of nonsense will be dropped, especially with reference to the peculiar "Japhetic theory" resp. "Japhetidology", as it is more vaguely called. Marr maintained not only that there was a common source for all the languages in the world, but also their essential identity: all words in all languages were derived from four "original elements" — *sal, ber, yon* and *rosh*, which Marr alleges he has "discovered" in the Caucasian languages, and which were originally names of Caucasian races! The Caucasian languages, according to Marr, are a peculiarly "primitive" form of human speech and in consequence every word spoken anywhere in the world *must* be found in the Caucasian languages too.

That such dogma as that has ceased to be obligatory for every language teacher, may well be called scientific progress. For teaching, it is, of course, important, but whether it is so for a renewal of philological studies, may well be doubted. Firstly, Soviet philologists, even in ethnic Muscovite Russia, have been decimated and terrorized to such an extent by 20 years of persecution on the part of "Japhetidologists", that they will certainly prefer to stick to purely practical tasks, i. e. compiling elementary text books and more or less useful dictionaries, to burning their fingers at higher philological studies. It is, of course, much worse for countries and areas occupied by Moscow. In those places, in the thirties, on the pretext of their alleged "bourgeois nationalism" tendencies, — that is, quite apart from the "Japhetic" argument, — philologists were systematically sent to Siberian concentration camps, or straightaway executed. In

sian control of the Black Sea immediately after the beginning of a war, only by military means, in order to prevent surprises, is a question even left unsettled by the English military writer. All the more, besides the pure military possibilities, should all other factors be taken into account to secure the victory. Those factors are, first of all, the national revolts of the non-Russian nations on the Black Sea, the potencies of which should be co-ordinated, now, with the military strength of the N.A.T.O. or the Turkish armed forces by appropriate political agreements.

35 years ago, when the Black Sea conception, congruent with the present aims of the A.B.N., was ignored, Russia ended far behind on the Volga and was playing with Kars and Ardahan. But now the Soviet Union is on the Adriatic in Mons Burhas and almost in Teheran. It simultaneously stands in Berlin and Vienna and looks from China to the Far East. We must avoid the mistakes of the past, now more than ever. Made again, they may be our ruin. This applies especially to the decisive strategic area around the Black Sea.

Ukraine to-day, for instance there are not more than three or four qualified philologists, and they too, have very good reason not to do more in such a perilous field than the government demands of them.

Secondly, it is more than doubtful whether the Soviet government, or Stalin himself for that matter, has any interest in reviving the study of linguistics as such, and there is no question of free, non-political philology, while even for the "un-free" one the boundaries are distinctly limited. Slavistics, for obvious reasons, will have the full benefit of Stalin's book on Marxist philology and, of course, quite in the trend of russification.

Research in the sphere of dialects, especially the Russian, has a certain chance of revival, as a national language policy cannot do without scientific research in dialects, he it only for the purpose of an outwardly credible falsification of the results, in the service of Moscow's consistent tendency in traditional "cultural policy".

### Committee for the Independence of Caucasia

Between the 11th and 15th of December there was a conference of the authorized representatives of the *Azerbaijan National Centre*, the *Georgian National Political Centre* and the *North Caucasian National Committee*, in Munich, to "discuss and work out a basis for a mutual campaign for the restoration of the independence of the Caucasian Republics which in 1920/21 were subdued by an invasion from Soviet Russia and occupied", as the preamble of the declaration issued on the present occasion expressly says.

Perfect unanimity was achieved on all the points under discussion and it was decided to set up a committee to take over representation abroad, and direct the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Caucasia.

The conference stressed the firm will of the Caucasian organizations to fight a decided battle for the overthrow of Soviet tyranny, and the newly elected committee was asked "to co-ordinate its activities with those of the eastern European peoples, Turkistan, etc. in their liberation struggle".

The "Co-ordination Centre for the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign" (C.C.A.C.), recently instituted in Munich was under discussion at the same time, and with regret it was agreed that it would be quite impossible to work with that organization, as it denies the unconditional right of the Caucasians to their republics Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia and North Caucasia. On the other hand, the conference members regard close co-operation with all national organizations and liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia as absolutely necessary.

At the conference the greatest indignation was expressed at the massacre, in 1944, of the Chechen-Ingushen and those in Karachai-Balkarien, in North Caucasia, by the Soviet government, and against the continual genocide in all Caucasian countries a protest was drawn up for the U.N.

### Lost Connections with the Broad Masses

The *Tiesa* Lithuanian communists papers, seeks in an article to revive the disrupted connections to the masses.

"The party organisation of our colchose is not large, but in spite of that it has great influence on the life there. All the important posts are held by communists — in the administration of the colchose, the cattle farm and the "building brigade". The *Tiesa* is delighted at the great achievements of the party members in that sphere, but, at the same time, complains that "by no means is everything attained yet".

One important task for all communists is to strengthen the relations with the masses. The new version of the party statutes recommends strengthening these relations from day to day, a timely study of the wishes and requirements of the working man, and to explain the meaning of party policy and party resolutions to those workers who hold themselves aloof from the party, and always to realize that the strength and invincibility of the party, depends on its unbroken link with the people."

How is it possible that the communist party, even in its own statutes, is forced to urge its members to keep in contact with the broad masses, that is, with the people? The people seem to be going their own way.

## After the Overthrow of Bolshevism

# The Future of the Economic and Social Order of the Subjugated Peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Article by a Ukrainian University Professor from Kyiv

In spite of all the controversies and discussions about the future economic and social order of our world today, a certain fundamental unanimity seems to prevail: liberal economics paired with a suitable intervention of state authority, with due regard to local circumstances and requirements, must serve as the basis for the economic development of nations. This idea holds good also for the development of our countries which are at present the object of cruel social experiments on the part of the Russian bolshevist regime.

The present economic forms forced upon our peoples by the bolshevist system have clearly shown that the full nationalization of all branches of national economy and the complete elimination of private property and private initiative, has resulted in the useless waste of forces of our national economy and social conditions, so that these will not bear a comparison with capitalistic countries. The abolition of private landed property, as well as that of industry, and the introduction of absolute planned economy with the machinery of the market as a regulator of the circulation of production, left out, has not led to raising social conditions but, on the contrary, to an economic depression which can only be called *aperisim*.

After the abolition of bolshevism our peoples will certainly return to the national economic principles prevailing in the western world today, as they appear to them to guarantee the proper development of economic forces and prosperity. The transition to a new liberal system can, of course, only be gradual. For it must not be forgotten that all these countries have lived for 30 years under a completely different system.

The future economics will therefore probably have to be a synthesis between the economic and social experience of the highly developed western European countries and America, on one side, and the specific historical, geographical, economic, social and cultural conditions pertaining to our countries on the other. The main goal to be realized will be on the principal that everyone must be assured of a degree of prosperity which will make it possible for him to live decently and also satisfy his cultural interests.

To attain this aim it will be necessary to resort to the principles of economic life which have proved so satisfactory in western communities, viz. private property and private initiative. To each the chance must be given to do what he likes with his own property, to make free use of the fruits of his labour and to exchange his products without let or hindrance. Private property and free competition must only be limited by state intervention after well considered decisions whether it is in the interest of national economy in general and the individual in particular, in order to maintain a social balance.

*Agriculture* especially will have to be built up according to the principle of medium-sized private estates, a fact which would appeal to a sacred and elementary instinct in our peasants, who have often shed their blood in the defence of their farms, besides, it would also conform to the scientific theories concerning productive and profitable agriculture.

Exception should only be made in the case of a few large farms required for agricultural research and reforms, or to supply certain branches of industry with the necessary raw material. These large estates should remain in the hands of the State.

As regards *industry* there will have to be a combination of a) small and medium businesses becoming private property again, on the payment of a reasonable indemnity to the State; b) large enterprises remaining state property will grant private capital some suitable participation (varied form); c) staple and heavy industry shall belong to the State to prevent any economic upheaval and subsequent social disturbances, such as we have seen in some western countries in our day.

*Trade* must offer private capital a wider margin. That would regulate the market best and contribute to the circulation of goods and also be a spur to the whole field of national economy. In order to stem the negative side of private enterprise, some kind of social form of trade must

be introduced, — the encouragement of co-operative societies.

In the field of *transport*, railways and shipping on the inland seas will probably have to remain the property of the State, while overseas shipping, motorized transport and air lines should be left to private capital.

As to *finance*, the emission institutes will have to be a State monopoly, at the same time they must give co-operative and private banks every possibility to develop, in order to fulfil the tasks set them by national economy in the sphere of credit.

*Social policy* is a subject that will require very careful attention. It must be directed towards the protection of the weak elements of society, who must see in the future State, not only a promoter of the privileged classes, but a just guide in social

life. There are three chief points to be followed:

a) Protection and promotion of agriculture through amelioration and subventions etc.

b) Introduction and organization of all kinds of social security: unemployment, disablement, old age, illness, accident insurance, etc. General social legislation for the protection of labour, regulation of minimum wages, and maximum working hours.

c) The liberty to establish trade unions in all branches of work, and to take an active part in them.

The whole complex of social security measures must awaken a sense of economic protection. The workers in our future states are not to feel that they are objects of exploitation by the state, or mere robots for the other social classes, but that they are equal partners in economic life and in the process of production, that they have the same right to cultural institutions as the others. A social atmosphere of that kind will create the conditions for a normal development in our countries.

The above is a draft of the outlines of economic and social structure of our states, in a free future.

Prof. M. W.

(The article does not express the whole opinion of this paper-Ed.)

## Declaration of the All-Caucasian Conference

The authorized representatives of the Azerbaijan National Centre, the Georgian National Political Centre Abroad, and the North Caucasian National Committee assembled in Munich from December 11 to 15, 1952, so as to thoroughly discuss and elaborate the fundamentals for their common fight, in order to re-establish the independence of the Caucasian Republics that were forced to surrender after the invasion of Soviet Russia (R.S.F.S.T.) in 1920/21 and have ever since lived under the yoke of that country.

The members of the Conference unanimously agreed with all actions discussed and decided to prepare the following Declaration:

1) Upon having most thoroughly discussed and examined the international situation, this Conference arrived at the conclusion that, due to the constantly increasing oppression of the Caucasian peoples by Moscow imperialism, aiming at a russification of the Caucasian nations, and due to the increasing resistance displayed by our nations toward the invaders, it is imperative immediately to start common action by the national centers in order to back the fight for the liberation of our home-country, so as to guarantee the unconditional re-establishment of the sovereignties of the Caucasian republics, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, and North Caucasia.

2) After the successful termination of this national fight for liberation and the re-establishment of the sovereignties of the Caucasian republics, this Conference considers a close cooperation on the basis of a Caucasian confederation, to be of greatest importance, and the members of this Conference suggest that the idea of such a confederation be spread and strengthened among the Caucasian nations and the surrounding world.

3) This Conference wishes to bring a fact to the attention of the entire free world: The national problem of the Caucasian Republics is one of the most pressing international problems, and the members of this Conference wish to remind the world that the aggressive policy of the U.S.S.R. did not appear for the first time in 1959, when Poland and the Baltic States were occupied, but already in 1919 with the invasion of Ukraine and the Caucasian Republics that have likewise enjoyed international recognition.

4) This Conference wishes to assure the solidarity of the Caucasian nations with all other civilized nations on this earth, who acknowledge and share the idea of Human Rights as well as the Principles of free nations, anchored in the Atlantic Charter.

5) The members of this Conference appeal to the United Nations and request that action is taken immediately to stop the genocide which

the Caucasian peoples have been particularly cruelly subjected to

6) In consideration of the above mentioned situation this Conference has decided to establish an All-Caucasian Centre under the name of Committee for Caucasian Independence, in order to accomplish the following tasks:

a) Representation of the Caucasian nations and conduct of the national fight for liberation.

b) With the Caucasian peoples' overwhelming desire for freedom this Conference chooses its place on the side of the free world, led by the great democracies of the United States and in Western Europe, and determines that the Committee for Caucasian Independence will actively share the anti-bolshevist fight of all national and international organizations, the participation in which all peoples under the Communist yoke are longing for.

c) This Conference also determines that the Committee for Caucasian Independence will coordinate its activities with the actions of other peoples in Eastern Europe, Turkistan, and other countries that are likewise fighting for their independence and freedom, so as to strengthen the anti-bolshevist battle front. A realization of the independence of all these oppressed nations will insure the principles of true democracy throughout the world.

d) This Conference wishes to stress that the Caucasian peoples do not feel any resentment toward the Russian people as a whole, and that they want to fight Soviet imperialism only, as they are fully convinced that the fall of this despotic régime will not only liberate Caucasian peoples, but will also bring about a liberation of the Russian people.

Finally, this Conference, being deeply moved by the pain and grievances of the Caucasian peoples, wishes to express its fraternal sympathy with all Caucasian sons who have desperately fought against Soviet terrorism on Caucasian soil for 32 years, and praises their heroic endurance. Let us honor all heroes whose blood marks our road to freedom!

Munich, this 15th day of December, 1952.

Presidency of the Conference:

M. E. Rezulzade,  
President of the Azerbaijan National Centre.

R. Gabashvili,  
President of the Georgian National Political Centre Abroad.

A. Magoma,  
President of the North Caucasian National Committee.

W. Glaskow, Chairman of the Supreme Cossack Representation

## Reality in the U.S.S.R. To-Day

Behind all the noisy parades and the whole propaganda apparatus in the U.S.S.R. the really gruesome reality is hidden, which even the bolshevik bigwigs were not able to keep out of their speeches at the XIX Party Congress in Moscow. One becomes still more aware of it on reading between the lines of speeches of the different district leaders, in the so-called autonomous Soviet republics, as well. They are all out to combat "bourgeois nationalism" in its every phase, to educate the masses in the spirit of "staunch friendship for the great Russian people" and the development and deepening of "Soviet patriotism".

There can be no better proof that all non-Russian peoples do not accept without resistance the alien regime forced upon them by Russia, than the assurances of Russian imperialists that there is no sort of resistance, or striving for independence among the non-Russian peoples, when compared with the speeches in Moscow.

In this series of articles we want to show in short, what the true picture of conditions in the U.S.S.R. really is, beginning with the actual existence of determined national resistance.

### I) Combating "national deviations"

In Malenkov's report, as well as in all the speeches of Moscow's stadtholders in the non-Russian republics and lands, emphasis was laid on the necessity of concentrating the attention of party and government on keeping down bourgeois nationalism, which is as much as to say, that in spite of the Argus eyes of the M.V.D. resp. M.G.B., that comes out in all spheres of life. It becomes apparent that under the red cloak of indigenous communists "bourgeois nationalism" or, as it is called the "inclination" thereto lurks. In the name of the Central Committee, Malenkov called upon party members to wage "an implacable fight against every kind of nationalist element, in order to preserve the unity and friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R." Obviously the unity and friendship must be in a bad way if Malenkov feels moved to point out the necessity of protecting the state, army, law courts, and enlightenment activities, against "bourgeois nationalism", and that continually. It seems from that, that the unity and cohesion of the Soviet state must be achieved by potential terrorism and the violence of Soviet Russian authorities.

Even less is a comment required, when we quote Malenkov's words in the following passage. "We are not secure from the penetration of alien views, ideas and feelings, from outside, — from capitalist states, — and from within, — from the remains of hostile groups, above all those with national tendencies, which the party has not entirely eradicated. It must not be forgotten that the enemies of the Soviet State try to disseminate all sorts of unwholesome ideas, warm them up and rekindle them, in order to upset the unstable among us in their ideology". In that Malenkov echoes the statement of the official party paper, *Bolshevik*, in its number 15 of 1952, saying "The appearance of bourgeois nationalism which is injuring the Soviet government and society and must be regarded as the strongest and, politically, the most dangerous enemy, must be brought to bay".

The series of Moscow district leaders branding "bourgeois nationalism" at the Congress was opened in the name of the Ukrainian S.S.R. by the chairman of the Association of Ukrainian Writers, Korneichuk, and closed by the "Cossack" representative Ignatov and Kisselov, from the Don and Kuban district of the chief Cossack countries. Korneichuk, in his fervour, outdid himself, apostrophizing "the great Russian people" as the benevolent "elder brother", not only of the Ukrainian people and of all the other peoples in the U.S.S.R. but also as the noble "brother people", of the Chinese; as much "concerned" as to China's welfare now, as for centuries it had been for its own sister, Ukraine. Then Korneichuk made a furious attack on the Americans and . . . the Ukrainian nationalists.

The Ukrainian people, he said, must not ignore the criminal behaviour of the Americans who had voted hundreds of millions of dollars to organize espionage and "diversions", and for the base purpose of which bandits and monsters had come to

the fore, among them the thrice cursed enemies of the Ukrainian people — the remnants of Petlura and Bandera's followers. The Ukrainian people had not forgotten 1918, he said, when there was a conference at Jassy of the representatives of America, England and France and at which a Petlura minister was present and America gave the Petlura bandits an 11 million dollar credit for which weapons and ammunition was delivered to them. We do not know how much of the hundred million dollars voted for subversive activity against the Soviet Union and the countries of the Peoples Democracies, were available for the Petlura bandits, but there is no shadow of doubt that those servants of Truman's will be exterminated like mad dogs by the Ukrainian People. . . "It must, with regret, be said that in the last few years the fight against relapses into bourgeois nationalism has weakened."

The secretaries of the regional committee of Rostov, Kiselov, and of the committee of Krasnodar, Ignatov, gave evidence, too, of the appearance of bourgeois nationalism in their midst. "These serious errors and shortcomings have been taken note of and definite plans drawn up to correct them." The same tone is to be heard from Moscow's stadtholders in Kirghizia (Razzakov), Turkmenia (Babayev), Usbekistan (Niyazov) and Tadzhikistan (Gafurov). They all declare

### Declaration re C.C.A.C.

## Unanimous Rejection of the Latest Russian Initiative

With reference to the foundation in Munich of a so-called "Co-ordination Centre of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign" (C.C.A.C.) the core of which is formed by groups of Russian emigrants and which is based on American initiative, the authorized political representatives, national centres, and liberation organizations of all non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. wish to make an exhaustive declaration.

The new foundation of the Russian emigrants, announced as an attempt to maintain the unity and indivisibility of the Russian imperium resp. the Russian hegemony, has been unanimously rejected, as it is not compatible with the fundamental principle of the anti-bolshevik liberation struggle being carried on by these peoples for the restoration of their independent national states.

This memorable declaration bears the signatures, of the national representations given below in alphabetical order:

Azerbaijani National Centre,  
Byelorussian National Centre,  
Georgian National Political Centre  
Abroad,  
Georgian Political Organization,  
Georgian National Democratic Party,  
National Turkestanian Unity Committee,  
New Union of Fighters for the Independence of Idel-Ural,  
North Caucasian National Committee,  
Supreme Cossack Representation,  
Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists,  
Union of Ukrainian Monarchists.

The different "splitter" groups of Armenian, Azerbaijani, Georgian, North Caucasian, and Turkestanian emigrants who have declared themselves willing to co-operate with the "Co-ordination Centre" will discover from the Declaration that every legitimate representation of their people is denied them.

Some of the main thoughts contained in this unanimous declaration by the spokesmen

that "traces of nationalism in the ideological work have appeared, in that reactionary figures of the west are idealized and attempts made to preserve the forms of national culture, instead of national tradition in the socialist sense". In the Caucasus it is no better, as Arutinov referred in his speech. "Some years ago in the sphere of history there were signs of bourgeois nationalism in Armenia, in the one-sided idealization of ancient history. With the help of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia the development of this and similar appearances were checked in time."

It is the same story everywhere, in Ukraine, in Turkistan, in Cossackia, in Caucasus, in Byelorussia, in Georgia, as the Georgian, Tzchovrebashwili, and that strange "Byelorussian", Zimyanin, whose name betrays his Russian descent, confirm.

The fact that in all non-Russian areas, even the "slightest trace of bourgeois nationalism" is ruthlessly attacked, while at the same time all over the U.S.S.R. a systematic and consistent attempt is being made to enkindle Russian patriotism and Russian nationalism, with the stress laid on Russian superiority in all things, that the "Russian nation stands out above all others", the glorification of the Russian people as the "leading power in the Soviet Union", as Beria declared, should be noted.

All of which surely testifies that the Kremlin in any future conflict can, when it comes to the point, only depend on the support of the Russian people, while in the non-Russian peoples a deadly menace to its dominion is seen.

(To be continued in a second article)

of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., may be of interest here.

Bolshevism has grown out of a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism. The abolishment of the world menace of bolshevism means combating these two elements at the same time. During the revolution the non-Russian peoples had restored their independent national states which were then destroyed again by the Russian bolsheviks. The same trend is to be seen in the anti-communist Russian emigrants, to-day. For our peoples, the struggle against bolshevism is identical with the struggle against Russian hegemony and indissolubly connected with the restoration of their independence. The fight alone against bolshevism and the communist regime, with the idea of maintaining a "great Russian" empire, will never bring the non-Russian peoples on their feet, or develop their fighting spirit.

With the C.C.A.C., Russian emigrants intend to acquire, now, a predominant position in the liberation campaign and secure the unity of the Russian empire within the present frontiers of the U.S.S.R. for the future. The proceedings providing for an alleged "self-determination" of the people is only a sham, making the fate of the non-Russians dependent on the will of the "All-Russian Constituent Assembly", in the long run.

The programme of the C.C.A.C. grants the non-Russian peoples less than what the Soviet government has officially allowed them, though it is only on paper, The C.C.A.B. cannot represent the non-Russian peoples and their liberation struggle, but only the Russian emigrants and their imperialistic interests.

The declaration closes with the following indirect appeal to the United States and the world:

"We express the hope that the principles of freedom, independence and equality, which have played such a part in the history of the American people, will find application for our peoples too, and that they will be supported by the whole free world in their fight for liberty and independent national states."

## „And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free“

By Aino Torm

(St. John VIII, 32)

These words of the apostle should be taken to heart by the world to-day, and not so much on the other side of the Iron Curtain, as on this side, for on the other side the victims of Soviet tyranny have learnt the truth by experience and felt it on their own bodies. The peoples of the so-called free western world, however, are still caught in the trammels of fatal errors and illusions and are not conscious of the deadly menace of the bolshevist threat to the world which hangs over them day and night.

It is true the West has realized the false policy of Teheran and Yalta through its unhappy consequences. In spite of that, the revelation that what happened at Katyn was hushed up on Roosevelt's orders, so that the "friendship" with the Soviet might not be disturbed, has aroused no little consternation. Behind the Iron Curtain the facts were already known, just as well as the fact that Roosevelt knew of Stalin's fear that Ukraine might make itself independent and endanger the existence of the Soviet empire, on account of which the neutralization of the "separatists" of Ukraine and Byelorussia was agreed to, and a sham representation granted them in the U.N.O. It was known too that after the occupation of the Baltic States Roosevelt would have preferred, in consideration of the "delicate character" of the question, not to tamper with the validity of the elections there. It was Stalin himself, in the triumph of his victory, who spread these facts through whispered propaganda among the peoples concerned, foreseeing that at no distant time, the West would be against his expansion, Stalin sought to paralyse the centrifugal powers, to shake confidence in the free world and produce a distinctly anti-American feeling. Roosevelt's concessions have cost the peoples delivered up to the Soviet almost as many losses as the Hitler war itself. The more the numbers of victims increase in the course of time the more the people will feel that they have been deserted by the free world. The realization is dawning on them that for the West there are two kinds of justice. They notice that for the injustice meted out to the Jews by Germany, reparations have rightly been demanded, while no one in the West dreams of demanding reparations for them, though they have quite as good a right, for the injustice done to the peoples at Teheran and Yalta, by surrendering them to the bolshevists as slaves.

Bitterness is spreading because now, just as in Hitler's time, there are masters and under dogs, the latter being treated as slaves with whom it is beneath one's dignity to speak, much less consider their wishes. The tenor, too, of the western broadcasts intended for those peoples adds to their disappointment, for their longing and their right to freedom and independence is merely dumped into the Russian stew. The broadcasts are supposed to bring the "truth" to the peoples of the Soviet Union, but over there everyone knows it and is waiting and hoping for the day when the free western world will grasp the truth and acknowledge it, and all that it means. The propaganda, however, in these broadcasts seems to act as a concave mirror and reflect back to its starting point — a united, indivisible Muscovite imperium.

The peoples behind the Iron Curtain hunger and thirst to hear the voices of those who are the symbols of resistance for them, words alone have long lost any value where deeds do not follow.

Accounts about life in the free world have no interest for the people behind the Iron Curtain, they are regarded as an insult to the less fortunate.

The number of organized communists in the world to-day is some 19 million, 7 million fall to the Soviet Union, 6 million of whom are Russians. The number of communists in the satellite states is about 7 million, more than half of that number are to be found in the Soviet zone of Germany, Poland and Hungary, the rest is divided among the nations of the free world, France and Italy leading and Ireland bringing up the rear. To that number, the disguised communists in the West must be added, whose duty it is, according to Dimitroff when speaking at the VII Cominform Congress in 1935, "to infiltrate into the non-communist groups and defeat them from within". One of the most important tasks they have to fulfil is to guide the anti-bolshevik movement on

to a false course, agreeable to the Soviets. It is all the more difficult to unmask their insidious agitation, as they maintain no direct connection with their employers, thus they can only be known "by their fruits".

There is only one way by which the free world can prevent the undermining of the anti-bolshevik struggle by Stalin, and that is to leave the waging of the psychological war to those who can legitimize themselves as spokesmen for the effective resistance movement behind the Iron Curtain, and as representatives of the national affairs of their people. It is only the men who enjoy the full confidence of the people at home who, with the support of the West, can restore the hope of the much-trying, disappointed people in the Soviet Union and arouse once more their confidence in the good will of the free world.

That is the basic truth which the West has to learn.

### What Lies Behind the Staged Trial in Prague

As with all the staged trials held by communists, in this case too, the real core of the matter does not lie in what is brought out during the proceedings, but rather in things concealed behind the scene. Everyone knows that Moscow is not particular as to the means used to gain the end in view. Just as the Kremlin has millions of innocent people murdered, when it is to its interest to do so, it does not hesitate a minute about liquidating the most prominent and approved communists for some political purpose.

And thus it was with the last Prague trial staged against Slansky, Clementis and their comrades, for it was not a case of Titoist i. e. "national communist" deviations, as, of the 14 accused, no fewer than 11 were of Jewish descent, nor were they Trozkyists, as all the accused, up to the very last, had marched with Stalin, heart and soul. It seems just as futile to explain the case by any Zionist motives, for all the condemned Israelites were faithful communists. That being the case, the question arises, why were they really condemned?

The answer is not far to seek. In Bohemia as well as in Slovakia, conditions are rapidly worsening and the standard of life is sinking disastrously. The general distress has caused bitterness

### Bolshevization and Russification are Siamese twins!

If anyone sets out hand in hand with Russians to fight bolshevism, he is sure to lose!

and discontent, even a spirit of revolt among the population. Under such circumstances it seemed advisable to find a black sheep to blame for the unbearable situation and by slaughtering it to give the people a safety valve for sheathing discontent.

It is not that alone, for the merciless execution of such well deserved, highly placed communists of the Czechoslovak "People's Republic" is to serve as a warning, not easily forgotten, so that no one in the country will dare to think of resistance or even protest against communist maladministration, although the population has been brought to the brink of despair by the regime.

With regard to the accused of Jewish descent, it may be that some suspicion of a possible inclination towards the west played a role. Nevertheless these death sentences have more the nature of a radical preventive measure than penance for an actually committed crime against the state. All in all, the executioners in Prague were cast for a preventive role. Besides which, all such periodical, ever-repeated "liquidations" of the highest dignitaries in all countries dominated and ruled by bolshevism are the usual measures taken to strengthen the position of the Kremlin when it deems it necessary.

The sentence on Clementis is in so far a special case, as during World War II he lived as an exile in London, so that one might suppose some west-

ern connections. That is what, in the course of general prevention the Prague trial aimed at and which probably sealed his fate as "traitor".

If these inglorious events in Prague needed a final word it would be, to say that all the condemned were pacemakers of bolshevism in Czechoslovakia and, until yesterday, despots depending on Moscow, having so much responsibility for the worst kind of crimes that one can only say that they more than deserved to die. If they had not fallen into disgrace they would never have done the least to abolish the communist regime, but would only have sought to strengthen it. There is therefore no reason to regret, much less cry over, their well-deserved fate.

All signs point to a new staged trial against Slovak "bourgeois nationalists" in Bratislava.

F. D.

### The Cossacks Recall their Independence

December 10th, 1952, the Cossacks celebrated the 35th anniversary of their independence, and on January 10th, they will celebrate the union of all the independent Cossack Republics by the Supreme Parliament in the State of Cossackia. The Cossacks are very proud of their national anniversary, which symbolizes their love of freedom.

Since the beginning of the revolution in 1917 they have never considered it their task to fight for any Russian government, but only for the liberation of their country and for the reinstatement of their own independent state. As early as May 1917, the Cossacks had general, free, secret and direct parliamentary elections in all their countries. The parliaments held their sessions from May 26th to June 19th and reserved for themselves all sovereign rights of decision concerning questions of Cossack life. This of course, owing to the existence of a central Russian power, was in a sense a provisional government. The parliaments, without regard to the Russian government, restored all the sovereign Cossack rights.

When the provisional government was dissolved by the bolsheviks, the Cossack government had already proclaimed full state independence and this step was then confirmed by the parliaments, December 10th, 1917. The new Russian government refused to recognize that fact and began a war against the Cossacks which continued for years. August 1st 1918 new free elections were held. At a congress August 15th to September 15th 1918, a new constitution was accepted and all state offices such as president, cabinet, senate etc. were established. Laws, finance, army, education etc., were instituted. At the same time the whole population was fighting desperately against bolshevism and for the preservation of their own freedom and independence.

The process of uniting all Cossack Lands into one state continued all the time. January 5th 1920, the Supreme Cossack Parliament was convened, attended by elected deputies from all the Cossack republics, and on January 10, 1920, the union of the republics into one state was solemnly proclaimed.

Even the terrible alien Moscow domination has not been able to overcome the firm determination of the Cossacks to attain, in the long run, their own independent state. The many sanguinary insurrections are proof enough of that fact.

During World War II the Cossacks again showed their will to freedom and independence, and that was recognized by a declaration issued by the German government November 10th, 1943, saying that the Cossack people had a right to its own state.

Now, too, the Cossacks are fighting in exile, as well as at home, for their ideals — the freedom and independence of the Cossack people and their homeland Cossackia.

W. G.

### Resistance Against Oppression

According to the latest news from Bulgaria, reporting partisan activities, a number of attacks have been made recently on party functionaries, militia sentries and ammunition depots, especially in the Rhodope Mountains, by resistance groups. The partisans are well armed and abundantly supplied with provisions, as the country folk take care of that. Militia units called up against the partisans often fall into ambush and suffer heavy losses.

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## BOHEMIA

### UNDER THE SIGN OF THE "DOVE OF PEACE"

Along the Czechoslovakian — Bavarian frontier and, chiefly, along the Czechoslovakian — Austrian frontier, wide fortifications are being erected. A perfect net of tank traps, mine-fields, signals is being laid and three more rows of barbed wire are being drawn. For the last four months feverish work has been going on, preparing, fortifying and camouflaging the frontier forts built in 1938.

Special attention has been given to the sector of Brezlav—Bratislava. All the work in that sector is being carried out by the garrison of Brezlav, and the same garrison has undertaken the frontier work in the area of Devinske Nova Ves, Devinske Jezero, Vysoka near Morava and towards the north.

Repairs and camouflage are done in this way, that loopholes facing Austria and Hungary remain as they were, the field of approach is filled with stones piled up like roofs, and kept in place by cement, then covered with earth and sown with grass. The forts are being given a thorough overhaul, all inside equipment renewed and all provided with double steel doors. The inner doors have iron grills outer ones are of heavy armour plates and have strong padlocks. Those forts which are finished, are well provided with weapons, ammunition and provisions.

In the fortified frontier area, restaurants and dwelling houses have been requisitioned for offices, military hospitals, army quarters and storehouses (clothing, light weapons and ammunition).

I. B.

## BULGARIA

### RESISTANCE AND REPRISAL

A report of General Georgi Zankoff, minister of home affairs in the Bulgarian People's Republic, published in the paper of the Bulgarian communist party, *Rabotnichesko Delo* of September 16, 1952, runs as follows:

"... The enemies try to disorganize industry, transport and agriculture. They are anxious to disturb work, to hamper the fulfilment of the economic plans, to sabotage the new methods of production and perform acts of diversion of all kinds by means of rattening, arson etc. In agriculture they chiefly operate against kolkhoses, machine and tractor pools, endeavouring to cause confusion and to raise discontent among the peasants. They damage agricultural machines and annihilate live-stock and grain supplies etc."

This report admits officially the existence of resistance in the country. According to general information resistance is exerted in three different ways; 1) passive resistance, carried on by individuals secretly sabotaging the divers initiatives of the government; 2) half active resistance, exercised by small groups, joined by braver citizens; peasants and labourers more ready for sacrifice, who, at times, carry out plots against factories and enterprises under state control; 3) active armed resistance revived since the Korean war. The latter is also exerted by small groups consisting of 5 to 10 armed partisans, each troop acting on its own account. Moreover, a great number of people live in the mountains and forests illegally and hidden, making use of each opportunity to join armed troops. The numerous political trials denote also the extent of the existing resistance. No less than 49 legal actions have been taken against "public varminths" and "enemies of the people", and "plots against the state" in the last year alone. 561 persons were condemned; 668 of them were sentenced to death; 28 to life long imprisonment and the rest to 1 to 20 years penal servitude. In these cases mostly followers of all parties banned and dissolved by the regime, and people from all ranks of life were accused and condemned. The trials mostly took place in camera.

More than 60,000 people are held in concentration camps at present, 11,200 persons are detained as political prisoners. Most of them are kept in jail without trial. Since the Soviets have ruled in Bulgaria, no less than 700,000 persons have been interned or compulsorily resettled to remote places.

## BYELORUSSIA

### 170,000 AGITATORS AND COMPLETE FAILURE

The Moscow *Pravda* of December 12, 1952, published the following enlightening report:

Although at present there are more than 170,000 agitators in Byelorussia, the political work in the broad masses (i. e. hammering in of eulogies of Stalin, expressions of admiration of the "great Russian brother" and declaration of loyalty to communism — Ed.) is still far from satisfactory... The direction of the political work among the masses is frequently entrusted to incapable functionaries (obviously scapagoats are sought for, among the agitators for the refractoriness of the population — Ed.)... The success of the agitators among the kolkhose peasants, the workers on new buildings and at machine and tractor stations is nil (an unmistakable sign of the rejection of forced labour methods by Byelorussian peasants and workers — Ed.).

At the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, the Minister of Agriculture, Comrade Kostjuk, concealed several shortcomings in the work of his ministry from his comrades (God help him! — Ed.). The whole council of ministers of the Byelorussian S.S.R. takes very little care as to the work done by the agricultural authorities and has been slack about the discipline of the heads of industry, and administration of the village and kolkhose buildings."

Thus one sees: although thousands of propagandists are at work for the bolsheviks, to make the population docile towards the Soviet Russian system, the colonial exploitation carried on by the Russians is meeting with strong resistance. Therefore 170,000 and complete failure.

## COSSACKIA

### "SHORTCOMINGS", RESISTANCE AND EXPLOITATION

The Moscow *Pravda* of Dec. 10th, 1952 publishes an article by the secretary of the Stavropol, A. Vaskov, in which it is said that the central committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. has reproached the party leaders in Stavropol for great errors and shortcomings. A. Vaskov admits these defects and "swears to do everything to abolish these serious mistakes at once".

The regional secretaries, Kiselev and Grishin, of the Rostov and Stalingrad area, have also admitted many serious mistakes. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. had sharply criticized the labour conditions in the Rostov area, at their plenary meeting in January, and the IX. plenary of the Komsomols in September, called the position of the Komsomols very bad and dangerous. It is reported that bands of young people had formed which hurst into Komsomol evenings and meetings at night and sang songs hostile to the Soviets.

The new Soviet policy is trying by every means to win the sympathy of the Cossacks before the coming world war, but the latter persevere doggedly in their resistance, knowing full well the real attitude of the Soviets and all the horrible methods used, as well as the intolerable life in kolkhoses and industry.

At the same time the disastrous exploitation of the Cossack land continues. From the Rostov region alone, 26 mill. pud more grain have been squeezed out, than in the previous year; from the Kuban area 23 mill. pud of wheat, 33,000 tons of

meat, 130,000 tons of milk, 25,500 tons of cotton, 119 mill. eggs, 50,000 cwt. of cheese, 200,000 cwt. of butter, over 2 mill. cwt. of fish, etc. more than in the previous year. These figures, given by secretary Ignatov in his speech at the party congress, confirm the extent of the disastrous exploitation of the Soviets.

## GERMANY

### WHILE DISCUSSIONS GO ON IN THE WEST...

The Soviet Zone minister for inner German and foreign trade, *Kurt Gregor*, gave a report before members of the Central Committee of the S.E.D. (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) on his negotiations with representatives of the U.S.S.R. government in Moscow. On that occasion Gregor informed his hearers that the government of the Soviet Union showed willingness to arm five divisions of the "national forces" completely, by the end of 1953. Assurances of this sort, Gregor said, had been given him by the deputy minister for armaments of the U.S.S.R., Lieutenant-General *Ryabikov*. As compensation for the deliveries of arms, Gregor went on, the Soviet zone would have to raise the export of machine tools to the Soviet Union considerably, in the coming year.

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From statements made by a member of the state secretariat of the East Zone, the weapon depots, guns, unpolished bayonets, more than 5,000,000 rounds of infantry ammunition and as many cartridges, seem to have been stored there. Moreover there is a store of winter and summer clothing and underclothes for more than 500,000 men. For about 500,000 men too, impregnated material, tilts, fuel and oil, automobile tyres, bandages, and medicines of all kinds are stored separately, as well as knapsacks and belts, steel helmets, gas masks, flasks, bread bags, duffle bags, Wireless and radar equipment, optical appliances, binoculars, electric torches, are said to be in the reserve depots of the state secretariat. From the statements made by the former member of the state secretariat, it would seem that besides cement, building material, sleepers, cables and ropes and utensils for barracks, there are also foodstuffs, especially tinned goods, imported butter, lard and fat, margarine, oil and sugar, stored.

The 14 detachments of the newly formed state secretariat are directed by S.E.D. functionaries. The Soviet Zone Minister of the Interior, *Willi Stopf* (S.E.D.), has the administration of the stores.

I. W. E.

## LITHUANIA

### WHERE IS THE "KATYN" OF THE LITHUANIAN OFFICERS?

Under the above headline, the Lithuanian newspaper in Great Britain, *Britanijos Lietuvis*, published the following report on November 6, 1952:

From the remainders of the Lithuanian army that the bolsheviks had cut to pieces, the Russians formed the 617th Howitzer Regiment as part of the "Baltic Corps", stationed at Lentvaris. In May 1941, the regiment was ordered to manoeuvres at Varena. But soon the the real sense of these "military exercises" became known. The Lithuanian army was on the way to its grave.

At first the high-ranking officers were taken away. During the whole month of May and half of June, officers and non-commissioned officers continually disappeared from the tents. In the night of June 17, 1941, large numbers of officers were arrested and taken in Russian trucks to a remote wood, which was encircled by strong Russian military forces.

Returning drivers reported that the officers had been received in the wood by the N.K.V.D. They had been searched and deprived of everything, then removed to the railway station at Varena and entrained in goods wagons "for transport to Russia". It was learned later from railway men that the transport stopped in a large forest near Minsk and the officers were taken out of the train in small groups.

On June 18, a panic arose among the Lithuanian soldiers on the training ground. They had heard that their officers had been shot at Varena, or had been murdered on the banks of the Merkys. When the unrest among the troops was noticed, the regimental commissioner, Michailoff summoned the remaining leaders together and declared that the officers deported had been fascists and capitalists, with relations to the Western powers and thus deserved Stalin's punishment, that is annihilation. They did not deserve compassion and would never return.

Similar statements were made by the Politruck of the 1st battery, Dubhoff. Dubhoff warned his hearers they had better forget all about it and work in the Stakhanov way, if they did not wish to meet with a similar fate.

#### "FLOWERY LAND"

"The victory of the kolkhose system in the Republic is final and irrevocable. In the Lithuanian villages, the system of socialist economy prevails. Farms are provided with an enormous number of agricultural machines."

(Extract from a report of the party secretary, Snyeschkus, at the VII Conference of the L.C.P. (b) from the bolshevist paper, *Tiesa*, No. 232 of Sept. 30, 1952.)

Three days later the same *Tiesa* says, in No. 235 of Oct. 3, 1952: "As regards the autumn sowing, the position on the collective farms is no better. The kolkhose has two horse threshing machines and a sowing machine with tractor, but the machines are not used, on the contrary, the sowing is done by hand. The seed is of bad quality. The situation is the same in "Soviet Samogitia", "Samogitian Land", "Flowering Land" and in a number of rayon collectives. It has been repeatedly discussed at meetings of the executive committee of Rayon."

Comment superfluous. In spite of the enormous number of agricultural machines, the old bourgeois methods of their forefathers are practised, and the seed goes into the "flowering earth" from the horny hands of the Lithuanian peasant, now walking bent as a slave of Soviet "socialism", through the fields he once called his own.



#### U.P.A. COURIERS KILLED

A special communiqué given out by the Czechoslovakian ministry for State Security and reported by A. P. and dpa, announces that on the railway line Carlshad—Eger, three members of the "Russian" underground movement "Bendar" have been shot by the Security Police. Fire had been opened by the "Russians" who were fleeing to the west. On one of the men shot, Soviet automatic pistols, maps and secret documents were found.

These men were obviously members of the Ukrainian underground resp. resistance fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) who are often called "Banderivzi" after the well-known Ukrainian nationalist leader Bandera, and who in the course of the last few years have repeatedly undertaken sorties towards the West, or acted as couriers from home. It is a strange thing that, although that fact is perfectly well-known in the West, press agencies and newspapers still publish distorted and confusing reports about it, so that these Ukrainian national revolutionaries are put down as "Russian underground" and that even the man they represent, Bandera, is rechristened "Bendar" and stamped as a "Russian".

✱

#### ONE DEATH SENTENCE AFTER THE OTHER

The end of November 1952, a military tribunal at Kyiv condemned the former director of the Kyiv Trade Distribution Centre, Kh. A. Khain, and his assistants Y. E. Yaroshetzky and D. I. Herson to be shot. Two other fellow-workers, M. S. Ruschenko and the forwarding agent of the district cooperative society of Kharlyk, were condemned to 25 years imprisonment and deprivation of civil rights for 5 years.

According to the indictment all the condemned had "an obscure anti-Soviet past" and for some time had practised "counter-revolutionary" activity in the Trade and Economics section.

## Aspects of Siberia

By Klym Pravydych

Every traveller, no matter what his nationality, who goes from the European part of the U.S.S.R. to Chelabinsk will be struck by the feeling that he is in another continent and in a new world. That is the puzzling, hardly definable atmosphere peculiar to Siberia...

Even in Tsarist times the Siberians lived in their own way and took little interest in the life of European Russia. As late as in 1912 there were whole villages and small towns whose inhabitants had no idea at all of what had happened in Russia since the end of the 18th century. East Siberia and especially the Kamtchatka had no connections with Russia and even the Russian officials stationed there, adapted themselves in the course of time, in character and habits to the people and their memories of Russia faded away.

The attempt to use the native population and the Eskimos for the defence of Kamtchatka, by calling them up for military service or as scouts, was a failure, and it was the same with the Eurotes, Yakuts and Golden. In Tsarist times Orthodox missionaries tried to convert them to Christianity, but without much success. The baptized, after several baptisms, frequently returned to their Shamanism. The efforts of the Soviet government to combat Shamanism proved in vain so the indigenous religion was left undisturbed.

The Eskimos, Golden, Yakuts, Buryats, Einos, Tartars and Tungusen (the last are called Manchurians in China) are not alone counted as aboriginals, but also all who are born in Siberia: the descendants of the exiles as well as settlers and officials who have gone to Siberia and stayed there.

Newcomers are not liked and are often received with the question "Did you come to us because you had not enough bread at home?"

It is something of a paradox that, although newcomers from the European centre of the U.S.S.R. are not well received, or even meet with hostility, the Siberian regiments, to-day just as in the time of the Empire, are regarded as the elite. That may be explained in part by the fact the officers and commanders of the Siberian regiments and even the detachments, which were made up of Cossacks, were sent from outside, i. e. from European Russia, while the cadets of the military school at Irkutsk were employed as officers in garrisons in the European parts of the country. There is another point as well that explains the morale of the Siberian troops on European fronts and that is, that they feel strange in Europe and aliens to the Europeans; all the more so as their Mongolian appearance and the peculiarity of the way they speak Russian sets them apart. That is why the Siberians fight hard and do not desert to the enemy, towards whom they have an instinctive feeling of hostility.

The Kremsin is perfectly aware that the inimical attitude of the Siberians towards the representatives of the state might turn at the first opportunity into hostility towards Russia. For that reason the Soviet government is building its great industrial centres in the Urals, or on the borders of Siberia, lying close to the Urals, whereas the vast Siberian area is mainly exploited and used as a reservoir of all kinds of rich mineral deposits. To counter-balance the centrifugal tendency of the Siberians, Moscow is trying to fill the country with newcomers from Europe. In the air force and the tank detachments in Siberia only proved party members serve. Only infantry and cavalry detachments, and not even all of them, are recruited from Siberians.

The Soviet government has certainly not forgotten that Marshal Bluecher's attempted insurrection was based chiefly on the hostility of the Siberians against the U.S.S.R. In 1917 too, at the time of the revolution, Siberia's desire for independence was manifested. The Siberians, at that time, called their regional parliament which claimed full autonomy and its own diplomatic and commercial representation. Far eastern Siberia existed then for quite a long time as an independent republic.

The attempts to maintain Siberia's independence were frustrated by the lack of proper communications to bridge the vast distances between the large settlements, and because Japan was averse to the consolidation of Siberian autonomy and worked against it. Japan apparently feared

that an independent Siberia might become a protectorate of the U.S.A., especially as there had always been a certain inclination thereto in Siberia.

Due to its rich minerals the country has an enormous commercial potential. The small area alone of Altai, with its capital Barnaul, has always been famous as a treasure house for wheat, furs and agricultural products. Now there are large industrial plants there for tractors, textiles, tinned goods, etc. The aboriginal population consists of Tartars, Eurotes and Kirghizians. The ground is rich in nitrogen and very fertile. The aromatic honey of Altai is known all over the world. The fauna in this area is peculiar to it too, for example, blue squirrels and a special kind of reindeer which in some places is bred for sale to Mongolia and China. The sugar-beet harvest is abundant and of excellent quality. Before the last war there were four large sugar refineries in Altai with an average daily output of 2½ cwts. There is no lack of coal deposits, metals, gold, silver and precious stones. At Lake Balchash there are rich deposits of copper and near Rudorovsk a tin foundry. Large quantities of chromium, manganese and, according to recent information, uranium have been mined.

Siberian "separatism" is still, to-day, a danger for the Soviet Union, there is no doubt, and is probably the reason for the wave of arrests that swept through Siberia in 1937 and 1941. Ukrainians and their families were the chief sufferers, as they were regarded as the promoters of Siberian "separatism", and held responsible, although such tendencies and aspirations are by no means confined to the Ukrainian population. In any case the situation is such that at the first favourable opportunity an independent Siberian state could be established without hesitation. The ground for independence is prepared by a state tradition, legends, songs and altogether the life peculiar to the country and its people. A Siberian, in spite of the language he speaks, would never call himself a Russian or a Ukrainian, but only and always a Siberian.

#### English Professor Lectures in Munich

On Dec. 15th, at the Munich Rathaus, a large audience of Germans, Americans and English were privileged to hear a most stimulating lecture by Dr. Alan Bullock, Professor of modern history at Oxford University. Prof. Bullock, who spoke on the "Political Scene in England Today", presented his subject in a most masterly manner. He began by stating that, as a Liberal, he could not claim to be a politician or, if so, only an unsuccessful one! He went on to give a most concise resumé of the general policy and ideals of the Labour and Conservative Parties. There was, he said, no great difference between the internal policies of these parties. The social reforms carried out, rather drastically, by the Labour Party had already been inaugurated by the Coalition Government, and were now being consolidated by the Conservatives.

As regards foreign policy, Prof. Bullock pointed out that the balance of power between the parties was so evenly poised that each hesitated to take any bold action. In this connection he drew attention to the interesting personality of Aneurin Bevan, who might draw away the extremer Socialists from the Labour Party proper. This would upset the balance of power and leave the Conservatives free to pursue a bolder foreign policy.

Although Great Britain has been subjected to much criticism from European countries on account of her apparent inactivity, great changes had been taking place within the Commonwealth. Pakistan had been transformed from a turbulent Colony into a friendly and co-operative Dominion. Self-government had also been granted to the Sudan, and would shortly be granted to Nigeria and West Africa.

Prof. Bullock began and ended with a reference to the young Queen, in whom all the hopes, ideals, and traditions of Great Britain are centred, and who will next June be crowned queen of a people who are now united as never before.

B.

## What the others write:

### A Symptom of Poland's Disillusionment

A congress of Americans of Polish extraction (Polonii Amerykanskiej) took place in Atlantic City N.J. last year, discussing among other things, the Polish frontiers. A resolution passed by the congress, referring to this, is said to have run as follows:

"We demand the recognition of the frontier along the Oder-Neisse in the west and, in conformance with the treaty of Riga, with Lviv and Vilno in the east and with the whole of East Prussia including Königsberg in the north."

This induced the top leading Polish emigrant magazine *Kultura* to write in its No. 11/61, 1952, as follows: "Is this not the dream of the 'head cut' off? Or was Mr. Churdhill right, after all, when he said in 1945: 'Poles have every virtue, except political sense'. May be we are the only people — the writer of the article, Rev. Jozef Z. Majewski went on — which lives in remembrance of the past. We look at the present reality through the magnifier of the 19th century, when the word 'Rzeczpospolita Polska' (Polish Empire) comprised the crown land, Lithuania and Rusj (i. e. Ukraine — Ed.). The Poles like to ask for justice for themselves and can esteem it; if we, however, have to do justice to others, we have not only the habit of restricting, but also of adulterating it."

About three quarters of the Poles, living in exile, came from the so-called Kresow Wskhodnich (i. e. the western territories of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania — Ed.). A great part of them had settled in Volhynia Polissya, Podilya, or had come there as political colonizers after the land reform, or they are descendants of old Polish noble families which settled there. Yet in the eastern territories there reside some millions of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, who, according to the peace treaty of Riga, were attached to the renewed Poland. Vilno in the north and Lviv in the south are "real Polish" towns, but we had the most trouble and gained the most foes through them. ... True, the majority of the population of Lviv and Vilno before 1939 considered themselves Poles. But everybody who is of opinion that these towns must be given back to Poland some day, is in error. Yet the Lithuanians can never forget Vilno, and we will not live on good terms with them, until we have given Vilno back. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, will never make us a present of Lviv. After the last war the eastern territories were "purged" of Poles. When a third world war and, possibly, a breakdown of Russia, comes about, our appetite for Lviv and Vilno will have completely vanished.

Lithuania, which has to hear a fate now, still worse than ours, may count on Vilno and in Lviv shall stream the blue-yellow flag (i. e. Ukrainian colours — Ed.).

### Bohemia on the Prague Sentence

The newspaper, *Bohemia*, organ of the Czech Democratic Federalists, a member of the A.B.N., has a leading article by its chief editor, Fr. Janik-Horak, headed "The Campaign against Zionism Begins", in the December 18, 1952, number. From the article we quote a few passages.

"... From November 20, to 27, 1952, a staged trial took place in Prague-Pankratz, against 14 members of what is called 'the Anti-State Conspiracy led by R. Slansky'..."

"... In the Pankratz court, not only was sentence pronounced on the 14 members of the 'power-lique' of the party, but the beginning of sanguinary anti-Semitism in the C.S.R. and the East Bloc, was proclaimed — to the world at large."

Anti-Semitism runs like a red thread through the trial. Every word spoken by the public prosecutor, or by the accused, was diabolically devised by the management of the show to incite hate among the Czechs, not only against the accused, 11 of whom were of Jewish descent, but against all Jewish fellow-citizens, the State of Israel, and the Jewish world altogether. "A ruthless fight against Zionism!" That is the catchword and new directive thrown to the hungry, discontented masses by their slave-owners.

"The structure of socialism, and with it and inseparable from it, stands the suppression of capitalist elements which is so contrary to their (Zionist — Ed.) interests..."

This trial shows the danger of Zionism in its true colours, and some of its importance lies in the fact that other communist and workers' parties are warned of the insidious penetration of that agent of American imperialists in their midst, as well as ours." The last is a small extract from the summing-up by the public prosecutor, Urvalek, saturated with fanatical anti-Semitism.

We know the conditions in our homeland, therefore it is clear to us from the prominence of the 14 accused, that Moscow, not Prague, was prosecutor and judge. Moscow has thus decided to make use of Hitler's terrible weapon of fanatical anti-Semitism with which, there is no doubt he swept along his most ardent followers.

That is an important and far-reaching fact. The Kremlin has started on the road that led to, Hitler's downfall. The proclamation of the extermination of the Jews. It is not by chance that this step has been taken, of course. It is a well considered move which is intended to whip up the passions of the broad masses and distract their thoughts from reality and the true situation."

### The Kolkhose in Yugoslavia

In an article on "free economy", the Croatian emigrant newspaper *Hrvatski Glas* (Croatian Voice), publishes a report from a member of the "Home Guard" (M.B.) of Yugoslavia who deserted, in which he says:

"I am from Slovenia. At the beginning of 1951 the kolkhose system was established in my district. At the end of the same year it collapsed. Then at the beginning of 1952 propaganda for the foundation of "voluntary kolkhose" was ordered and the peasants were told to inscribe themselves "voluntarily". My father and my brother refused to enter the kolkhose. The authorities requisitioned our cattle allegedly for arrears of taxes. A neighbour of ours was tortured until he agreed to inscribe for one. After his release he withdrew his signature. Fresh torture brought him to insanity and he died a few days after he was sent to the insane asylum at P. Another neighbour, M. S., who also refused to enter a kolkhose was imprisoned and his whole property sequestered. His daughter of 24 went out of her mind from grief and fear."

In spite of all the terrorism 85% of the peasant farmers stood their ground. Of the 70 party members in my neighbourhood, 47 left the party after experiencing such proceedings. The ex-party members were persecuted: 6 of them were condemned to sentences of 6 months to 2 years prison.

For especially refractory ones the proceedings are: the secret police, "U.D.B.A.", locks them up, they are given no food, only reading matter about kolkhoses. Driven by hunger they "realize their social duty."

Some people from my neighbourhood went a few months to Belgrade to complain of that terrorization. Even before they go home their whole property and fortune was expropriated. It was a case of three peasants."

### Unanimous Ukrainian Declaration

All the Ukrainian political institutions and organizations and their representatives in Europe:

The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council (V.O.U.N.R.);  
Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Z.P.U.H.V.R.);  
Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Z.C.H.O.U.N.);  
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Solidarists) (O.U.N.S.);  
Union of Ukrainian Monarchists (S.H.D.);  
Ukrainian Peasants' Party (S.Z.S.U.);  
Ukrainian Democratic Revolutionary Party (U.R.D.P.);  
Ukrainian Socialist Party (U.S.P.);  
Ukrainian National Democratic Association (U.N.D.O.);  
Ukrainian National State Union (U.N.D.S.);

after exhaustive enquiries and discussions with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (U.C.C.A.), on the the different anti-bolshevik groups and institutions in America have issued a joint statement, which will

## Calendar

### of National Memorial Days of our People

#### February

February 11,

*Cossackia*: Commemoration day for all the Cossack heroes on the anniversary of the death of Ataman-President, A. M. Kaledin, the first president chosen after the revolution.

February 16,

*Lithuania*: (1918) The new independent Lithuanian State declared by the State Council.

February 25,

*Georgia*: (1921) Day of mourning for the capture of the capital, Tbilissi, by the Soviet army.

February 25,

*Bohemia*: (1948) Day of mourning — Dr. E. Benes surrenders to communist terrorists.

February 28,

*Croatia*: (1896) Ante Starceric (1823—1896) died. As the awakener, teacher and instructor of his people he earned the name "Father of Croatian nationalism". Founder of Croatian national law, legal terminology (1861) and President until his death. His teaching has become the prized possession of all Croats.

#### March

March 5,

*Ukraine*: (1950) Heroic death of General Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A.

March 9,

*Ukraine*: (1814) Birthday of the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.

March 10,

*Byelorussia*: Heroic death of the famous Byelorussian fighter for freedom, Kastusj Kalinovsky, who was executed at Vilnius by the Russian imperialists.

March 12,

*Georgia*: (1919) Inauguration of the Constituent Assembly.

March 14,

*Slovakia*: (1939) Declaration of the independent Slovak Republic, recognized by 27 States.

March 14,

*Ukraine*: Proclamation of the Independence of Carpatho-Ukraine at Khust.

March 25,

*Byelorussia*: (1918) The state independence of the Byelorussian National Republic proclaimed at Minsk. The state independence of eleven different states was recognized.

March 31,

*Azerbaijan*: (1918) The bolsheviks, with the help of friendly elements among the Russian sailors stationed in the harbour, and Russian troops returning from the Iranian front, instituted a massacre among the Musselman population.

appear with this number of the A.B.N. Correspondence as a supplement.

Collaboration between Ukrainian political parties and Americans in the anti-bolshevik campaign is affirmed in principle as good and necessary. The first condition, however, must be a platform which guarantees the liberation of the Ukrainian people from all tutelage by Russia and the restoration of Ukrainian independence as the irrevocable aim of the Ukrainian struggle.

At the same time the recently founded Coordination Centre of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign (C.C.A.C.), supported by America, is unanimously rejected, as it does not take into account the above basic condition and practically intends preserving Russian predominance after the overthrow of the bolshevik system of government.

**ABN CORRESPONDENCE**  
Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

P.O. Box 70, Munich 33, Phone: 5 53 58, Germany.  
Published by the Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

Responsible: K. W. Orlecky.  
Account No. 10 707, Munich, Süddeutsche Bank  
Yearly Subscription \$ 2 or Shillings 12.  
Reproduction permitted if source (A.B.N.-Cor.) is given

# A B N CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. IV. No. 3/4. March/April 1953

\* Published in English, French and German \*

Price: 1s; 40 c

## The Perspective of our Campaign

### YAROSLAV STETZKO speaks at the plenary meeting of the Council of Nations and Central Committee of the A.B.N. on the condition and the prospects of the liberation campaign

*The general plenary meeting of the Council of Nations and the Central Committee was held on January 25th, 1953, in the tenth year after the foundation of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), upon which we have reported on another page of this number. At the end of his detailed referendum on the plans and guiding lines for the work in the new year, Mr. Stetzko spoke a few impressive concluding words, which we are now reproducing in essence.*  
(Ed.)

We often hear western circles inquire about our number, the extent of our power, the sacrifices of our fight, the possibility of our self-deliverance and when the revolution against the Russian bolshevist domination is to begin.

A single spark may kindle a conflagration. Nobody foresaw the destruction of the Bastille and its result, the rule of Napoleon. The strength of our revolution lies in the idea of deliverance, in the conception of the national revolutionary fight and in the mental constitution and strength of character of our subjugated peoples. Oppressed people will have a stronger sense of truth and justice than free ones. We fight in all domains of life: in the sphere of agriculture, labour, industry, administration, culture, religion and especially in national politics. The more invisible this fight is to the outer world, the more penetrating is its effect.

#### The Character of the Resistance Movements

The underground war leaves its evidence in the "legal" literature. The bolsheviks try to find national deviation in it, as, for example, in Turkistan: "The party organisation of Uzbekistan is to fight ruthlessly against the symptoms of bourgeoisie nationalism and disclose the reactionary character of Pan-Turkism" (Pravda, 28. 9. 1952); or in Georgia: "The literary critic has insufficiently disclosed ideological perversions and been lax in combatting relapses into bourgeoisie nationalism" (Pravda 20. 9. 1952); or in Ukraine: "The de-

ficiency in ideological work is not in the least made good . . . serious ideological perversions in arts and literature are even now not eradicated" (Pravda 19. 9. 1952); in Poland: "As to the Polish people, it must be stated that its resistance against the bolshevik system is still stronger now-a-days than it was even against Germany . . ." (Die Weltwoche 9. 1. 1953).

Another important factor of bolshevism is its struggle against the Church, which entailed the obliteration of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, with its metropolitan, V a s y l L y p k i v s k y, as well as the entire Ukrainian Catholic Church with its episcopacy and its archbishop, J o s y f S l i p y. They were sent, with thousands of priests, to concentration camps in Siberia. In spite of the cruel persecution, both churches are now functioning underground. It is the same with the Baltic states, with Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Bohemia, etc. The basic tendency of our attitude foots on the fact that the life of our peoples as a whole contrasts with bolshevism and the Russian conception of life. Thus the illegal churches, as well as the military insurgent troops came into being as symbols of national sovereignty, the most substantial of which symbols has always been and still is the army.

The political resistance movements carry on and organize the fight of our peoples. The sacrifices to be borne are very heavy, especially among the leading members. Terrorism, blockades, provocation, deportations are everyday events. But the fight still goes on. The resistance movements make use of the inconsistency in the system; for instance, the contradiction of the brutal subjugation of the peoples, within the Iron Curtain and the lying propaganda about the liberation of the peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain. Those deported to Siberia work also against the regime.

#### Our Sources of Strength

The strength of our national ideal of liberation and the uneasiness it induces in the bolshevik despots may be clearly judged by the fact that this problem was the central theme of the 19th Party Congress in Moscow.

The main force of the A.B.N. conception lies in the fact that we stress the decisive role of our native countries and the assistance of the emigrants in the western world in our fight. It is most important, aside from the necessity of keeping up technical connections between national emigrants and the home countries, — which may be interrupted at times, — for us

## A Token of Time

### A Fresh Wind from the U.S.A.

In an article "American Politics at the Cross-Roads" in our New Year's issue we held the view that the aim of the new American Government under President Eisenhower could be summed up in the few words: to take the initiative of action out of Stalin's hand. Everything that has happened in Washington meanwhile in the course of an extra dynamic foreign policy; from the cancelling of the Formosa blockade to Dulles' and Strassen's trip to Europe; temporarily crowned by Eisenhower's historic declaration on the fate of the peoples subjugated by Moscow; all that has fully verified our view.

We have repeatedly warned the free world of the illusion that peace and security might be purchased at the cost of a permanent enslavement of our peoples by Moscow and we have protested again and again against the statements of responsible leaders of the western powers that their policy aspired after and ended in the goal to save the free world from any further bolshevik aggression and do no more than to maintain the present "balance", the existing apparent peace, that is, the status quo in the world.

We felt entitled and bound to give these warnings; first, because we were deeply convinced that, in the long run, the damming up of the Russian-bolshevik world danger was impossible and that the rest of the free world would be inevitably swallowed up by Soviet-Russian aggression if bolshevism was let alone in its present domain; second, because there was nothing more apt to break the spirit of our enslaved peoples and to destroy their hopes than statements of western statesmen meaning that they might be used as exchange coin in a swap bargain with Moscow and abandoned by the western world. President Eisenhower's recent declaration and the remarkable speech by State Secretary John Foster Dulles have to a great extent disposed of that nightmare.

"The United States will never be a party to any international 'deal' or 'trade' confirming the rule of Soviet despotism over the alien peoples it dominates in Europe and Asia" — as is literally expressed in the said declaration of President Eisenhower's.

"If we want to maintain and stimulate the spirit of freedom which eventually will peacefully frustrate the oppressive design of Soviet despotism and disintegrate that over-extended despotism, the first and indispensable step is to make clear, on the highest authority of the President and Congress. . ." with these preliminary words to his comment on that resolution Mr. John Foster Dulles addressed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

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## Dulles speaks out

On this occasion, however, Mr. Dulles said something more. . . "We do not accommodate ourselves to political settlements which are based upon contempt for the free will. . . "Some dozen people in the Kremlin are seeking to consolidate their imperial rule over some 800,000,000 people, representing what were nearly a score of independent nations. This tyranny has been extended far beyond the frontiers of Russia by the cold, calculated subjugation of free nation after free nation.

. . . All peoples have a right to know whether the United States acquiesces in this assault on freedom. It is a practical matter — for the ultimate fate of these peoples can gravely affect the future of freedom in Europe, in Asia and through all the world, including our own United States."

"The resultant fear is not something to which we can be indifferent. It generates a sense of hopelessness and futility among the captives, which paralyzes the strivings which could operate peacefully to dissolve the unnatural unity of Soviet despotism and return it to its natural and historic parts." President Eisenhower's resolution deals with the same subject, as follows:

"It is one of the peaceful aims of the U.S.A. that the groups enslaved in Europe or Asia may re-gain their real independence."

Appreciating the significance of that step, the chief of the State Department finally declared the following: "This resolution . . . is no idle gesture. It is an act of great historical importance and many consequences will stem from it:

As its purpose becomes more and more widely understood, it will, over the coming years, revive the inherent longing for freedom which persists within the captive peoples so that that longing becomes a mounting spiritual power which will eventually overcome the material power of Soviet dictatorship to rule what it has, or to subjugate more."

## Consequential Results

We have composed here all these quotations for our readers, because the thoughts expressed, and statements made therein, fall in principally with those theses, which we have advocated for years, also in this place. Of course, the resolution of Congress as well as Mr. Dulles' comment kept to the principle without entering into the concrete details of all our peoples. Some considerations may account for this, which official American foreign policy is bound to observe. But the profession to the principle of a "real independence" of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, which is to be re-gained; the stigmatisation of the Soviet-Russian "imperialistic rule over 20 independent nations"; the announcement of the "empire of Soviet despotism" and the restoration of its "natural and historic parts"; outline, no doubt, a programme and an ideological platform, the practical political consequences of which can only be carried out on the basis of the A.B.N.-conception and by no means against it.

So we have good reason to greet the fresh wind from America with satisfaction, and we are sure that the positive revolutionary change of attitude towards the problems of our peoples will be as well for the benefit of the so-called Satellites, as of the enslaved non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. the unalienable rights of whom to national independence and freedom fall equally on ethical and historical titles and principles, which are indivisible and must not be withheld from any people.

## Untimely Comments on Stalin's Death

It is not our intention, to refer here to the event in itself, nor do we want to prophesy. As for this, our opinion has been set forth shortly but plainly in another place of this issue.

This comment is restricted to the manifestations only which have been granted to the late Stalin on the part of western dignitaries and government representatives, and which must not pass without protest.

As opposed to President Eisenhower, who suitably contented himself with official condolences for protocol to the U.S.S.R. government, other western statesmen indulged in strange messages, which not only surpassed the necessary international politeness by far, but also gave proof of the fact, that some western circles and figures have even now not grasped the pitiless reality of our era and still deny the deadly danger of bolshevism for the world.

In fact, the president of the U.N. plenary assembly, Lester Pearson, commemorated the late Stalin as the founder of the United Nations, although it was Stalin himself who, in practice, always sabotaged that very institution by persistent vetoes and made it a still-born child.

Trygve Lie honored Stalin as "the prominent statesman of our times", though, in reality, his brutal genius has created the most prominent, bloody, inhumane despotism of all times. The French state president, Auriol, and prime minister Mayer had the flags set at half-mast and could not find words hearty enough to praise Stalin's merits as a faithful ally in the last war, who had contributed so much to the "common victory". The French statesmen, it seems, have even now not come so far as to see that, in reality, Stalin did not aim at all at a "common victory" in that war, but only at gaining and securing an enormous advantage towards Soviet rule over the world, by the assistance of his allies; and at procuring starting positions for an onslaught against the allies themselves.

The ink has not yet dried with which the messages of western parliaments and governments were signed, assuring our peoples (sometimes even addressed as "Russian peoples") of friendship and support while holding their place against Stalinian despotism; but suddenly western statesmen extend their condolences to us on the loss of our "great and highly gifted" state leader! Even in the address of the British opposition leader, Clement Attlee, something was said about "condolences of the whole world with the Russian people!"

## Struck with Blindness

But when, post mortem, Stalin's state leadership has been glorified in that way on the western part and we have even been pitied for the loss; what arguments does the West think of for continuing the campaign against world bolshevism, while Malenkov as the executor of Stalin's testament is now appealing to our peoples to contribute faithfully to a work which has been praised so highly in thoughtless messages of condolence from the West? Really, only stone-blind people can fail to perceive that thus the thunder of the psychological war against Soviet despotism and aggression is stolen and Malenkov's appearance on the world stage is applauded!

The laurels, however, are due to the comment of a German radio station, which insisted

likewise upon appreciating Stalin's "greatness" as a statesman and that with reference to the fact that he succeeded in gaining "great advantages for his country at the conferences of Yalta and Potsdam"! It might have been more correct to state, in that case in particular, that those "advantages" gained at the cost of the enslavement and laceration alive of whole nations — the latter occurred especially in Germany — witness not so much for statesmanly genius but charge his own country with a burden of mortgages which will lead into bankruptcy, sooner or later.

## Malenkov's Visiting-Card

Shortly before going to press, some news arrived which must not remain unheeded:

President Eisenhower's resolution relating to the enslaved peoples, which was greeted as "Fresh wind from America" on the front pages and was welcomed, is said to have been postponed in response to opposition by democratic Senators and is not very likely to be put to vote in the current session of the Congress. The official version runs that the democratic Opposition claimed consideration for President Roosevelt's reputation. Yet there might be some truth in the presumption that this withdrawal had something to do with the governmental change in the Kremlin; for certain democratic circles indulge in the illusion that this gesture might bring Malenkov round to peacefulness and agreement . . .

What a dreadful illusion! The answer from Moscow did not fail to come. It was given by the downing of an American jet and a four-engined British bomber over the German Federal Republic. The coincidence of the events is certainly not chance. It was an announcement of Malenkov's inauguration, who thought it obviously suitable to present his visiting-cards in Washington and London. It seems to belong to the etiquette at the court of the new Kremlin ruler that it was just done by a MIG 15-jet.

## For an Independent Slovakia

A.B.N. President Asserts Support in Freedom Struggle

Subjugated Peoples Demonstrate their Solidarity

On occasion of the 14. anniversary of the proclamation of the Independent Slovak Republic on March 14, 1939, the Representation of the Slovak Liberation Committee in Germany held a solemn memorial on March 12, 1953 in the Regina-Palast Hotel in Munich.

After the meeting had been opened by Vice-president Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, the main speech was held in Slovak and German by the president of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee, co-founder of the Slovak Republic and former minister, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky. Prominent representatives of the national liberation organizations in their addresses demonstrated the perfect solidarity in the campaign for the restoration of national independence.

The president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. said, "the A.B.N. supports the struggle for the restoration of the Slovak national independence — which is a demand of justice and world order, because freedom is indivisible — not only the great nations but also the small ones have a title to liberty — all peoples belong equally to God's creation".

By shaking hands heartily with Prof. Durcansky, the president of the Czech Democratic Federalists Vladimir Pekelsky manifested the appreciation of the aspiration of the Slovak people, as well as of the will of both peoples, for equal partnership within a European integration.

## The Death of the Tyrant

## The Unsolved Problems of the Nations

By V. Kajum Khan

The Press Bureau of the A.B.N. issues the following communiqué on the occasion of Stalin's death.

President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee

The echo that Stalin's death has called forth in the world and the condolences expressed by western governments seem to be guided by the old Roman principle "de mortibus nihil nisi bene". Despite a certain understanding of the exigencies of international relations and highly as we esteem that noble Roman maxim as a sign of human ethics, we, the representatives of the peoples suffering under bolshevik tyranny, can hardly force ourselves to express any kind of condolence in this case.

Even in the hour of his death *Josef Vissarionovich Djughashvili* remains for us the man to blame for all those mass-murders, the genocide, the death of millions from starvation, for the countless slaves in the concentration camps, for the bestial inquisitions in the numberless torture chambers, to which the best of our sons have fallen victim, so that our home countries are drenched in blood and sunk in mourning which will take centuries till it is forgotten. Even after his death, Stalin cannot escape his culpability before the tribunal of world history.

In some of the telegrams from the West the "Russian people" are condoled with. We dare to hope that in this case the address is correct and that the real Russian people only are meant, Stalin having served and brought Russian imperialism and messiahship to their maturity. The Russians alone, however, are altogether only some 80 million of the whole population of the U.S.S.R. The remaining 100 million are members of our subjugated and decimated peoples, robbed of their national status. Besides which, there are the enslaved peoples of the so-called satellite states.

For all these peoples, united in the A.B.N. the name of Stalin, even after his death, is connected with the "Peoples' Commissariat for Nationalities" as whose chief, after the October Revolution, he was assigned the task of bringing under Moscow's knout, by deceit and violence, our peoples who had won their independence by national uprisings in 1917/20. It was just that "high" office in Soviet policy which qualified Stalin as Lenin's successor and made him the mighty autocrat he was and able to carry through the genocidal "nationality policy" consistently.

The disgusting glorification of Stalin by bolshevik propaganda has apparently had its effect in the West too, otherwise the appreciation granted him in some places in the free world would be hard to understand. It is obviously forgotten in the West that for a despotic rule based on force and propaganda pure and simple, there is no difficulty in breeding idols, one after the other. The only proper conclusion, therefore in this case is: the Tyrant is dead, the tyrants come!

It would be illusory to suppose that now the tip of tyranny is broken, peace and quiet will return to the world without further ado. There can be no peace and no security, nor any progress for the world as long as the real source of the evil i. e. bolshevism, the most dread embodiment of Russian imperialism, is not exterminated once and for all.

It would be a great mistake for the free world, trusting in false hopes, to grant the new despots in the U.S.S.R. any respite in the transitional time of their consolidation. Now, more than ever, must the common front of the free and the subjugated peoples be strengthened and the fight against the world threat of bolshevik tyranny be activated.

Munich, March 6, 1953

The Press Bureau of the A.B.N.

From 1914 to 1918 a pitiless war was waged between the peoples of the world. Governments fell and thrones were overturned but Russian imperialism remained constant: in the place of the White Tsars there came the Red. Public opinion and the demands of those peoples who were fighting for their freedom went unheard. Then, as to-day, freedom and independence were causes in which their blood was shed. It is greatly to be regretted that the ordinary people of the free world gave very little support to those who remained in oppression. The freedom gained as the result of the struggles of the first World War was thus lost once again.

After 1918 the Western peoples were able only partly to fulfil their promises. The Finns, Poles and the peoples of the Baltic countries regained their freedom and independence. However the yearnings of the other oppressed peoples were left unanswered. A major step during this period was the establishment by the West of the League of Nations, but it was not long before an imperialist state was allowed to enter this family of peoples only to destroy all the values for which they stood: This state was Russia.

Russia came into the League of Nations professing to represent the peoples of Turkistan, the Caucasus, Ukraine and other nation-

governments were brought down and thrones overturned, leaving the world once more in chaos. From this struggle Moscow emerged stronger and greater than before. The Kremlin destroyed independent states, subjugated peoples and extended the frontiers of its empire from the Yellow Sea to the centre of Europe itself. Once again we, the oppressed peoples, fought year after year for our independence and, once again, we were defeated by the Russians. Developments after this war followed a pattern which from our point of view was very similar to the history of developments after 1918. A new international organization, the United Nations, was set up. All free peoples became members of it and pledged themselves to represent the rights of all peoples and to protect them. Once more an attempt was made to solve the problems of the nations.

Unfortunately the same mistake was made at the birth of this organization as was made in the days of the League. Once again the Russians were admitted as members, despite the fact that the Western Powers must have been aware of the imperialistic ambitions of the rulers in the Kremlin. They should have known that the Russians were opposed to the ideals of freedom and independence for all peoples and determined to threaten and destroy them. It was a sad day for us when we saw that Moscow was again permitted to appear on the international stage claiming to speak in the name of Turkistan, the Caucasus and other nations. The hopes which the oppressed people had placed in the United Nations Organization seemed once again to have been destroyed. The United Nations has so far proved unable to solve the important problems of our day. At its assemblies there has been much discussion, much mutual recrimination. However all positive proposals made by its members have been obstructed by the veto exercised by the Russians. Worthwhile proposals which might have meant so much to so many peoples have depended, not upon the expressed wishes of those peoples, but upon the 'yes' or 'no' of Vyshinski. Soviet Russia has used the United Nations for its own purposes of political propaganda and Red aggression.

Once again it must be said that we have joined together to protest to the United Nations against this Russian claim to speak in our name in the councils of that organization. Once again these protests of the oppressed peoples are not being heard. We are entitled to ask the peoples of Islam and the West one simple question: "Do you not realize that we, the peoples of Turkistan, the Caucasus and the other occupied countries have never authorized the Russians to act as our representatives?" Every believer in Islam must know that: —

- (i) Soviet Russia has conquered our country, Turkistan, by force of arms.
- (ii) Soviet Russia oppresses our religion, destroys our national culture, exploits the resources of our country and murders our men and women.
- (iii) For 70 years the Turkestanian people have carried on their lonely fight for national independence. Throughout those 70 years there has been a constant state of emergency in Turkistan.
- (iv) Red Russia has, during the course of its occupation, murdered no less than five million Turkestanians.

With this history of bloodshed and oppression under Soviet rule it is scarcely likely that Turkestanians would give the right to represent them in the United Nations to the Russian Communists. As a people which has fought consistently and, we believe, bravely for our national freedom and independence

### A.B.N. Congress in Canada

On March 21 and 22, 1953, there will be a congress of the A. B. N. organizations at Toronto, at which representatives of the following nations will be present and take part: Bulgarians, Cossacks, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians.

The following items are on the agenda: Reports by the commissions; approval of the statutes; resolutions to be voted on, etc. A thorough discussion on all problems under review has been provided for.

A number of notable persons have been invited to attend the congress, persons playing a part in Canada's economic and cultural life.

In view of the present political situation this meeting, which will bring the associates of the A. B. N. still closer together, is regarded as a matter of some importance.

alities. This claim was accepted by the League of Nations despite the fact that all these peoples joined in protest against the idea that Russia should represent them at the League. The hopes which the oppressed peoples had placed in the League of Nations were thus in vain.

The League itself was prevented from making any positive contribution to world peace by the presence in its councils of imperialist Russia. Soviet Russia not only sabotaged every attempt of members of the League to carry out useful tasks, but also stimulated points of friction between other members of this family of nations. As a result, the activity of the League consisted of conferences and discussions, of secret agreements and mistrust, rather than constructive action. The League never succeeded in solving the major problems which were put before it and gradually ceased to exist. By joining the organization Russia not only succeeded in securing recognition for herself as a power on the political stage, but was also able to establish her contacts with the outside world and finally by indirect means to prevent the League from achieving its objects.

The second World War saw a resumption of fighting even harder and more bitter than the struggles of 1914 to 1918. Once again

# We Stand for Progress!

(14th. Anniversary of the Slovak Declaration of Independence)

By Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky

President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee

Seemingly, water binds men better than land. That is why goods as well as ideas are more easily exchanged between sea-bordering nations than between continental ones. That may also be the reason why those thoughts which gave rise to the English Constitution prevail more easily over North America than many a nation on the Continent. And those principles as comprised in the Declaration of Civil Rights of the French Revolution put South and Central America more readily in motion than any interior European nation. More than half a century had passed until the nations of Central Europe were stimulated by these ideas and another half a century again, until they began to enforce their independence pursuant to the example of the South American peoples — though only living at a distance of some hundred miles from Paris. Moreover, this process was far from being crowned with the like success as in Latin America, and several peoples of Central and East Europe did not gain their independence at all.

The great spiritual revolution which mankind went through after the first world war, did penetrate the whole Continent, though. Nevertheless, the influence of the idea of freedom was not strong enough to overwhelm the autocratic system which was at home in the inland nations of the European-Asian continent. In large parts of Asia and Europe, Moscow has now succeeded in securing the victory of despotism and imperialism over the ideas of freedom and autonomy.

In our present situation, no other possibility remains to us Slovaks, or all other oppressed peoples of Central and Eastern Europe but to wait for propitious conditions under which the true volition of our people may be brought to bear. The Slovaks' yearning for independence was so strong that it was able to prevail even under such

unpromising conditions as obtained before the second world war.

The Slovak National Assembly proclaimed the independent Slovak Republic by a unanimous resolution on March 14, 1939. By this action, the goal for which many generations of Slovaks had longed was gained. The whole population put the construction of their state in hand with such enthusiasm that, in spite of the heavy burden of the war, unprecedented levels were reached in all social and state spheres. Thus the Slovaks gave sufficient proof of their vitality and their equivalence with all other Central European peoples.

As compared with the conditions under which the Slovaks had to live in Hungary or Czecho-Slovakia, the advantages of their life as an independent state were of such import that all Slovaks are unshakably determined never to abandon it as the fundamental basis of the development of their national life and to fight to the death for its re-establishment. The whole Slovak people is aware that there can be no existence worth living for Slovaks, without an independent Slovak Republic. Otherwise, — that is what they learned from experience — they will be but an exploited object of an alien dominion, condemned to mere vegetating if not to annihilation.

When the Slovak Republic was liquidated by the end of the war, that was by no means the consequence of a, perhaps, insufficient resoluteness of Slovakia to defend its independence, but the wicked work of too powerful a despotism which had subdued already one half of Europe. With conditions thus created, all efforts towards human progress, national independence, individual freedom, have been swept away. Like many a

fellow-sufferer, the Slovak Republic was invaded by the Red Army, as Central and East Europe were left to the bolshevik sphere of interest.

At the same time, when the sea-bordering nations of Asia, such as Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Libanon, Syria, Jordania, Israel, became independant and the spark was leaping over to Africa with Lybia gaining its freedom, in the inland countries of Europe and Asia just the opposite could be observed. After the countless sacrifices which mankind had to bear during the last war, despotism with its origin and power source along both sides of the Ural, was not only able to assert itself, but successfully invade even free European nations.

As the creation of the Slovak Republic was the embodiment of progressive ideas and a work serving human progress, the occupation of Slovakia by the Red Army, the reconstruction of the Czecho-Slovak state, the institution of communist despotism in Slovakia was a backward step and a negation of human progress.

By fighting for the re-establishment of the Slovak Republic we bring thoughts to bear without which no progress of nations and mankind will ever be possible. Our struggle is part of the struggle of all those who seek human progress and development. It is a struggle to carry the idea of democracy through and eliminate autocracy and despotism from this world.

It is not only of Slovak interest that Slovakia will regain its independence. It is equally that of the Central European peoples, which are locally interested in gaining their independence, and of all peoples subjugated by Moscow, and, finally of the whole of mankind. The independence of each people thus constitutes a contribution to the idea of the independence of them all. The globe has become so small that mankind cannot afford to have the rule of despotism exist beside freedom, without endangering the latter. The mutual dependence of the peoples is too great to-day, that some nations can live in prosperity and peace while hundreds of millions of other human beings are pitilessly exploited.

## Agricultural Failure in Hungary

*Famine is impending over the formerly flourishing Land of Agriculture*

our position is as clear to-day as it was at the end of the first World War: —

- (i) We demand that the peoples of Islam and the West forbid the Russians to speak in the United Nations in the name of the oppressed Moslem peoples of Turkistan.
- (ii) The United Nations has not yet solved the problems which confront the oppressed peoples. This has been impossible because Moscow stands between those peoples and the popular forces in Islam and the West which could help them. We therefore demand in the name of our suffering countrymen that the free world, the peoples of Islam and the West, should join together outside the United Nations in a common bloc. We have bitter experience of Communist oppression in our own country and we expect the free world to recognize the Russian danger in all its menacing proportions and put aside petty differences. Only by working together with courage, mutual esteem and a spirit of common endeavour can Islam and the West jointly secure for themselves and for the oppressed nations of the world their peace, freedom and independence.
- (iii) If the free peoples can build the framework of such unity to protect themselves from the Russians, Islam and the West will also be able to protect the interests of the Turkestanian peoples and to help them in their struggle for independence. This event could be the means of bringing important help and encouragement to the Turkestanian people. It would fully and truthfully express the principles for which Islam and the West both stand: Equal rights for all peoples.

The seven years' exploitation of the soil, accomplished by the Hungarian bolshevik regime, entailed — as might have been foreseen — the greatest agricultural disaster since the Turk era. Minister of the State Ernst Gerö most faithful Moscow follower, beside "Prime Minister" Matthias Rakosi, who introduced and executed the Soviet system of production in Hungary, confessed to the total failure in agriculture at the Congress of the Hungarian communist party on November 29, 1952. Besides, he would have been unable to conceal this fact any longer. The crop of 1952 does not even cover the supply of the population and the seed for the next year. According to Gerö's report, actual famine could be avoided for the moment, by "mutual assistance" of the communist nations. But by no means will it suffice for seed. All over the country autumn sowing was stopped unfinished.

One third of the arable land in Hungary is now cultivated through associations of the bolshevik system, two thirds, however, still through independent peasants.

As early as in autumn, a loan of 320 million Gulden for seed to about 4 million Joch of soil (1 Joch = 5575 square meters) were put at the disposal of the production associations (kolkhose) that they might try to buy seed-corn from the independent peasants. They failed, of course, partly because the corn was taken from the peasants off the threshing-machine as "quota to be delivered"; partly because the yield was shrinking, owing to the exploitation of the soil forced upon the peasants by the government. Even for the peasants' own needs not enough seed-corn remained, although they had produced much more than the kolkhose-like co-operatives.

State minister Gerö confessed that the kolkhoatation of the soil was not to be forced on, as the co-operatives did not reach the same level of

corn production as the independent peasants. In addition to that a disastrous deficiency of fodder arose, so that the bolshevik government found itself forced to put in brigades of pupils and communist juveniles in order to gather the fallen leafage in the forests and the stems of potatoes and pumpkins in the fields, for fodder production in silages. The deficiency of fodder in Hungary is so great that the peasants are forced to sell their cattle. The bolshevik government is purchasing cattle for slaughtering and has the meat processed in canning industries for delivery to the Soviet Union.

The bolshevik government of Hungary was forced to import fodder from its neighbouring "people's democracies" to save at least part of the live-stock; yet with but little success.

How did Hungary, once a most prolific agricultural country, manage to fall into this unfortunate situation?

The compensation for the U.S.S.R. was stipulated in corn and cattle and this was ruthlessly collected by the Soviets year by year. By strict regulations issued by the Hungarian satellite government, the peasants were bound to grow more and more corn. Yet the yield of manure did not come up to the exploitation of the soil, because 65 per cent of the live-stock was slaughtered and robbed by the Russians in 1945. Only 1 million head of cattle remained from 2.4 million; from 1 million horses 330,000 were left; 80 per cent of the pigs and sheep perished.

In consequence of this want of manure, the agricultural yield shrank year by year. On the same scale on which the average yield per joch decreased, the seed ground had to be extended, and so, in the end, the fodder area of the decimated live-stock was cut. Under these circumstances, the live-stock could not possibly be in-

Continued on Page 15

Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn:

## Science in the U.S.S.R.

### II. Historical Science

It can be said, that in no domain of science has the so-called "dialectic" zigzag-policy of the Soviets resulted in such divers and grotesque consequences as in history. "Historical research" in the U.S.S.R. contradicts at present exactly its allegations of the time before the thirties; for in the years from 1917 to 1933 the official line of the Soviet science of history was a mere continuation of the pre-revolutionary marxistic philosophy of history with no principal deviation from the radical-marxistic opinion in western Europe: the same harsh rejection of any policy of conquest — thus including the tsaristic; the same theoretical recognition of the national rights of each people to full independence (unnecessary to mention the practice in the Soviet Union); the same fanatic tendency to deduce everything in political or cultural life more or less directly from a pretended "economic basis".

Neither Marx nor Engels, though, have clearly and unequivocally expressed themselves on the history of the Russian state and in this respect only little help was to be expected from their Russian disciples — Plekhanov and Lenin; these two only stigmatized the tsaristic empire as typically backward and reactionary, without any explanation how that could, and should come into being at all. It was Lenin, who left these questions expressly to his trustworthy old party-comrade Prof. M. Pokrovsky and he took them fairly easily. As a matter of fact, he put the entire economic and political development of the Petersburg—Moscow empire under the cap of a pretended "mercantile capitalism" (with a strong touch of national trade monopoly). It is not within our task to investigate how far this opinion complies with the historical facts, or with Karl Marx' philosophy of history; the fact is that this fundamental opinion was official and quite obligatory for every Soviet historian, and, from 1917 to about 1933, those principles were in any case tolerated, as it were, if not furthered in the historical research of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. Shamil, for instance, was recognized and honored as a non-compromising adversary of Russia's desire for conquest and as the national hero of the North-Caucasian peoples; the anti-Russian wars and insurrections of the Volga and Turkistan Turks were frankly considered just, patriotic and progressive; in the Ukrainian history, again, Hetman Ivan Mazepa was not reproached with the fact that he rebelled against the rule of Peter I, but only that, in this case as well as ever during his government, he had been not "democratic" enough by far. The judgement on the tendencies among the peoples subjugated by Moscow against Russian imperialism depended only on the question whether they were shown before or after the October Revolution in 1917. In the first case they were absolutely affirmed as just, in the second case, condemned just as absolutely, as anti-revolutionary.

It might have been foreseen, that this ambiguity in the judgement on the facts of national history could not be maintained in the long run. Especially the principal intensification of the Russian and russifying national and cultural policy of the Soviets, relating to the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, which has been unreservedly carried through since 1929, demanded a positive judgement on analogous attempts at russification during the tsaristic past. Pokrovsky and his entire school were consequently condemned as "heretics" — in spite of all praise expressly bestowed on them by the long dead Lenin. The tsars' policy of conquest was justified as the "lesser evil". Shamil turned from a North Caucasian national hero into an exponent of a backward and fanatic feudal system in comparison with which the Russian "capitalistic" policy of conquest was regarded as progressive. In 1949 the same Shamil had even to bear being called a mercenary secret agent of the English and (?) Turkish imperialism.

Just in the year 1949 the latest "ideological" discussion in the sphere of historical science took place, where the Russian historian Mintz, a fan-

atical Soviet communist and not even of one mind with Pokrovsky was thrown over only and just for the fact that he had the courage to say (which was an extraordinary thing, to be sure, under the Soviet rule), that the Soviet historical research was gliding down from orthodox Leninism to a "bourgeois" Russian nationalism. Had he been pleased to say "imperialistic" instead of "bourgeois" his opinion would have been exactly congruent with the real state of historical science in the U.S.S.R. to-day.

By this liquidation of the last lingering figures of Lenin's "party-guard" in 1949, the last embarrassments still resisting the unbounded covetousness of national chauvinism in the Soviet historical science were done away with. Since that time the so-called "Soviet" national conceit (in reality nothing but a Russian or Muscovite one) no longer realizes or recognizes any barrier at all. The first-rank historian of the U.S.S.R., B. Grekov, has gone so far as to claim that the aboriginals of the Crimea, of the present Moldau Soviet Republic and of the Carpathian Mountains were not only Slavs, but even eastern Russians (by no means Ukrainians or Byelorussians!). It is, of course, an uncontested fact for Soviet historians that all wars of conquest carried out from Moscow or Petersburg have been "just" and "progressive". The peoples of the Baltic states, of Poland, Ukraine, Transcaucasia, Turkestan, Siberia, Korea and China are said to have sought to be "united" with the Russian empire in order to escape the backward feudalism of their own rulers and the imperialistic tendencies of England and the United States. There are no exceptions. The war between Russia and Japan in 1904/05 was

provoked by Japanese imperialists who were afraid of a "Union" of Korea and Manchuria with Russia. And even the last tsar, Nicolaus II, shot by the Soviets, is not condemned for his foreign policy, but for the lack of ability to carry it out successfully.

It sounds rather funny when even tsar Peter I, the affirmed Russian "national hero" is reproached with the mistake of having engaged far too many foreigners and, as a whole, having overestimated the value of western European technique: which allegation, to be sure, is promptly encountered with the claim that there was *nothing* to be overestimated in Western Europe by Peter I and anybody maintaining the contrary is no real Russian patriot!

Besides, it is extremely significant for the exorbitant and unprecedented low level of historical science in the U.S.S.R. that all discussions and contests among the Soviet historians during the last years did not deal with the statements or judgements of historical facts or principles of methods but with questions of the periods of the history of Russia and eastern Europe, that is to say, with something which is regarded as entirely irrelevant in European historical research. But there is a good reason: the Soviet Russian science of history has been politically bound to prove that, in comparison with Western Europe, Russia has never been backward and, consequently, the feudal "formation" as well as the capitalistic has taken its rise in Russia quite independently and by no means later than in Western Europe. But the Soviet historians actually do not know how to make the "leading role" of feudal or capitalistic Russia in the world, credible and in this respect not even the Politbureau has been able to give any concrete instructions; thus the question is still discussed, whereas all the rest of it — "facts" as well as "methods" — have been prescribed long before, for which reason it can never more be the subject of any discussion.

## The Baltic States and Russia

By J. Gytis

The name Baltic States comprises Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and together they total about 7 million inhabitants. As a field of strategic importance, chiefly in German and Russian wars, they played a part and sometimes in those of Sweden and Poland too. History proves that the Baltic suffered most from Russia. From 1795 to 1918 they were incorporated in Russia and went through a cruel occupation. From 1918 to 1920 they defended themselves and the freedom of Europe with enormous sacrifice and losses. They were the first European victims in 1940/41 to suffer the horrors of bolshevik occupation. From 1944 up to the present Russia has continued to annihilate the Baltic States in order to maintain a permanent hold on the Baltic Sea.

Thus the Baltic States have played a remarkable role in the struggle against Russian imperialism.

### I. Russia's Aim in the Baltic Region

The former British Minister to Lithuania, Mr. Thomas Preston, who lived a long time in the Caucasus and has a good knowledge of Russia, characterizes Russian and communist policy in his book "Before the Curtain" as follows: "Finally, after a long series of attempts at co-operating with the West, Russia returns to isolation, which is a paradoxical mixture of Iron Curtain and Russian imperialism, veiled with the cloak of international communism, yet ever so much more aggressive than anything undertaken in that respect by the Tsars" (Cf. T. Preston, "Before the Curtain", London, John Murrey, 1950, p. 4). Numerous historians and living politicians besides, such as, J. F. Stewart, E. J. Harrison, Bernard Pares, Harold Williams etc. have proved Russia's imperialism as exerted against the Baltic States by unequivocal facts. It can be seen from Baltic history how that imperialism presented itself. We notice there how Russian imperialism became more and more active from the time of Peter I on, and that since then Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have been a seat of war. 1708 to 1811 Lithuania suffered to such a degree from Russian

depredations that the country was haunted by plague and starvation. People ate dogs, cats, rats and even human corpses; in many places more than 2/3 of the population died. During the Seven Years' War the Russian army played havoc in Lithuania, stole the last piece of bread and brutally pressed the men into military service. Again and again, up to the final occupation in 1795, hosts of Muscovites plundered the Baltic region. During the subsequent occupation, Russian terrorism had a free hand against the national, indigenous culture of the Baltic peoples.

### 2. Will the Bolsheviks Succeed in Eradicating the Baltic Peoples

As Baltic history shows, the Russians have not succeeded in eradicating the Baltic peoples, in spite of every effort in that direction, for even now these peoples are resisting the modern bolshevik methods of annihilating men. They know how to "choose modern strategy to keep themselves alive and win the future".

As the Baltic peoples have been able to keep themselves alive through the 123 years of the annihilating terrorism of the Russian tsars and through the severest famines in the 18th century, when nearly 2/3 of the Lithuanian population died out, it would seem that the Baltic peoples will now survive the cruellest occupation, that of the bolsheviks too, as it is not likely to last for centuries, even not for decades, but will come to an end within a short period of years.

### 3. The Future of the Baltic States

The future of the Baltic States will depend on the development of world policy. If the nations of the free world, united and in co-operation, crush bolshevism and supersede it by free, democratic, independent, national states in the domains of Russian imperialism, then the latter will be erased for ever and will no longer constitute a menace for Europe or the whole globe. Should Russia, however, be maintained as an empire with its numerous peoples enslaved, Rus-

## All Quiet in Moscow

All the hopes of the West are illusory, that with Stalin's death any fundamental changes in the policy of the despots in the Kremlin may come about. To suppose any such thing would be overestimating the part played by personality in a dictatorship of the Soviet Russian type and, besides, disregard the permanence of the system itself, which is rooted in the Russian disposition.

From a purely psychological stand point and by reason of a tradition that is centuries old, the very idea of political freedom is alien. Russia's whole history is the story of tyrannical systems of government that were never democratic. Peter I, Catherine II, Ivan the Terrible, Lenin, Stalin and now Malenkov are only links in the chain of one and the same dynasty.

If the world is to be freed from the menace of Soviet Russian tyranny, the evil must be seized by the roots. That is to say, that it is the Russian imperium, of whatever colour it may be, that will be a constant danger to the world as long as the backbone of that empire, the Russian people, is not limited to its ethnographic borders and educated to live in a befitting way with its neighbour nations.

Malenkov's accession to the throne had long been planned and practically approved at the last Party Congress. There is really no cause for the belief that the pressure of the U.S.S.R. upon the West will be weakened, or that the outbreak of a new world war will be delayed in the time table of the Kremlin, nor is it at all likely that the Soviet army will revolt, as neither Zhukov nor Vasilevski seem willing ever to march against the Kremlin. It seems just as unlikely that it will come to diadochian struggles, as Russia has always accepted the rule of tyrannical idols without demur, and besides Malenkov would do away with any potential rival as mercilessly as Stalin once did with Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin.

The russification of all the peoples in Russia's sphere of influence too, will be driven on more intensively, the glorification of the

sia will continue to be a threat. As proved by history, the Baltic States cannot of themselves obstruct Russian imperialism in our times. Even a federation of those States would not be strong enough to defend itself against Russia, not even if Poland should join in, as is sometimes suggested, — to expect the federation to become an independent power would be Utopian, for Poland is, for the most part, only a decorative power. Besides, Poland has, as yet, been more interested in imperialistic tendencies at the cost of its neighbours than in the defence of Europe. The Baltic States could hold their ground best if the following conditions were given:

1) the liberation of all peoples enslaved by Russia and the restriction of the Russian State to the ethnographic borders of the Russian people;

2) full independence of the Ukrainian State;

3) the constitution of independent states of all those peoples enslaved by Russia, such as Byelorussians, Cossacks, Tartars, Turkestanians, Georgians, Armenians, Aserbaijanians etc., i. e. all the peoples incorporated at present in U.S.S.R.;

4) free co-operation, based on national treaties, between the Scandinavian States, the Baltic States, Ukraine and the Caucasus;

5) realization of the idea of a world federation, in which the Baltic States would take part, side by side with the other nations, with equal rights and duties;

6) institution of an international court competent for the whole globe, the decrees of which would have to be acknowledged by all the states in the world.

Only within a democratic world organization can the Baltic States i. e. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia flourish, in full security and prosperity, as free nations and delivered from the threat of imperialism on the side of Russia or other neighbours.

"great Russian people" will be blazoned forth the louder, and genocide practised among all non-Russian peoples more ruthlessly.

All the key positions are in any case in the hands of Russians, and that they are filled with approved Russian chauvinists and imperialists like Malenkov, Molotov, Bulganin, Zhukov etc. guarantees the same course in the future.

Stalin succeeded in developing the spirit of serfdom and tyranny to the utmost limit. Moreover he raised chauvinism and Russian imperialism to a height hitherto unknown in history. For the Russians he may therefore survive in memory as "great Stalin". For the subjugated peoples, however, who have had

to bear all the horrors of genocide, he will always remain cursed and for the whole civilized world and history, as the cruellest hangman of all times and peoples. The tyrant is dead, but the tyranny he founded lives after him and the successors he trained stand ready to outdo their master.

To save the world now, as before, Soviet Russian tyranny must be crushed, but that can only be done when the Russian dungeon of nations is torn up, and people from Berlin to the Pacific are liberated. The West may expect less than ever from a policy of waiting. The Soviet regime will alter not one whit, either inside or outside. Stalin's death will bring about no changes for our peoples, or for the West, that are for the better. A turn in the affairs can only be achieved by strength, the parole, therefore remains as before, "be on the alert and ready, never let irrevocable bolshevik aggression take you by surprise".

## Plenary Meeting of the A.B.N.

*On January 25, 1953, a joint plenary meeting of the Council of Nations and the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), was held in Munich, where essential questions of policy and organization were discussed.*

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*The meeting was opened and presided over by the acting chairman of the Council of Nations, Veli Kajum Khan, who, moreover, is President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee. He underlined in his speech the political significance of the moment at which the meeting was taking place, he appreciated the previous success of the A.B.N. and laid particular stress on the importance of its activity amongst the Islamic people, where the fight of the A.B.N. against Russian-bolshevik imperialism has met with vigorous response.*

*The main report was read by the President of the Central Committee, Yaroslav Stetzko, former prime minister of free Ukraine and chairman of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) Abroad. In his circumstantial report, President Stetzko drew a balance of the past ten years' activity of the A.B.N. and set up a substantial, constructive programme for the work to come, the objectives of which had been more and more acknowledged by the world. The President's report fell under four special heads: a) Account of activity hitherto; b) Analysis of the position of the subjugated countries; c) the foreign situation; d) directives and plans for the coming year. The last item was divided into three different actions: a) Organization of preliminary work in case of a crisis; b) propaganda; c) activity in the West resp. neutral countries. Subsequently, reports*

*were given by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee; the Chairman of the Military Commission of the A.B.N., General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement; the Chairman of the Commission for International Law and Relations, Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic and President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee; the Chairman of the Information Committee Dr. Balkanski, former Bulgarian State Secretary and member of the Presidency of the National Bulgarian Front; the Chairman of the Commission for the Statutes, Professor Rudolf Wierer, member of the Presidency of the Czech Democratic Federalists; and the head of the Finance Department, J. Roman, member of the Ukrainian Delegation in the A.B.N.*

*In the subsequent discussions the representatives of all the national delegations present took part, i. e. Civil Engineer W. Glaskow, Chairman of the Supreme Cossack Representation; Dr. Stjepan Buc, Secretary General of the Croat National Committee; Prince Niko Nakashidse, member of the Presidency of the Georgian Political Organization; Professor Wilhelm Szepesvaraljay-Haendel, member of the Presidency of the Hungarian Liberty Movement; Editor J. Gytis, Chairman of the Movement for Lithuanian Revival; Professor A. W., member of the Presidency of the Byelorussian National Centre.*

*After approbation had been given to the reports on the previous activity, and unanimity was achieved on the most essential points of the work to come, it was stated that the A.B.N. far surpassed all similar initiatives in significance and strength through its conception and composition, so that co-operation with it was unavoidable in the present world-wide fight against bolshevism.*

*In order to consolidate the organization of the A.B.N. several resolutions were passed unanimously which were to clarify the interpretation of the statutes regarding organization.*

## Dulles Hopes for Lithuania's Freedom

On the 35th anniversary of Lithuania's independence, the American State Secretary, John Foster Dulles, expressed his hope in a special note, that Lithuania might see the day of liberty soon. He pointed out the fact that the United States, by its refusal to recognize the incorporation of the Baltic States in the Soviet Union, had expressed its persuasion that the relations between small and big states had to foot on law and justice.

In this connection, first-rank Congress members and other politicians severely condemned the enslavement of the said states by the U.S.S.R.

## Defence of our Peoples

We have been informed by the Initiative Committee for the preparation of a joint declaration of the National-political Centres and Liberation Organizations which was issued on December 14, 1952, that 80 photostat copies of the document, in the English language, have been sent up to now to several statesmen and politicians in the free world, among others to many influential politicians in the U.S.A.

To the State Secretary of the United States, John Foster Dulles, a circumstantial memorandum was sent by the Central Committee of the A.B.N., referring to the problems of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, and summarizing the ways and aims of their liberation as well as the premises of their co-operation with the West. The memorandum was signed by the chairmen of the National-Political Centres and Organizations in the A.B.N., as well as by the chairmen of the Commissions concerned.

# Economy and Morals

*A contribution to the discussion on the future economic order of subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R.*

In drawing a picture of the future one always risks overstepping the limit of probability. And, with journalism in view, one must beware of presenting an article to the reader, which is not likely to rivet his interest. It is an illuminating statement that, all over the globe, the writers who draw the visions of the new economic order of the future, are so poor in imagination. The famous author Wells, who described so marvelously the journeys to the moon, or the legendary times of old, — appeared absolutely banal and without fantasy in describing our future world.

It is not my intention here to write a novel of the future. I will try, however, to give an outlook of the presumable development in the economic and social domains, which is deduced from facts in our countries.

We must take into account that our countries have been flooded over by marxistic propaganda. The plans for the socialist "Soviet-Paradise" have been spread so circumstantially, in millions of copies, that anybody, combatting the marxistic theory with good reason, can hardly be answered with a new argument. Soviet social theorists hurl such catchwords of humanity out into the world as "protection of working people", promising them the most modern social legislation. Theoretically every worker and every peasant is secured against any effects of age, sickness, accidents, etc. And as for unemployment, this word is not tolerated within the Soviet theory. It only applies to the "capitalistic world". Therefore the greatest care must be observed in discussing our future social and economic problems. The communist social theory has been so manifoldly developed that our theses might seem lacking elan and energy. It would be captious, should our picture of the future resemble the "realm of intermediate ghosts", as some Catholic writers present the sphere of unbaptized children. I quote the poem of "Derniers chants" by Casimir Delavigne:

They talk together, yet quite low  
They walk, step by step, in the manner of  
ghosts;  
They fly, but the beat of their wings was  
never heard.

I venture to state that all our economic and social plans will fail if the masses do not feel from the beginning that the control of economy is closely connected with morals. In all state life the human being has to take the first place and must be convinced that we, in contrast to bolshevism, profess prosperity, not only in theory but are also determined and able to realize our intentions.

The inner coherence of economy and morals has been formulated by Aristoteles in a masterly way. This philosopher stands at the beginning of all the scientific research of the Occident. To him morals, politics and national economies are inseparably linked together.

Science has been divided up since, and so special sciences were created. But national economy must not be separated from morals — even not in our times. Economics may be studied separately. Yet it does not exist separately. It constitutes one part of human actions which foot, as a whole, on a moral order and are not a mere conglomerate of material and technical parts. Morals must be the underlying factor throughout investigations.

This economy must entirely conform to human destiny and it will be the task of our future state leader to have an eye on that.

Some economic problems have been disposed of for ever by the revolution in 1917. One of them is the abolition of great landed property; so we need not heed it in the intended re-establishment of farmer property in our countries. But we have to mention this affair, otherwise Soviet propaganda might protest that we want to give the soil to the great landed proprietor instead of the peasants. The fear of peasants' private landed property dominates the bolsheviks most.

Under the title "Social Property as the Basis of the Kolkhose Order" in an official Soviet newspaper of 1952 you can read, in black and white, that 5 million hectares of land were restored to the kolkhoses, which had been arbitrarily appropriated by the kolkhose peasants, in order to enlarge their individual allotments (prisadibnaya ploshcha). As we know, concession is given only for 0.25 up to 1 hectare. In practice, the peasants live only on these small allotments. These appropriations offer the best proof for the strength of the desire for landed property, still alive in all the peasants 35 years after the revolution. The problem of landed property and the possible conversion of the kolkhoses into private farms is too complicated to be solved by a stroke of the pen. It may be mentioned here without going into further details.

It would seem that privatization will spread in the appropriate spheres when the time comes. I need only mention that the population was in deep waters after the abolishment of free handicraft. To give quite a commonplace example: the mending of shoes is still one of the most serious problems for a citizen in the Soviet Union.

The development of privatization will follow without ado from the natural attitude of the individual, whereby it must not be forgotten that

## "Bohemia" Accuses!

# An Appeal to the World

The mouthpiece of the Czech Democratic Federalists, "Bohemia", published, in No. 19 of January 31, 1953, an indictment of the communist government of the Czechoslovakian Republic and its juridical, administrative, executive authorities. In the following we reproduce some excerpts.

"In the Czechoslovakian Republic (C.S.R.), from May 1945 to February 1948, 500,000 citizens of Czech, Slovakian, German, Hungarian nationality were bestially murdered for political, national, racial or class reasons without proper trial or proceedings. For the same reasons hundreds of thousands more were imprisoned, starved and barbarously tormented for months, also without a regular hearing. (The victims were men, women, the aged, children and even babies). Hundreds of thousands of women were brutally raped. Under the so-called retribitional decrees, issued by the president, tens of thousands of citizens were arbitrarily sentenced to many years of imprisonment or forced labour by so-called "People's Courts" without any possibility for defence. More than three million citizens were, for the reasons mentioned already, and with a high hand, deprived of their total properties honestly and regularly acquired.

From February 1948 up to date, 95,000 citizens have been cruelly done away with in the C.S.R. for political, religious, racial and class reasons without trial. For the same reasons, 380,000, citizens are illegally detained in jails and 247 concentration camps, where they starve, and suffer bestial psychical and physical torture, and are exploited like slaves.

**Bolshevization and  
russification are Siamese twins!**

the world which is aiming at the overthrow of bolshevism, answers frankly for private property and private enterprise. It would be the greatest mistake, however, to resume the forms of the time prior to 1917, also in the field of industry. It will take a long time of transition to establish economy in conformance with the peoples' will.

"There are people who want to base economy on a conspiracy of egoism: one will hold the other in leash, and thus economy is to be put in order," said A. D. Sertillanger when he addressed the "Academie des Sciences morales et politiques," in Paris.

"It cannot be claimed, that the liberal capitalists have not persistently followed his line and are therefore persuaded, no doubt, they could spare morals. Truly, that is too much optimism. That is the same as with the European order: when it was entrusted to the balance of hostile groups it resulted in an armed peace and in dreadful wars."

"The power of balance is not so strong. Life cannot be based on egoisms in battle array, but on truth and honesty. Clear order in all things is a necessity and as for economy, the order to be applied is the following: everything human to the human beings, and the latter linked together by just conditions and relations; men and things adjusted to their true destiny, which depends in so great a degree on that unfortunate material order in which sometimes the whole drama of life becomes entangled."

May I repeat, that only the confidence of our peoples in the new state leaders, in their sincerity and their expressly humanitarian goals when erecting the new order of state and economy, can be ample warrant that our volition will be crowned by success.

Prof. G. v. St.

For the same reasons, millions of citizens are deprived of their properties.

Therefore we accuse the Red Government of the C.S.R. as well as their juridical, administrative, executive authorities of systematically trampling the human rights underfoot, which have been guaranteed by constitutions; protected under the laws of all civilized states comprehended in the Covenant, as suggested by the U.N.O. in 1951 on the basis of the General Declaration of Human Rights of December 10, 1948."

After a circumstantial and impressive description of the atrocities, tortures, barbarous procedures in the hell of the jail Ruzyn; of concrete facts verified by documents with victims and witnesses named, this appeal "to the governments of the free nations and to the world" concludes with the following statement and request:

The Red Government of the C.S.R. and its juridical, administrative, executive authorities have violated the guarantees for the principles of the COVENANT in its article 6 paragraph 1, 2, 3, and art. 10 par. 2a and art. 6 par. 1, so committing a deed which has been qualified as a crime in the convention on Genocide, of December 9, 1948, in accordance with international law. The said government and its authorities undeniably commit crimes specified in art. 2 of the Covenant as such. Furthermore, they have committed crimes impinging the Penal Code of May 27, 1892, No. 117 RGB 1, which was taken over by the C.S.R. under the law of October 28, 1918, No. 11 G. and VS 1, qualified there as murder in par. 134, as homicide in par. 140, and as severe battery in par. 152.

We suggest to the governments of nations, loving freedom and justice, to submit the matter to the U.N.O. so that further proofs may be demonstrated, in particular by essential witnesses available even now, who would in legal proceedings testify, and by testimonies from juridical, economic, and medical experts.

Munich, January 30, 1953.

**Central Committee of the Czech Democratic  
Federalists"**

Colonel M. Kubanetz:

## The Partisan War

### Preliminary conditions, manifestations and significance

"For, a single rifle shot in the base meets with a stronger psychic reaction than a volley from guns on the frontline."

Partisan war is an action of war which is conducted in a special manner with small armed forces. Normally this sort of warfare does not seek to encounter the hostile armies in an open battle, where the victory is normally gained through superior training and technique, but to hit the enemy by countless raids aimed at his weakest points. Attacks of this kind have their end when, after surprise and confusion, the enemy troops are about to be brought under control again.

It is the ultimate goal of partisan strategy to upset the order and unity of the hostile army to such a degree that its armed forces cease to be complete units ready for action, and fall to pieces. It is one of the premises for a successful partisan war that it is carried out on a territory familiar to the population which produces the partisans. Like any war, the partisan war has to have its political aims. If these aims are of concern and intelligible to the indigenous population, they will become general and national aims, and the partisan forces will be provided with any assistance required, by the population. (Do the political aims of the partisans not fall in with the political attitude of the indigenous population, mutual understanding and necessary assistance will be lacking.) Besides, without connections between the partisans and the population, all partisan war is impossible. The Soviet partisans in the last war, by means of terrorism, substituted fright for mutual understanding.

We see from the history of partisan wars that only national partisans will endure and succeed, with national liberation their goal (Cossacks, Ukrainians, mountain people of the Caucasus, Siberians, Spaniards etc.). Thus, the necessary fundamental condition for the successful conduct of a partisan war is the existence of political aims at national liberation, coinciding with the political hopes of the indigenous population.

Partisan war is the cheapest of all kinds of warfare as to casualties, as well as to the financial liability. Moreover, it has several advantages of extraordinary consequence;

1) Partisan war sets the native population in action in a fight for national deliverance. The nearer the front approaches any one's house, the stronger appears the necessity for him to join in the fight. Partisan war is even waged from inside the homes. During a partisan war the borderline between the two parties among the population is strongly marked. Thus the inner national liberation front grows and strengthens.

2) The existence of partisans as a matter of fact ties confidential connections between the native population and the allied army on the regular front. The population is informed by the partisans about the real intentions and measures of the allied forces. This spoils any "patriotic" propaganda by the enemy.

At the same time, the partisans can provide the allied armies with valuable and trustworthy information about the enemy, or the population, so enabling them to plan the military and political operations of their forces without miscalculation.

3) The existence of partisan activities contributes to preserving the military and political strength of the native political and national units; in other words, all native illegal forces have the possibility to go to the partisans if necessary, in order to continue their fight. The solidary participation in the fight increases the ability of the native units to offer resistance.

4) If the armed partisan forces have been organized in the right way, swift incorporation in the regular army is practically possible. This fact alone allows the organization of a national army without bases, engineering, finances, government of its own and — most important — within the shortest time.

5) The partisan war renders the participation of the subjugated people in the national deliver-

ance of their country possible. This participation of the population is unlimited, it may extend from the formation of small active groups, up to general collaboration. Through the process of all phases of partisan war, the population will inevitably learn the necessity and possibility of such a fight. Experience will convince them that they are strong enough to bear it. And so the national ideals receive a real and practical basis.

6) The partisan war deprives the enemy of his confidence in his base and causes uncertainty. Frequent railroad disasters and interruptions of transportation, force the enemy to transport, and keep in store on the front, unreasonable quantities of supplies of all kinds. The enemy is forced to detach considerable armed forces to protect his line of supply and that the more, the longer the distance from the central base to the front grows. The unceasing raids of the partisans all along the baselines induces the enemy to suspect the indigenous population and forces him to

retreat into separate block houses and to avoid any connection with the natives. The service at a base turns out to be a heavier psychic load to the enemy soldiers than the front service; for a single rifle shot in the base meets with a stronger psychic reaction than a volley from guns on the frontline.

7) Partisan war shakes the enemy's confidence in his technical advantages, as he cannot apply them at all in a fight against partisans, rightly organized. Partisan war is a contest of mind and not of technique.

8) Partisan war does not eliminate the possibility of balanced actions by the allied forces and the partisans. Designed attacks and breaches in the front can be supported by the blowing up of bridges and transport incidents at the base, caused by the partisans of the respective section.

9) The more the war situation stiffens, the more the importance of partisan activity grows, for, the longer the war lasts, the more will the partisans merge in the population and separation will cease to exist.

10) In addition to all this, partisan war renders the organization of counter-partisans by the enemy much more difficult. The national partisans rapidly do away with those inimical partisan groups.

## For Diplomatic Relations Between U.S.A., Ukraine and Byelorussia

*The Republican member of Congress, Lawrence H. Smith of Wisconsin submitted a motion proposing that the American government should enter into direct diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics.*

*In his introduction, Mr. Smith referred to President Eisenhower's proclamation in which he announced the American government's new liberation policy. Further Mr. Smith spoke of the political importance of diplomatic relations with countries which the Kremlin describes as "free and independent republics" but which are actually under the Russian bolshevik yoke.*

*A similar motion was proposed by Senator Alexander Smith of New Jersey in the Senate.*

*The Republican Congressman Lawrence H. Smith said that his motion was necessary.*

*Below we give Extract from Resolution.*

### Concurrent Resolution

"WHEREAS the Soviet Government in Moscow fosters, through propaganda media, the appearance of independent will and status on the part of The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; and

WHEREAS, in the historical order, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic exercised its complete sovereignty as a signatory along with the separate states of Poland and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, to the Treaty of Riga in 1921, the official text of which appeared in three languages — Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian; and

WHEREAS on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the sovereign and independent status was affirmed to the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. by the First Union Constitution which declared that each of the member Republics shall retain the right to freely withdraw from the Union; and

WHEREAS the Soviet Government has given the impression that it favored the sovereign and independent status of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. when it was stated that Republics should have the right to secede

from the U.S.S.R. and that such right was to be more than a meaningless scrap of paper; and

WHEREAS said Soviet Constitution provides that each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange representatives with them; and

WHEREAS said Constitution also provides that each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations; and

WHEREAS in contrast to the conditions prevailing in other Soviet Republics, the distinctive national banners and emblems of state maintained by the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. are presumed to manifest symbolically the sovereignty and independence of these states; and

WHEREAS the Government of the United States recognizes the delegations selected to represent the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. as accepted nations of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS the people of the United States recognize the sovereignty of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, which is in harmony with the ideas expressed in the Declaration of Independence of the United States and, therefore, stand ready to render to these peoples and to the peoples in the Soviet Union any assistance for the strengthening of their freedoms and their economic development; and

WHEREAS it is clearly incongruous from every viewpoint to maintain the recognition by this Government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. in the United Nations without the peace-oriented opportunity to establish direct diplomatic contact with their respective capitals of Kyiv and Minsk...

*The Ukrainian and Byelorussian nationals maintain the view that their national representatives should be recognized by the western world and not Moscow's agents, as now in Kyiv and Minsk. Those representing the Ukrainian and Byelorussian S.S.R. should be excluded and replaced by those who have the right to represent their countries and speak for the resistance movements.*

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*"Soviet patriotism" is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism!*

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Prof. Dr. h. c. H. Washchenko:

## Education of Youth in the U.S.S.R.

The leaders of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. have always thought education a most important thing. In the first revolutionary years, already, they put their hope for the erection of a communist society on the youth (a directive of Lenin). This attitude towards the education of youth has been kept up ever since, under the Soviet rule. Just when the communists had taken power they began to organize a concentrated school system in towns and villages, they founded numerous pedagogical establishments and laboratories, stimulated the issue of pedagogical magazines and methodical literature. Even in 1943, notwithstanding the fact that they had to exert all their strength against the German army, the Soviets established the "Academy of Pedagogical Science", which, with a thousand collaborators, displayed an extended work of research and publishing. This particular care of the communist party, for education aimed not at education and spiritual development, though, but at purely political purposes only.

### **Instruments for the Government**

Paragraph 12 of the program of the communist party, in the drawing up of which Lenin had also assisted, reads as follows: In the period of proletarian dictatorship, school was to play a leading part, not only in executing the communist principles in general, but also in exerting organized proletarian influence on the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian groups of the working masses in the domain of ideological education, with the ultimate goal that generations are educated to bring communism about.

In other words: it is the task of the school and education in the U.S.S.R. to make the young people a compliant and apt instrument for the bolshevik regime and its aspiration for rule over the world. From this follow the educational principles of the school in the U.S.S.R. They were formulated by the Communist Party as follows: "The next task on this line (of communist education) will be:

The accomplishment of free and compulsory tuition in general and polytechnical matters for all children of both sexes up to the age of 17...

Definite exercise of the principles of a standard school with teaching in the mother tongue and combined classes of both, boys and girls, and with sessions absolutely free from any religious influence, that is to say, of a school the subjects of which have close connections with the common work of production and likely to bring up all-round educated members of the communist society...

Some of these program items have been held up, some were exercised for a certain time only and others remained nothing but luring theory.

### **The Poison of Ungodliness**

From the beginning of the bolshevik revolution the principle of anti-religious education has been maintained. The program of the communist party, it is true, claims only that the schools had to be free from any religious influence, but in reality Soviet school has always been anti-religious. When, in 1927, the popular commissariat of the Russian S.F.S.R. issued a pamphlet on anti-religious education, it met with the severe criticism of the party leaders: Soviet school was to bring up active and fighting atheists. This is but the logical consequence of communist ideology in the line with which Soviet youth is brought up. As we know, Marx stigmatized religion as "opium for the people" and Lenin called it "drugs". To him religions constituted the bitterest enemy of communism, which foos on the principle of materialism and atheism. Therefore the bolsheviks started a cruel campaign against the Church during the first years; priests were arrested, shot or sent to concentration camps; atheistic literature was read; atheistic museums were established; atheistic groups often arranged anti-religious de-

monstrations, especially on Christian holidays. Schools took an active part in the campaign against religion. Under the directions of the school authorities, the teachers had to propagate atheism during the lessons, groups of active atheists were formed in the schools and the pupils had to take an active part in the anti-religious demonstrations. During the second world war the bolsheviks changed their attitude towards Church only ficti-

## Moscow's Enemy No. 1

### Ukrainian Fighters for Freedom are "Detestable"

*The bolshevik official newspaper of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic "Radyanska Ukraina" published, in the issue of December 12, 1952, a long article, a part of which is quoted literally in the following:*

"Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and terrorist bands have murdered such well-known editors and notable men in eminent positions in society as Yaroslav Halan." (This is a Ukrainian traitor in the pay of Russian bolshevik despotism — Ed.)

"They assassinated, furthermore, one of the initiators of a union between the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, namely Dr. Hawril Kostelnjk. (A mediator, misused through the Soviets for the russification of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and presumably made away with by the Soviets themselves for his obstinacy — Ed.)

"The United Church, too, under the leadership of Sheptyzky was a direct organizer of the ill-famed army of the armed Ukrainian insurgents. Church premises and the dwellings of priests, e. g. the St. George's Palace, the residence of the Metropolitan, were used as commando centres and weapon stores of their followers.

The true face of the "pastor" Sheptyzky is that of a bourgeois, fighting for bourgeois nationalism, who, after the proclamation of the "independent government" with the notorious and detestable Yaroslav Stetzko as the head, formed and presided over the Ukrainian National Council."

It may be noted that, in the eyes of Moscow, the U.P.A. is "ill-famed" and a marked exponent of the Ukrainian national insurrection is "detestable", apparently because they are classified as chief enemy of Russian bolshevik despotism.

There is no reason for Ukrainian patriots to be discontented about this involuntary official certificate issued through the Soviets.

One day, when the Russian bolshevik despotism will have been overthrown and Ukraine will have risen to an independent state life, history will have to show who were the really detestable murderers of millions of innocent human beings and who bore the martyrdom of a hard struggle for freedom because they were devoted to the sacred Ukrainian cause with all their hearts.

tionously: they permitted churches to be opened and even renewed the patriarchy in Moscow under Aleksiej Symanski. But this was a mere, sly political manoeuvre. In reality, the bolsheviks made the Church their instrument in the struggle for the power over the world; the campaign against religion, however, never did cease.

Besides schools, the Komsomol and pioneer organizations wage a persistent fight against the Church, as can be seen from the Soviet press.

The principle of free tuition and educational materials was also realized for a certain time only. From 1940 on, tuition fees have been col-

lected in the upper classes of the 10 years' school and only qualified pupils have been exempted.

The principle of polytechnics has not been applied at all. It had been expounded by Marx, who relied on the experiences of the English employer and pedagogue Robert Owen, and was developed and concretized by Lenin in his comment on the Krupskas theses. The sense of this principle is to combine theoretical instruction with practical work. The Soviet pedagogues made great efforts towards this objective, but in vain. The ordinance of 1937 of the popular commissariat for education on the winding up of the school work-shops constituted the actual abandonment of this method of teaching.

### **Complete Class Insanity**

After all, the uniformity of the school system has not been realized either. It must be noted here, that the educational system for the Ukrainian and of the Russian S.F.S.R. was different. The schooling for all-round education consisted in Ukraine of a seven years' course. In Ukraine the technical school was regarded as a university and in the Russian S.F.S.R. as secondary school. Only in 1934, was a standard system of education introduced in all Soviet Republics, whereby the school for all-round education was divided up into a complete 10 years' course and a non-complete 7 year-course. The first course entitles the pupil to enter the university and the second to attend a trading school of a medium degree. Besides this school, which admits any pupils, without regard to their party-affiliation, special party-schools were set up after the revolution, to educate future party leaders.

There was even an "Institute of Red Professorship" from which the party teachers came forth. Moreover, the elementary schools do not admit, especially in the upper forms, any citizens of the U.S.S.R. and their children. Up to 1936, i. e. until Stalin's constitution came into force, great limitations were imposed on the children of priests, of former tsarist officials, of merchants etc. In elementary schools they were considered as inferior, and to medium trading schools or high schools they were not admitted at all.

To enjoy a higher education, the so-called bourgeois youth was forced to conceal his or her social origin and often to procure false documents. Owing to the highly developed information system, those facts were brought to light and the juveniles were called to account. In recent times, particularly after World War II, the titles to education were still more limited in the U.S.S.R. The bolsheviks, it is true, claimed in 1936 already, that class struggles had come to an end in the U.S.S.R. and a classless society had been created, but it was only one of the usual bolshevik lies. In reality a new and intensified difference in classes had arisen.

### **"Lessons to be Held in Mother Tongue"**

Finally, if only generally, the national factor in schooling remains to be mentioned. The program of the Communist Party stresses that the lessons must be held in the mother tongue of the children. And during the first years, the Soviets actually kept to this principle. In time, however, Russian chauvinism came more and more to the front. Simultaneously active elements in the national republics began to be persecuted by being charged with "bourgeois nationalism". The constant use of the mother tongue in office and even in private was ample proof. This policy was felt in the schools, too. In the national republic the number of schools held in the Russian language increased more and more. At the high schools, again, lessons on the Russian language, history, literature, were well advanced. Moreover, it often occurs that teachers holding lessons in a native tongue, talk to their colleagues in Russian during the break, as they are well aware that the slightest suspicion of "bourgeois nationalism" might entail arrest and deportation to a concentration camp. (to be continued.)

## The Perspective of our Campaign

Continued from Page 1

and our peoples to stand out as bearer of ideas which coincide with those at home and when necessary may bring the will power to a head. As for us, we must assist those peoples and defend their aspirations here.

The ideas of national deliverance, of social justice, of liberty of men and of freedom of religion, are now the pregnant ideas behind the Iron Curtain. Thus we must find kindred elements in the West, mobilize them for the common cause, and closely cooperate with them.

The conception of the A.B.N. (independence of each people in a national state of its own and liberty for every individual) and the Russian and communist method of the subjugation of nations are now encountering each other. The scale is slowly inclining to our side.

It is no accident that President Eisenhower, in his programmatic speech, that Senator Wiley as Chairman of the Commission for Foreign Affairs and State Secretary Dulles have expressed the thought that bolshevism must be fought also from ideological positions by confronting communism with Christendom in the West, with Islam in the Near East, with Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism in the Far East. Another characteristic symptom may be seen in the fact that nations now want their fate in the hands of firm and responsible characters. Or why is it that in the majority of nations the power has been taken over by military persons (U.S.A., Egypt, part of South America, Greece). The army has always been a symbol of resistance against corruption and threatening of the sane forces of defence, as has been proved by Ukraine, Byelorussia, and, before, by Turkistan. It is our advantage that we defend a system of nobler ideas than many a circle in the West. Brute force must be opposed by both physical strength and the idea of a better world in the future, of the realization of justice and truth, freedom and independence.

The ethnographical principle and the recognition of the claim of all displaced persons to return home will give us a just clue to the solution of borderline problems. The allies may choose between our ideas and the further oppression which makes up the programme of the Russian imperialists and communists. It is symptomatic, that we hear now in the West: "A.B.N.-Conception", "A.B.N.-people they think otherwise." It is not always inquired of which people the A.B.N. consists, but is simply said "A.B.N.-people"; that is to say, people of a certain character and of a different, certain, clear, objective.

The recent joint action against C.S.R., the united step of all Ukrainian factors against C.C.A.C. and the Common declaration of the national-political centres and organisations of non-Russian peoples against C.C.A.C., now issued by A.B.N. are a telling witness for the truth of our persuasion. Recently a politician wrote to us: "The Americans are telling the Russians already: A.B.N. unites nations, while you, the Russians, disunite them".

### International Problems

We must show a solid and uniform attitude. Our conception is opposed by the Russian, the Yugoslavian and the C.S.R. conception. The point of our common interest is, that whoever sympathizes with the "Green International", is sympathizing with an indivisible Russian Empire. And on the other hand, when the Russian empire falls, Tito's communism will have to fall with it. Consequently every adversary of the Russian empire must oppose Tito's communism, too. In reality, the frontline runs through the nations in the west. There is no unity in France, Italy or the U.S.A. Fifth columns there defend Moscow's interests. Thus the interests of the western patriots coincide more with the actions of the A.B.N. than with those of their compatriots serving Moscow. We have stated that the ideas of the West in

their development are gradually inclining to our side; thus our work has not been in vain. May it remain equally clear, unwavering and uncompromising! True, we have no funds. But a true ideal will win, sooner or later, even with such very small means as ours and untruth cannot prevail, even by means of its millions. Furthermore, we must not forget the important role of the Islamic peoples in the Orient and the perils awaiting them from the cunning tactics of the bolsheviks and from anti-semitism, which will only strengthen the insane neutralism of some nations in the Near East. We must also focus our attention on the Mediterranean as an essential field in a possible war against bolshevism.

### Prospect and Prognosis

The friendly feelings the West entertains for us may be a consequence of our strength and the manifestation of our inner unity. The A.B.N. itself is the means, not the end. There exist only the interests of each nation and these are the interests of the A.B.N., which is no international organization but a coordina-

tion centre. The stress is laid by design on the political tendency of the West against bolshevism: the war waged is an ideological, political, and even a religious one. If the West aims seriously at the dissolution of the Russian prison of peoples, its strategy must be to separate the subjugated nations from the enemy and to attack only the Russian territory in the case of actual fact. This war is not to be waged against our peoples but in common with them against Russian imperialism. Only a united front of subjugated nations, including Germany, can be victorious. The die will be cast in the years 1953 and 1954. The fate of the world will be determined then for centuries. Therefore our part in the play is of particular importance.

U.S.A. with Great Britain can make a substantial contribution to a favourable solution if, as nations of wide political experience, they support our ideas.

Come what may, we are determined to keep the initiative in our own hands and to appear upon the world-stage with the claim that our peoples, as a potential factor in the present world-crisis, are a power in themselves. In the tenth year of the existence of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, we have every reason to gaze confidently into the future.

## Ukrainian National Celebration

*Editors Note: All Ukrainians throughout the whole free world, wherever they may be living, celebrated on January 22nd and 29th the Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independence of the Ukrainian State and the National Youth Day respectively. We called on the Ukrainians of Wolverhampton, Great Britain, at their celebration.*

Resolution agreed upon during the Anniversary Celebration on the first day of February 1955 organised by the Wolverhampton Branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association with the cooperation of representatives of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). The celebration was dedicated to commemorate 35th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of Ukraine and 35th Anniversary of the Battle of Kruty.

### I. We maintain.

1.) That, since the year 1917, the Russian-bolshevik imperialists have pursued only one aim: the domination of all peoples either directly, or by means of their agents in various lands;

2.) that the aim of these imperialists is: the eradication among the free nations of the ideals of belief in God, freedom of conscience, individual and national liberty, social justice, the patriotic spirit, and active resistance against force, in order, by means of moral, intellectual and social destruction, to bring about the abasement of these peoples, so that they may become unresisting tools in the hands of Moscow imperialists;

3.) that Moscow which has its disguised supporters in all the leading positions of western society — in the government offices, in Parliaments, the press, the army, science and literature, the film industry and the theatre, and in the colleges, carries on this work of agitation, either through its own agents, or through sympathetic secret societies in western countries. These supporters help to perform this disruptive work for the Kremlin, and wherever possible, to kindle national or civil strife.

II. We summon all honest, honorable and valiant men

1.) to organize their peoples and prepare them for a radical reckoning with the Moscow imperialists and their supporters within their own communities.

to tear down the veil that is before the eyes of the misguided masses.

to expose the misguided agents of Moscow and prosecute them as traitors,

to defend the ancient moral values and political achievements — the ideals of faith in God, patriotism, human freedom, social justice, free communities of people, and national independence;

2.) to make themselves ready for the inevitable, — because forced upon us by the Kremlin, — conflict with Russia, in Europe, America, Asia, Africa and within every nation.

To extend the hand of brotherhood to the A.B.N. Nations, who in the name of liberty, a divine peace, and social justice, have been fighting for decades against this murderous barbarity and will continue to fight until this devilish power is finally destroyed. They fight against open and concealed powers, which wish to bring about the destruction of the old culture of the free peoples and to lead the West into slavery.

3.) To assist the nations of Europe and Asia which are enslaved by Russia and by Bolshevism to re-erect their independent, democratic national states upon the ruins of the Russian Empire and the ashes of communism.

### In Chicago

*Almost 2,000 people jammed the Chopin School Auditorium in Chicago, on Sunday, January 25th, to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic.*

At 3 P.M., Mr. John Duzansky, president of the League of Americans of Ukrainian Descent called the rally to order and the proclamation of Governor Stratton, proclaiming Ukrainian Day in Illinois, was read.

Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki of Marquette University delivered an excellent speech summarizing Ukrainian history during the past thirty five years, and urging that Ukrainians everywhere keep up the fight to liberate the enslaved Ukrainian nation. The following declaration was read by Mrs. A. Wasilowsky, and was unanimously adopted by all present.

Congratulatory speeches were given by representatives of the following nationalities, Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian, Byelorussian, Cossack, Slovenian, and Croatian; as well as by Prof. G. Galva, representing the American Friends of A.B.N. in Chicago. The rally was rounded out with an excellent presentation of Ukrainian literature and music from the Chicago area, a successful program in memory of a successful day, the 22nd of January 1918, may it never be forgotten and may it be celebrated in a free Ukrainian National Republic in the near future.

Alex J. Zabrosky

*Spokesman for the Struggle for Freedom***Prof. Michael Tseretheli**

A great Georgian people's tribune and national revolutionary

Prof. M. Tseretheli is one of the most outstanding figures of Georgia.

In that era of the 19th century so fatal to Georgia, in the year 1878 he was born at one of the most beautiful places in Western Georgia. He descends from an old family of that country from which many prominent statesmen, princes of the Church, army leaders, poets, and scientists have come.

It is true, official life was necessarily Russian at that time, but the Georgian family remained untouched by alien influences. They carried on the Georgian spirit with its genuine tradition.

In this spirit Tseretheli has grown up. He attended the grammar school at Kulhaisi and passed the leaving examination there. In that school Russian education prevailed; the pupils were not to talk in Georgian, and were vexed and taunted by Russian teachers. Pursuant to his liberal sentiment he participated in the excesses of the pupils, thence arisen, and found himself in danger of being expelled.

At the turn of the century Tseretheli was studying at the Uyio university. There he came into connection with the political organisations of Ukraine and other peoples. His storm and stress period began. He plunged spontaneously into illegal political insurgent activity. In the great hall of the Kyiv university the young student held a sensational and excellent speech against Russian despotism. He was arrested and expelled. Further studies were prohibited.

After he had been likewise expelled in Paris in 1901, owing to his political activity, he eagerly continued his studies in Switzerland and London.

A strong group of Georgian intelligence issued, as counterbalance to the marxistic social democrats dominating in Georgia, the "Newspaper" which soon became the centre of the entire Georgian intellectuals. One of its collaborators was Tseretheli. He also collaborated with the newspaper "Georgia", which was issued in Georgian and French in Paris from 1903 to 1905, and smuggled the paper several times into Georgia. After the outbreak of the revolution in 1905 Tseretheli returned home on his own account and became one of the heads of the revolution.

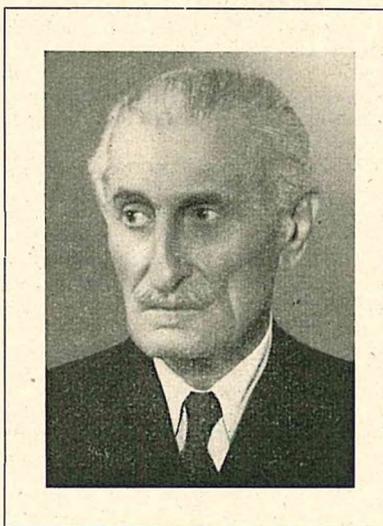
He was a well-known and influential publicist and popular tribune. His ingenious and precise thoughts, as well as his sharp pen had a crushing effect on the adversary.

On the occasion of the murder of the great Georgian philosopher, politician, poet, and national leader, Ilia Tshawtshavadse, he held the speech to the nation, laying claim on the historical right of the small Christian people of Georgia, to live as an independent nation. That speech became a directive for the generation to come.

In 1907 that enthusiastic fighter for the interests of his people submitted, together with other politicians, a petition to the civilized world, to the Congress of World Peace in the Hague. In that petition the apparent breach of treaty on Russia's part was stigmatized and the violation of Georgia described. It culminated in the entreaty to the world to support that tormented people in its just claim to the re-establishment of its sovereignty.

The principle idea of his political persuasion was, that the title of a people to its freedom was a law of nature, and that there was no free man if the people was not free itself. With this idea, however, the free world had to be made historically acquainted. Therefore Tseretheli resolved to devote himself entirely to that science. To him the very beginning of Georgian history had been the empires of the Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Hittites. He chose Assyriology and ancient oriental history for his subject, to find an opportunity to demonstrate the affinity of the Georgian and the Sumerian language.

After the outbreak of the first world war, he rushed to Berlin to constitute the *Georgian Nat-*



*ional Liberation Committee*, together with other national fighters, such as G. Machabeli, P. Surguladse, the brothers Leo and Georg Peresselidse. The Committee took up connections with the competent German authorities immediately. Its main task was to persuade these German authorities that after the expected defeat of tsarist Russia the West could secure its political, economic, cultural influence over the East, not by the new subjugation of the peoples, but by their liberation, by restoring their national independence, by voluntary treaties and alliances with them.

Thanks to support by the sensible German diplomats, R. Nadolny, O. v. Wesendonck, W. Graf v. Schulenburg and v. Hülsen this view was carried through and affirmed in the foreign office.

In 1916, a congress of peoples deprived of their rights, took place in Lausanne. Georgia was represented by M. Tseretheli. With his speech, he attracted the attention of the international public.

In 1917, he shipped illegally to Georgia by submarine. He took weapons with him and, on unloading them, he himself pushed the small landing boats through the surf. Only three kilometers away the Russian coast guard was stationed.

In May 1918, the independence of Georgia was proclaimed. Tseretheli became a member of a diplomatic delegation, which was sent to Berlin.

After the defeat of Germany that restless man went to Sweden in order to take up connections with the Entente in his capacity as Georgian ambassador. When Georgia was de facto recognized by the great powers (and soon it was also de jure) he returned home in order to devote himself to further scientific activity at the university. He was appointed professor in ordinary for ancient oriental history and Assyriology.

After the Soviet occupation of Georgia, Tseretheli was forced again to go abroad. He resumed his scientific work as a professor at the Brussels university, at the Oriental Institute in Berlin later, and finally, up to the end of the second World War he worked there for his severely afflicted native country.

Fate followed him mercilessly. His only son, the scientist Othar Tseretheli, has been missing since the war. Tseretheli has now been living in Munich for some years. Still unbroken and alert in mind, he has the consolation of his scientific research, yearning, as ever, for the liberation of his severely afflicted native country.

*Chronicus*

**Workers and Farmers—Victims of Communist Social Policy**

Most of the Polish refugees who have arrived in West Berlin during the last weeks, have been workers and farmers, that is to say, members of the working class who should be the first to profit from the benefits of the social policy in a worker's state. This fact illuminates significantly the economic and social conditions in Poland.

As stated in an official pronouncement from Warsaw, the economic plan in the second quarter of 1952 was, with 100.4%, more than fulfilled. An examination of these figures in detail showed that those industrial branches which are subordinate to the ministries of mining, engineering, road and air transport, ship building and forestry reached 95% of their quota, whereas the industries for metals, coke, petroleum, electricity, motors, agricultural machines exceeded their quota figures. Such branches, however, which worked for the fundamental human needs, as agricultural production and textile industry did not come up to their fixed quota. The gaps in their production were not officially announced. Yet the official "Tribuna Ludu" did admit that "the full mobilization of the agricultural sector has not been achieved" and the blame was put on the "sabotaging Kulaks".

As the shortage of food, from which the industrial workers suffer in particular, could not be removed by even more rigorous compulsion for delivery on the farmers, the government took such improvised measures as the establishment of special shops where the workers can buy those foodstuffs at free market prices, which are rationed but not on hand. Even these measures, however, cannot cover the real requirements, though incentive bonuses for textiles, fodder, coal etc. have been offered to the farmers.

Consequently the pressure on the farmers was intensified. The crop is now gathered under police supervision, as far as its local strength allows. But the coercion on the workers to fulfil their plan and to increase their efficiency remains; the gap between human capacity and national demand is closed by political police mea-

asures; the purchasing power is artificially weakened by increasing compulsory contributions. The workers have to pay, in addition to their taxes: contribution to the trade unions, 10 Sloty; to the "Sea-Ligun", 5 Sl.; to the disabled fund 5 Sl.; to the "re-building of Warsaw", 10 Sl.; to the Red Cross (camouflaged gift for Korea), 3 Sl.; to the "house for children", 5 Sl.; for "Korean relief", 10 Sl.

The psychological and social-political situation of the workers thus arisen is described in a letter written by a Polish industrial worker from Lodz, which was sent to a French trade union centre through illegal channels. It reads as follows . . . "We have come so far that we must work a whole day to earn 2 pounds of sugar and a whole month for a pair of shoes. To purchase a new suit has become a dream since we must work for four to six months to earn its price. We live like the impoverished. We are persistently urged by the party activists to increase our efficiency while the wages are deducted and the treatment becomes more and more inhumane.

Our trade unions do not only not defend our interests but collaborate with the communistic system against us by encouraging the works' leaders to raise our working norm and to screw our working hours up to twelve, even on Sundays and holidays.

We are surrounded by countless spies and provocators in pay of the regime and lying in wait for any unconsidered word which might be uttered in bitterness by one of us. We have only permission for eulogies to Stalin and Bierut and for celebrations, new work norms are instituted. But as soon as they are reached, they are superseded by still higher ones, and there is no end to it. We often work with empty stomachs . . .

To gain a true picture of our every-day life you need only consider the continuously spreading shortage of such basic food as meat, fat, sugar, flour in connection with the rising prices . . ."

P. S.

## Convention of the A.B.N. Youth in Great Britain

The constituent Congress of the Youth Organization of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Great Britain (A.B.N. Youth in Great Britain) took place at Caxton Hall, Westminster on Saturday, 17th January 1953.

The Representatives of the following national organisations took part:

Association of Ukrainian Youth in Great Britain,

Cossack A.B.N. Group,  
Czech National Council,  
Hungarian Liberty Movement,  
Latvian National Guard,  
Polish A.B.N. Group,  
Slovak Liberation Committee.

The Congress elected Count Denys Halka-Le-dochowskyj, President of the Council and Mr. Melchior Kiss, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and other Officers.

The A.B.N. Youth in Great Britain aims at organising and preparing young refugees from the countries behind the Iron Curtain for the liberating struggle against Russian imperialism and Communist oppression in closest co-operation with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

The work of the A.B.N. Youth in Great Britain will be carried out with the assistance of three commissions: Political, Cultural and Physical cultural.

A periodical will be published in the English language.

### Resolutions

We, young representatives of Anti-Bolshevik movements of refugees from various countries enslaved by Communist Russian imperialism: Byelorussians, Cossacks, Czechs, Hungarians, Latvians, Poles, Slovaks and Ukrainians, assembled this 17th day of January 1953 at Caxton Hall in London for the purpose of holding the 1st Congress of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations Youth in Great Britain, state our firm conviction that:

1. To-day's world tension is a result of the expansion of the traditional Russian imperialism which in Bolshevism has reached the peak of aggression;
2. During the last thirty-five years our nations have been brutally and deceitfully enslaved by Moscow and deprived of their sacred rights to national and personal freedom;
3. The final aim of Russian Bolshevism is world domination;
4. To paralyse the defence of the free world, the Bolsheviks deceive and incite people with the false slogans of Marxism-Leninism, build up subversive communist parties and infiltrate with their Fifth Columns into vital organs of every nation;
5. As long as Russian imperialism dominates the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia no true peace can exist in the World.

### Our Aims

Recognising the great importance of the young generation in the liberation struggle against Communism and Russian imperialism, as well as in the future task of establishing a just order in the countries now oppressed by Moscow, we decided to form the A.B.N. Youth Organisation in Great Britain which we hope will enable us to give effective support in spreading and realising the ideas of the A.B.N.

### We Demand

1. The abolition of the Communist regime in the countries enslaved by Russia;
  2. A complete dissolution of the Russian Imperium into national sovereign states. Among them will be the independent states of: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkistan, Ukraine;
  3. The application of the ethnic principle in defining the borders between states.
- To help our nations to achieve these aims WE RESOLVE:
1. To do our best to unite all Anti-Bolshevik refugee Youth in Great Britain for the work of

assisting our nations in the struggle against the Muscovite enslavers;

2. To work hard to gain the support of the British Youth and public opinion for the just ideas of the A.B.N.

3. To organise and prepare our ranks morally, ideologically and physically for the great task of liberation.

4. To support directly the unrelenting struggle of our nations for freedom and independence, whenever possible.

We, who are assembled at the Congress, take the liberty of expressing our gratitude to Her Majesty's Government and the British people for the hospitality and protection extended to us in the spirit of the most noble traditions of the land of Magna Carta which has always defied tyranny.

Young refugees — join the ranks of A.B.N. Youth!

Courage liberates — cowardice enslaves.

Freedom-loving Youth of all nations — support the Anti-Bolshevik liberation struggle!



## A Great Georgian Statesman and Fighter for Freedom

The Georgian statesman Noé Jordania, born in Georgia January 1, 1868, died January 12, this year, in Paris.

In the nineties Noé Jordania founded the Social Democratic Party and since then has been the centre of political life in Georgia and the Caucasus. He took an active part in public life, wrote books, pamphlets and published newspapers. The part he took in illegal party work landed him more than once in prison. He was responsible for party organization and greatly influenced the whole national revolutionary movement. In 1906 he was elected to the first Russian Duma.

In 1918, in the name of the just established Georgian National Council he proclaimed the independence of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. As soon as the National Assembly was elected Noé Jordania was chosen prime minister, with the authority of a president of the State.

After the conquest of Georgia by Soviet Russia he went with his government into exile and since that time he has lived in Paris. From Paris he continued his implacable campaign against Soviet tyranny so that his name was known far beyond the frontiers of his own country and the Caucasus as a bitter enemy of bolshevism. He fought for justice and national dignity, his ideals were the free man and the self-governing state of people united by humanism.

We regret to announce that the well-known Lithuanian politician and fighter for the liberation of Lithuania from the Russian bolshevik yoke, chairman of the Lithuanian delegation in the A.B.N., in U.S.A. and member of the A.B.N. Press Bureau,

### Mr. Jonas Masiotas

died in Chicago January 1953.

Mr. Masiotas was an active fighter for the ideas of the A.B.N. and his death means a great loss, not only for Lithuania, but also for all our peoples.

\*

On February 20, 1953, the Lithuanian scholar and honorary member of the Lithuanian Restoration Movement,

### Dr. Vilius Vydunas

died in Detmold, Germany. The deceased, who was a well-known author and philosopher, wrote over 60 books.

On the History of Moscow's Conquests

## A Stolen Country

M.P.R.? — Do you know anything about the existence of this state? The following has been officially printed in the Soviet press: "M.P.R., that is Mongolian People's Republic, neighbour to the U.S.S.R. in the south east, the land of vast pastures and prolific cattle".

The Moscow communists, who were sent to Mongolia in 1921, achieved nothing there; they failed in their attempt at kindling a revolution. Only on November 26, 1924, again with the assistance of a Moscow expedition, the People's Chural proclaimed Mongolia a people's republic and accepted the first pro-Soviet constitution. A few years later, Soviet military forces appeared in Mongolia to support the very feeble local communist party, officially called "People's Revolutionary Party".

Marshall Tshoi-bol-san (who was recently slaughtered in Moscow by way of "operation") tried to push the Soviets out of Mongolia, already before and especially during the second world war. But, practically, he was rendered powerless. During the last war the troops of the M.P.R. (100,000 cavalry) operated against Japan in common with the Soviet armed forces. When the advance was finished, Soviet divisions came into the M.P.R. and have remained there up to date. So the Soviets have managed to appropriate that rich Asian country of so great a strategic importance.

The U.S.S.R. having equipped the M.P.R. with 200 bulldozers and set up 100 schools and one university in the capital city, Ulan-Bator, according to Soviet pattern, it assumes the right to squeeze everything produced out of this country. All Soviet attempts however, at completely sovietizing the M.P.R., meet with the energetic resistance of the people. Collectivizing, for example, has been frustrated; only 139 collective works were set up in the M.P.R. by the end of 1952.

Nothing has been published in the world press on the Mongolian People's Republic. Has this country silently been given to Moscow? L. P.

## To our Friends and Readers

1. In order to assure the prompt delivery of the A. B. N. Correspondence, we ask all our friends and readers to order it direct from the publisher, Munich 33, P.O. Box 70, Tel. 59 13 31, Germany.

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Publisher and Editor

Prof. Dr. P. Kurinny:

## Science in Quarantine

### No Soviet Scientific Treaties for the West

When the bolsheviks aspired after the power before the end of world war I and tried to unhinge the tsarist regime, they used to paint the true picture of Russian culture and science at that time in most vivid colours. In 1917, Lenin wrote: "A savage country where the masses were deprived of any light and knowledge in an educational sense, no such country was to be found anywhere in Europe save Russia..." (The works of Lenin, vol. 16, p. 410).

As though it was to confirm Lenin's words, the official textbook "History of Russia" section III (textbook for the 10th form of secondary schools) edited in 1946, in par. 24 under the headline "Education and Culture in Pre-revolutionary Russia" (1907—1917) reads as follows: "The council of ministers (of the tsarist Russia-note of the author) determined to cancel the autonomy of the universities, which had been achieved by the revolution in 1905, and to ban all student organizations hitherto admitted. Students were expelled and deported in masses because of their participation in the students' movement. The new minister of education, L. Kasso, installed in 1910, member of the "Black Hundredship" (Chornosotenez) deleted completely all liberal and radical professorships. He removed the rector of the Moscow university and his assistants on the ground that they had been too lax with the "rebellious" students. As a demonstration of protest against Kasso's red-tape arbitrariness, 125 professors and lecturers at the Moscow university (K. Timiryazew, P. Lehedew etc.) retired simultaneously from their posts.

The state of science results from the state of the universities. The preparation of scientists at the universities was inadequate. There were only a few institutes for research in tsarist Russia. The Academy of Sciences published no great scientific works that time. *The actual scholars of the people (underlined by the author) received neither acknowledgement nor assistance.*

That was Russian science in bolshevik description, as it was taken over by the bolshevik revolution from the tsarist Russia! Meanwhile 30 years of "scientific" development in the U.S.S.R. under bolshevik control and its "blooming in the light of Stalin's constitution" have passed. What we see at present is the following:

1. Illiteracy has actually been expunged, but those who contributed to that success, the bearers of society, have been either liquidated or sent into concentration camps.

2. Not only the people but also the scholars of the young generation have been deprived of "light and knowledge in an educational sense".

3. No doubt, there is no such country in Europe like Russia.

4. There is no autonomy of universities; the students are persecuted, expelled from the universities, sent to concentration camps.

5. All liberal professors have been removed from the universities and other scientific institutions.

Although official Soviet reports announce large numbers of scholars working at present at the laboratories of the Soviet universities and other scientific institutions, these numbers are likely to be considerably lower in practice (as the statistics do not tell anything about the scholars deported or removed). We have some doubts in this statistics data as the expression of the real or, at least, potential power of science and its qualities. First, no doubt, from this official figure of qualified scholars you must deduct about 30 per cent for eliminating the members of the communist party from the scientist category, which are no experts but political commissioners in the scientific institutions.

Second, you must discern those scientists, who got through school before the decay of the old system and thus master the method of objective documental scientific research, from those who do not know this "bourgeois" science any more and do not apply its methods. That is to say, those people who do not base their research on that fundamental quality which distinguishes scientific activity from non-scientific, that is — objectivity.

Third, equipment must be taken into account, i.e. the state of the laboratories, libraries etc., which have been destroyed in consequence of the revolution.

Of course, the destruction of the universities, the scientific institutions, the national academies of sciences was not performed in a moment, as it might have been in the course of the revolutionary annihilation of the state machinery and ideology. Some steps can be perceived therein.

The first blow was the physical annihilation and removal of the reactionary and liberal professors from those institutions. Thus university and science lost a great number of highly qualified figures who emigrated or perished.

The second blow was the annulment of the autonomy of the universities and other academic institutions. To this end masses of party members without any education or scientific qualification whatever, were gradually vested with academic positions, solely to suit the intentions of the par-

*A. Onesky, First Lieutenant in the Soviet Army*

## The Vulnerable Point in the Soviet Army

In recent times the Soviet government has paid serious attention to the discord within the Soviet Army. The Kremlin is afraid of such political explosions as burst out in the Red Army in 1937/38 in consequence of the Soviet home policy, and attempts to avoid it. That is why the bolshevik post-war propaganda bases its educational plans on the destruction of Germany and the Japanese fascism, and on the false catchword that the Soviet army is an army of a democracy.

The supreme commander of Moscow demands military education exercised in strict conformance with Marxist-Leninist ideology. Referring hereto, the neutral newspaper of the war department in the U.S.S.R. "Krasnaya Zvezda" writes in its leader of December 4, 1952 "The Unshakable Law of Life of the Soviet Soldier": The training of the soldiers in the ideas of Marxism and Leninism will consolidate their deep loyalty to the great work of Lenin and Stalin, the work of communism. It is the duty of the commanders, the political activists, and the party organizations to make each soldier fully conscious of the meaning of his oath and its demand that duty must be one truly and scrupulously. The soldiers must be trained in the spirit of Marxism and Leninism and must show moral, political qualities.

The alarm of the organ of the navy department was on the same lines. A leader in the "Krasny Flot" runs as follows:

"The work of the party activists must be continually improved. The elite of the party activists from which the knowledge and the discipline of the soldiers depend, must be perseveringly trained. The discipline of the soldiers results directly from that... Our ideal and political education is insufficient... To overcome these shortcomings is a task to be done without delay by the political

ty. Thus academic titles were dishonored and the internal activity of the said institutions severely hampered.

The third blow was the abolition of education in theology and philosophy and in the deeper sense of humanism as well as the prohibition of the so-called; "bourgeois science". Therefore the scholars educated in post-revolutionary institutions, have completely lost these views of the knowledge of reality: That state was completed by the confiscation of all non-bolshevik literature.

The fourth step was the limitation of scientific research by inducing so-called "topical subjects". Those excluded the possibility to work on problems which were untimely in bolshevik views. "Topical" works were furthered by funds and greater possibilities of action.

"Untimely" topics met with no recognition and could only be a private subject of research, running the risk of reprisals.

In order to prevent comparative studies by means of bourgeois science, the scientists were usually forbidden to receive scientific works from abroad and even to correspond with foreigners. Any literature sent to scientific institutions from abroad, were pooled in special departments and could only be used there for special purposes. *The science within the borders of the U.S.S.R. lost finally its intellectual intercourse with the outside world which separation has been lasting for about 30 years now.*

Furthermore, since 1931 the export of Soviet scientific production has been stopped and the results in many branches of scientific research not only of the science abroad but also of the home institutions are kept deep in the dark even for internal collaborators among whom numerous party commissioners are placed. (to be continued)

organizations". Yet the moral and political decay in the Red Army is assuming more and more threatening forms and even the Moscow military press can not conceal this fact any longer.

Under the headline "Soldier's Friendship", "Krasny Flot" of December 4, 1952, said: "Once an incident happened in the platoon of Lieutenant Koronin. The soldier Yurchik offended military discipline and committed an improper deed, which cast a slur upon the glorious reputation of the Soviet soldier. All officers and soldiers were alarmed by that occurrence, and unanimously condemned Yurchik's behaviour".

### Ominous Cracking...

What is the reason for the decay of discipline and morals and for the political disunion in the Red Army? One serious fact must be observed: The Soviet army is not the uniform national armed force for which it is usually taken. It consists of many nationalities; there was never and will never be unity, because it is made up of numerous peoples, at least the half of which are oppressed. It is self-evident, that the Russian contingent forms the main part but it shares any decisive role with other great national forces such as the Ukrainians, Caucasians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, etc. Each of these nations has been oppressed by Moscow and considers the Russian army as hostile. Neither the Ukrainian nor the Caucasian nor the Byelorussian members of the Red Army can agree with any further toleration of the oppression by the Russian command in executing the colonial policy of the Kremlin.

One can not conceal such serious facts as the fight of the Ukrainian insurgents against the despotism of Moscow, the struggle of the Turkestan-

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# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## ALBANIA

### DISTRIBUTION OF ARMS TO LOYAL COMMUNISTS

Mehmet Shehu, Minister of the Interior and Chief of the Red Police in Albania, could find no other way to counteract the Resistance Movement except by arming the "loyal" members of the party. The Red monster has recruited "volunteers" to track the nationalist guerillas. In numerous villages he has distributed 10 to 20 rifles to arm the communist agents who have already given proof of their loyalty. Besides, he has armed some former fascists (who have become tools of the communists) as well as relatives of people sentenced to life imprisonment. To these relatives it has been promised that their people would be set free if they consented to hunt the guerillas. They have thus distributed about 1600 rifles all over the country. Armed in this manner, the agents of the communist party try to discover the active centres of resistance and prevent acts of sabotage.

### ALL THE PRODUCTS OF THE COUNTRY GO TO RUSSIA

The roads in Albania are in a deplorable state and communication has become very difficult. The asphalt produced in large quantities at the mines of Selenica is all exported to Russia, whereas the Russians send nothing to Albania. When a Russian ship stops at Vlora the red agents circulate the rumour that the cargo has been unloaded at Durres and vice versa. And they boast cynically that the Albanians should be proud of the fact that the Russians value the products of the country so highly!

### SCHOOLS FOR TORTURERS IN COMMUNIST ALBANIA

According to reports made by our countrymen, who have fled from the Red hell, the Albanian Red agents attend special courses, where they study the impressions caused by electric current passing on different parts of the body, as well as the moral and physical conditions of the political prisoners who are kept in special cells, in which the air is rarefied by the use of air suction pumps.

The students, also, attend courses in psychology and physiology in order to treat their victims "as well as they can".

## BOHEMIA

### ARCHBISHOP BERAN INTERNED IN GRULICH

In spite of hundreds of reports spread in the world press, we have found out the true residence of Archbishop Beran, interned by the communists for months at a place, the name of which is kept a close secret. The Archbishop is interned in Grulich, the former Premonstratensian monastery, and is kept in strict privacy. He is unbroken and in good health, though. Msgr. Jan Srámek is interned in the same cloister.

### BRIEF NEWS

The Dominican cloister in Znaim is now used as police quarters. — The grammar school of the Order in Teplice-Sanov has become a military school. A police school has been established in the premises of the nunnery in Repcin near Olomouc. — Priests, loyal to Rome, the so-called village kulaks, former works owners, shareholders, members of administrative councils, former senior officials, and officers of the armed forces, have been completely cut off from food supply. They have to buy their food exclusively on the state

black market, at exorbitant prices. — In the C.S.R. the most serious crisis in food supply ever known to the Czechs, is imminent. Eggs, butter, and some other products are not available at all on the market. The sugar ration has been cut down to 500 g per month. Further cuts have been taken into consideration. The same calamity prevails on the bread market. (I. B.)

## BULGARIA

### OFFICIAL CONFESSIONS

(N.C.F.E.) — The communist collective economy in the country apparently went bankrupt last year. An illustration of the true conditions of that formerly prolific and flourishing Bulgarian agriculture in the present communist state is given by the head-lines of the official mouth-piece of the communist party, "Rabotnishesko Delo". From the issues of a single month we quote the following head-lines:

"Serious neglect of the autumn sowing"  
 "The poppy seed sowing has remained far behind"  
 "The vegetable gardens are drying up while the irrigation stations remain inactive"  
 "Insufficient organization of tilling, deficient fulfilment of the cultivation quota"  
 "Deficiencies in the gathering of rice crop"  
 "Bad organisation — deplorable results"  
 "Insufficient accounting — loss balances"  
 "When the collectives are badly managed"  
 "The district Russian does not fulfil the cattle-breeding plan"  
 "Irresponsible attitude towards socialist property"  
 "Winter is coming while the cotton is still ungathered"  
 "There is no end to mistakes and deficiencies"  
 "The snow has fallen, but the fodder supply is not yet guaranteed"  
 "Blameworthy carelessness"  
 "The cultivation of the strawberry beds and orchards is backward"  
 "The fault of neglecting field cultivation lies with the bulldozer-stations"  
 "Deficiencies in cattle-breeding hamper agriculture"  
 "The new threshing machines are not kept in repair"  
 "Carelessness and lack of consciousness of responsibility", etc. etc.

## GERMANY

2,300 — 3,000 — 5,000 PER DAY . . .

The question of supplies in the East Zone is a matter of anxiety and the situation is catastrophic. Coal deliveries have completely broken down. In Thuringia and Saxony there has been no margarine or sugar for a long time. The H.O. shops are almost empty. The number of refugees reaching West Berlin on one day from the East Zone was 2,300, increased to 3,105 and already reached the record total of 5,000. From news reaching the West, it seems quite possible that it is a prepared, artificial famine, as was once the case in Ukraine, as an excuse to expropriate the peasant farmers and private trade.

### WEAPONS AGAINST STARVING WOMEN!

With rifles at the ready, troops of the peoples police in Halle had recently to proceed for the first time against a group of about 150 women, who had queued up for margarine at the H.O. shop in the Ludwig-Wucherer-Straße. As no margarine had been allotted to the H.O. shops since the turn of the year, the women tried to storm the shop when they heard that only a hundred pounds had arrived. The alarmed troops of the peoples police were received by the women with abuses and attacked with umbrellas and handbags. Accorhours later, after 20 women had been arrested. The shop was then guarded by armed peoples policemen. (I.W.E.)

## HUNGARY

### "PEACE" ROAD

(UNIO P.S.) — In the Hungarian areas north-east and east of the Danube, an extended plan for road-making has been in hand for years, by order of the Soviet, serving Soviet strategic aims exclusively. Old high-roads are rebuilt, new ones are made. The roads run towards the border in a west and south-westerly direction. Beside engineering troops, forced labourers, deported persons, and political prisoners are chiefly employed in that project. The new roads are 8 meters broad and can bear a load of 50 tons; and the bridges too are covered with asphalt or concrete and sometimes with macadam pavement.

To that road net, the new highway from Debrecen to Szeged via Berottyoufalú-Bekescsaba-Mako is connected, which runs from the Soviet Russian border directly into the triangle area of the Hungarian, Rumanian, Yugoslavian border-lines in the south-east of Hungary. The highway from Bodrogkeresztúr to Satoraljaújhely in north Hungary was also completed as a first-class road. This road branches off near Sarospatak and ends near Galszecs in the first-class high-way from Kassa to Uzhorod, which was built by the Czechs at the request of the Soviets in 1950 already. Thus, the Soviet troops have here too direct communication on first-class highways to Hungary or the West, respectively.

The strategic intention of the Soviet Russians in making that road is obvious.

The new lorries of the 350-Csepel-Diesel make are produced by the Csepel automobile plant for civil requirements. It is characteristic of the bolshevik "peace production" that the driver's cab is so constructed that there is an opening for a machine-gunner's seat and a machine-gun stand which is closed at present by a slide that is easily removed.

## LITHUANIA

### THERAPEUTICS . . .

A general practitioner, Dr. Sirijos-Gira, writes in the Soviet Lithuanian newspaper *Tisa* No. 269 the following:

"We have two papers before us on the syntomycin therapy for bacillary dysentery and dysepsia in children and a description how the new preparation, testosteronepropionat, is to be applied.

It may be said beforehand that comrades in the ministry of health and the pharmaceutical administration are not to hand on such instructions to Soviet doctors and herbalists. The task of the Soviet medical worker is to help sick people and cure them, while here . . . ?

In the brochure it is said that the preparation "T" is to be injected intravenously. A grave mistake! It is a fatty preparation. Shot into the veins it can cause great injury and instead of being a help can be most dangerous to health. The ministry of health recommends these instructions to all doctors.

In the brochure concerning the treatment of bacillary dysentery in children there are also many grave errors. One sentence for instance: "In cases of toxic and hypertonic dysentery no diphtheria serum need be used, because the toxicity is removed by syntomycin." Every word of this is nonsense. First of all, there is no such thing as hypertonic dysentery, so why diphtheria serum? It should be sysepsia serum."

Soviet people are so carefully handled that even a Soviet doctor feels obliged to protest.

## SLOVAKIA

### PRESSURE ON PEASANTS AND CRAFTSMEN

According to the resolution of the Council of Commissioners (a sort of land government) all peasants, who refuse to join the Uniform Agricul-

tural Co-operative Society, are refused purchase permits for textiles and shoes. This is one of many legal forms of pressure in the interest of the socialization of the Slovakian villages.

Purchase permits for textiles and shoes, as well as ration cards, are also to be withheld from all persons who are not included in the operation of the socialistic enterprises. This measure still applies to-day to some or other independent craftsmen. They are to be forced by this to abandon their independent trade and to become employees in nationalized concerns.

#### ARMAMENTS PRODUCTION FOR THE SOVIET UNION

Besides the big combine near Kosice, known as HUKO, some more, mostly new, armament factories are in operation in Slovakia to-day. The works in Dubnica and Povazka Bystrica, have been considerably enlarged and are producing at full capacity. One large iron-foundry is working at Trnava (south west Slovakia). Guns of small caliber are produced in Malacky (south west Slovakia); aeroplane parts in Biskupice near Trencin; pneumatic tyres in Puchov; cartridges at Kyucke Mové Mesto (north west Slovakia); Diesel locomotives at Turciansky Svaty Martin; cartridges for aeroplane armaments at Zemianske Kostolany.

#### FORCED LABOUR CAMP FOR WOMEN

In addition to Novaky, where a special labour camp for women had already been instituted, another camp of this kind has been established now

### The Vulnerable Point in the Soviet Army

Continued from Page 13

ian insurgents, the struggle of the subjugated Caucasian peoples. Of great importance for the campaign against bolshevism were the Cossacks, and at present they constitute the most dangerous anti-bolshevik element in the Caucasus. Thus the first difference within the Soviet Army results from the insurrection of the subjugated peoples aiming at shaking off the Muscovite yoke as soon as possible.

#### Away from Moscow!

The second difference exists between the military aristocracy of the Red Army and the privates. It is no secret that the Soviet government has formed a new army-aristocracy consisting of members of the party and the Komsomol. This military aristocracy holds all privileges in the Soviet state. In Sevastopol, for instance, as well as in other towns there are separate small military towns for officers of high, middle and lower rank enjoying all aristocratic privileges. The privates, however, live in dirty and uncomfortable barracks, receive insufficient rations, and enjoy neither mental nor physical recovery. The Soviet soldiers are becoming convinced that they are undefended and blind instruments of Kremlin politics. It must be stressed, hereto, that the high military aristocracy is omnipotent and surpasses all feudal habits in arrogance. Thus the Soviet soldiers regard their officers as irreconcilable enemies.

These two differences gave rise to riots among the masses which, like soldiers, entertain an ingrained hatred against their common enemy — Moscow.

A third difference in the Red Army, however, must still be mentioned: the soldiers have grasped very well that they are to serve as instruments of the Muscovite world revolution and do not care to be cannon-fodder for the Kremlin. They are well aware that their greatest foe is Bolshevism as embodiment of the Russian dominion and therefore it is their sole aim to deliver themselves from these fetters. *All soldiers of the subjugated republics have but one desire: to overthrow the Muscovite-bolshevik regime and to restore national independence. Both these desires have been indissolubly merged in their minds.* In a future war against the Red Kremlin this important factor has to be considered.

in Slovakia, namely in Rimavska Sobota. In these two forced labour camps about 4,000 women have to do hard labour.

#### SEMI-MILITARY TRAINING

Without regard to their purposes and without consideration whether they consist of men, women, juveniles, or children, all societies were put under the supervision of the Ministry of National Defence. The ministry is to take care that the so-called education for defence (semi-military training) is performed in all societies in conformance with the standard directions.

#### STRATEGIC RAILWAY BUILDING

In December 1952 on the railway line Zilina—Kosice the second track, in its whole length, was released for traffic. The line which is of the utmost strategic importance for the Soviets, and runs right across Slovakia from west to east, will thus have a double track the whole way. (S.I.S.)



#### FEAR OF UKRAINIAN "BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM"

On January 27, 1953, the XV congress of the "Lenin-Communist Youth League in Ukraine" (Komsomol) took place in the hall of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The congress was opened by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol Ukraine, H. H. Shevel, and leading members of the communist party of Ukraine and of the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. were "elected" to the presidency, among them Melnikov, Korotchenko, Kyrytchenko, Hrechukha and also four secretaries of the Central Committee of the Komsomol Ukraine: Shevel, Shulzhenko, Drozdenko and Hladky. As honorary president of course, Stalin had to be selected.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine, H. H. Shevel, held the main speech, which was to render account of the work done and to announce mottoes for the coming. The "Radyanska Ukraine" of January 23, 1953, published the complete text in its leader, the essence of which is also reported in the following.

After the general statement of the number of members of the Komsomol (2,5 million juveniles), Shevel moved to the question of juvenile workers.

### Agricultural Failure in Hungary

Continued from Page 4

creased, considering, furthermore, that the peasants were bound to deliver 1 million pigs and 300,000 head of cattle per year. These, relatively speaking, enormous quantities were processed then by the Hungarian canning industries for the Soviet Union.

No sufficient fodder area was available to increase live-stock; and supposing this were the case, any increase was absorbed by the delivery quota.

Thus Hungarian soil has been exploited by the bolshevik government, so that it will not even yield enough to cover the home demand.

State minister Ernst Gerö however, endeavoured to link this failure with drought. But his reasoning was wrong, as the harvest starts in Hungary by the end of June and a drought occurred in 1952 only in July and August, whereas the weather had been favourable before. The severity of the situation can be deduced from the confession of the minister, that only 12 per cent of the arable land can be manured over. That is to say, that only every 8th or 9th year the same soil area can be dunged with manure in comparison with every 3rd or 4th year prior to 1945.

Moreover, the Soviets introduced the cultivation of plants, which could not bear the Hungarian climate at all. Cotton was grown on an area of about 100,000 joch and nearly annihilated, whereby some 50,000 families were faced with starvation. The same happened with the rice crop.

The disaster was increased by the Soviets' exercising their agrotechnical methods by force. Agriculture is directed by centralistic measures

He pointed to the fact that 525,000 out of the million juvenile workers in industry, traffic and other work branches, are members of Komsomol. This working youth, however, does not appear to be active on Moscow's line. "It is the duty of all Komsomol organizations in Ukraine to make an end of the shameful fact, which appears among the working youth, that work discipline is not upheld."

The Komsomol position is weakest in the country; the party, also could never find solid foundation there, as the rural people have ever been a resistance pool against communism. For these reasons, the Komsomol must strengthen its contact with rural youth and improve its work of the political education of rural youth down to the very roots. "It is our task to increase the efficiency of the Komsomol organizations in the country; to improve the education of rural youth; to incorporate the best juveniles of the kolkhoses in the Komsomol."

In fact, school and education seemed to be the central moot point of the speech and its comment. We learn that 6,649,000 children, attending the elementary schools at present, are taught by 300 000 teachers. There are 144 high schools and 592 secondary schools in Ukraine attended by 400 000 pupils. The activity of the party and Komsomol organizations there, is also insufficient, entailing "shameful occurrences" and "hampering insufficiencies".

The temptation of Ukrainian nationalism constitutes, according to Shevel's speech, the greatest disaster and an unpardonable mistake in the previous activity. "Under the present circumstances, the ruthless unmasking of the beastly face of American imperialism and its agency, Ukrainian as well as Jewish nationalism, namely Zionism, is of peculiar importance."

"We have to remember that some remains of capitalism exist in the imagination of part of our youth, concerning national questions in particular. Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism turned up in our sciences, arts and literature. Some boys and girls fall under the influence of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists."

This positive attitude of the Ukrainian youth towards Ukrainian nationalism, as the holder of the resistance against Russian communism and the defender of the Ukrainian ideal of liberty seems to worry the Moscow despots. "It is inevitable to combat any appearance of bourgeois ideology or nationalism resolutely and ruthlessly."

The events and development at the XV congress of the Komsomol of Ukraine, confirm the prospect of a radical Russian chauvinistic policy of oppression towards other nations in the U.S.S.R.

without regard to the local soil conditions. Local experience of centuries is not taken into account at all, if it does not comply with the Soviet methods. The depth of the furrows is prescribed by ministerial ordinance for the whole country; which fact may be very injurious at places where the mould is too thin or too pebbly.

The stock of working animals was annihilated for the most part in 1945. The designed motorization of agriculture, however, was impracticable. Within the five years' plan, 25,000 bulldozers had been promised to agriculture, but, as a matter of fact, only a thousand were delivered. There is also a lack of agricultural tools. Hungarian cultivation of fruit and vegetables, once so well known, has been completely destroyed. Only communist trading associations were allowed to sell these products and the peasants did not even get their prime costs covered.

All this resulted in the announcement at the Central Congress of the Hungarian communist party that the Hungarian food industry was closed for foreign trade and home storing. This industry had formerly been one of the most profitable. The world famous vineyards in Hungary met the same fate.

Bolshevik economy has so fundamentally ruined the well-known Hungarian agriculture that even ten years will not suffice to restore it. According to news from Hungary and opinions of experts, the coming years will not bring the least surplus, the population is even persistently menaced by famine in consequence of a deficient food supply.

Danubius

## BOOK-REVIEWS

Nicholas Prychodko:

### One of the 15 million

J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd. 1952, 169 pages.

The Ukrainians who have become victims of the Soviet system total 15 million. They have been shot or imprisoned or deported to Siberia. This figure is the balance of Moscow's attempt to denationalize Ukraine and to subdue it to Russian-bolshevik dictatorship.

Nicholas Prychodko was one of them. He succeeded in escaping and is able to testify now. In March 1938, he, then professor at the Kyiv university, was arrested under the great annihilating campaign, conducted by Yezhov against "nationalist" elements in Ukraine and went through the typical stages of N.K.V.D. treatment, which a high percentage of the Ukrainian people will never forget.

21 months of arrest in a prison in Kyiv during which they tried to force a "confession" out of him; brutal investigations (the prisoners called them "chair-leg hearings") borne and suffered in common with peasants, students, brain-workers, officers and even officials of the N.K.V.D. who have fallen into disgrace; and then the sentence: in his case 10 years forced labour in Siberia — ordered through administrative channels against a "public enemy" with no confession in hand and no political offence traceable.

In Siberia, he experienced the "colonisation" of the taiga through divers categories of Stalin "pioneers", at first the hundreds of thousands of innocent victims of Yezhov's and later on of Beriya's purge policy by means of mass arrests in the thirties. In autumn 1940 came the "recruits under the new Stalin law" (as called in prisoners' jargon). These were industrial workers, who were to show the efficiency of the new labour laws of June 1940, having been punished for being only a few minutes late at work; for arbitrarily changing their working place, i. e. without permission, etc.; these were, in the early winter of 1940, soldiers of the Red Army on the Finland front captured by the Finns, the punishment of whom was to restore the nimbus of the "invincible" Red Army and to wipe out the defeat at the hands of the small Finnish army; some weeks later the first columns of deportees came from the recently "delivered" areas of western Ukraine and Poland, peasants, petty officials, employees, scientists, brain-workers, they are all "nationalists" and thus potential "public enemies".

The temporal sequence of these waves of deportations shows a significant cross-section through the development of home affairs of the bolshevik regime in the U.S.S.R.

Prychodko, who was pardoned in 1941 and fled from new "custody for security" or neck-shot in the same year, gives, no doubt, a passionate and exciting description of his personal experience, but on the other hand he refrains from any polemic and propagandistic undertone and is so objective that his work is of superpersonal value. Therefore one can only wish the book may be translated into other western European languages, too. P. S.

Hans Kohn:

### Pan-Slavism and World War II

(The American Political Science Review, Vol. XLVI No. 3 Pp. 699-722)

This study on "Pan-Slavism and World War II" by Prof. Hans Kohn, who is a recognised authority on the problems of nationalism and East European history, testifies to the author's deep understanding of the aspects of Pan-Slavism and its trends in recent history.

The development and single phases of Pan-Slavism are carefully and scientifically handled out of a deep factual and literary knowledge. Prof. Hans Kohn rightly refers to the fact that the re-awakened Pan-Slavism became more and more a variety of Russian nationalism. "It was only natural that in such an atmosphere the ghost of Pan-Slavism rose again — not the liberal Pan-Slavism of the Western Slavs of 1848, but the Pan-Slavism of Moscow — and of the Pan-Slav Congress of 1867, a Pan-Slavism which preached the liberation of the other Slavs from alien influences by the Russian people, a Pan-Slavism which was Pan-Russianism" (P. 704).

It is very true that during World War II the Russians were unable to disclose their factual plans in connection with the Pan-Slavism idea. "The Pan-Slavism of the war years", however, "was openly replaced after 1947 by a Pan-Russianism which imposed Russian predominance on the Slav peoples first, but also on Magyars and Rumanians, Uzbeks and Caucasians". (P. 711)

Although one cannot agree with all the author's statements and interpretations, as, e.g. his doubt of the "justified" membership of the western Ukrainian districts, occupied by the Poles until 1939, with the other part of Ukraine, or even his conception of the whole panslav problem — one must grant him sincerity and a honest desire to elucidate this difficult phenomenon. We represent the view that Pan-Slavism should be regarded only as a historical phenomenon, and that it could never, in a modern world, defend its significance as a political reality. For it is fundamentally a racial theory, which would never withstand thorough analysis.

Nevertheless one can quite agree with Prof. Hans Kohn's final remarks as having been proved. They run: "Yet there are signs in Titoism, in the ever repeated official accusations by Moscow against Polish, Ukrainian, Uzbek, and Caucasian writers and historians — that the non-Russian peoples, Slavs as well as non-Slavs, do not sufficiently appreciate being constantly reminded of the deep gratitude which they owe to the "great" Russian people and of immutable dependence upon the leadership

of the Russian people. It is not impossible that an enforced conformity and loyalty driven to such length, may prove a weakening factor in the east Moscow empire and may help one day to restore the principles of liberty, equality, and diversity on which the Pan-Slav movement insisted in 1848, when it rejected categorically Moscow's leadership and looked to the West for guidance and inspiration." (P. 722) Y. P.

Countess of Listowel:

### Crusader in the Secret War

Christopher Johnson, London, 287 pages.

The authoress of this book, a Hungarian Jewess by birth, is well-known in British journalistic and diplomatic circles. She tells the story of the Polish scientist, diplomat, soldier, businessman and revolutionary who, while concealing his identity under the pseudonym of "Peter Nart", is yet revealed to have been Polish Military Attaché to Moscow from 1928-35.

Part I tells of Peter's childhood in the turbulent days at the beginning of the century, his military experience, and his success, during the Russo-Polish War of 1918-20, in managing a decoding-bureau, which contributed greatly to the Polish victory. His sojourn in Moscow is interesting for its description of the Soviet conspiracy of silence and the war preparations of Russia and Germany. Peter's next post was as Military Attaché to Bucharest where, in 1939, he was enabled to do much to ameliorate the lot of the 60,000 Polish refugees.

Part II is a very interesting account of Peter's activities in Lisbon from 1940-44. His task was to maintain "uninterrupted contact with the headquarters of the Polish Resistance Movement in France". Besides this, he was in constant communication with Hungarian, Rumanian and Italian diplomats. Great emphasis is placed upon the rigid Allied policy of "unconditional surrender", which prevented the Axis satellites from coming over to the Allied side with their armies intact.

Rumania, through her fear of a Russian occupation, and in the absence of an Anglo-Saxon Balkan campaign with which she could unite, fought on Germany's side until the end of the war. The conduct of King Michael receives high praise. Hungary, which contained many elements with pro-Allied sympathies and had helped to keep open communications with Occupied Europe, received small assistance, and was finally occupied by the Germans. The delay lost in the surrender of Italy gave the Germans time to bring their troops into the country.

This section ends with a brief account of German atrocities in Poland and the Katyn murders.

Part III tells of the splendid work performed by the Polish Underground Movement in France in sabotage, transmitting information and, once the invasion had begun, actual military assistance.

The book ends with a description of life in Budienwald and of the Russian peasants' reactions to a glimpse of Western life, with its private ownership and its opportunities for advancement.

The accounts given in this volume seem to be authentic, and are illustrative of the saying: "Where there is no vision, the people perish". Today the hopes of Eastern Europe, although often bitterly disappointed, are still centred in the West. Lady Listowel ends: "Today Europe could be rallied if we were to provide her people with a moral weapon in addition to the pacts and armies we are organising. . . . We can only convert Communists and their sympathisers if we live according to our principles. . . . That is our spiritual weapon." Against the goddess creed of Communism "we must place another, higher and better creed based on God. He alone can lead us to victory." B.

John S. Reshetar, Jr.:

### The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-20

(A Study in Nationalism)  
Princeton, New Jersey, University Press, 1952.

John S. Reshetar, lecturer in political science at Princeton University, has composed a fundamental study of the problem of the Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920, which has an undeniable significance in the pattern of recent European history. He has carefully examined all the sources at present available, in an attempt to present, objectively and impartially, the value and authenticity of each document.

In the classification of his material in chapters I. Incipient Nationhood, II. The Rise of Central Rada, III. The Demise of the Rada, IV. The Interlude of Hetmanate, V. The Republican Revival, VI. The Debacle, and VII. In Retrospect, the author has been successful. Chapters I and II leave something to be desired in that, although giving a thoroughly exact and comprehensive presentation of the facts, the treatment of the material by American historical writers is reserved and narrow in judgement.

In the five remaining chapters, Reshetar handles with exactitude the events of four years of revolution. Everything is regarded from the viewpoint of political consolidation and national integration, and suitably commented upon. Very special attention is given to the 4 Universals, from which the legal foundation of the Ukrainian national status developed.

Reshetar regards the reason for the failure of the Ukrainian revolution too often as "in large measure, a result of the undevelopment of national movement". (P. 319). The established facts that "The Bolsheviks were aided indirectly by the Volunteer Army and the Poles, who were also attacking the quickly-formed, inexperienced, and somewhat traditionless Ukrainian forces" (P. 329) and . . . numerous attempts to obtain recognition and aid in foreign capitals and at the Paris Peace Conference ended in failure, and the government of the Ukrainian National Republic was compelled to go into exile in 1920, but only after a heroic and costly struggle" (P. 5), are much more to be regarded as the causes of the miscarriage of the Ukrainian struggle for liberty, as well

as for the failure of its leaders. The leading personalities of the Ukrainian revolution were convinced democrats, who believed in justice, peace and liberty, yet "most of these men were intellectuals experienced in theoretical disputation, literary endeavour, and scholarly research, but hopelessly deficient in the art and science of politics — the endless struggle for power". (P. 156). If they had proceeded according to all the rules of power politics and not believed in so many ideals, then they would have had success, in what is, in the words of Reshetar, "a cruel, interminable and fascinating game" (P. 315) and in which no very great sentimentality is permissible.

In the great Revolution of 1917-1920, a renewal of the Ukrainian State was not achieved; the Ukrainians have learned something from this and, with their nationalism, have created for themselves a weapon, which will bring about the desired result. In conclusion Reshetar says, very logically, that "Ukrainian nationalism has become a vital factor in any analysis of Eastern European politics, and it is commencing to receive recognition and the attention which it rightly deserves in the field of Slavonic studies" (P. 331). P.

Oswin C. Pfeiffer:

### Siberia

(Future and Problems of the U.S.S.R.)  
Safari Verlag, Berlin.

The author's main task in this book on Siberia, its future and the problem of the U.S.S.R. has been to show Siberia's importance in mineral wealth, i. e. as economic centre and arsenal. In that respect his work, it must be said, gives a great deal of interesting and instructive matter. On the other hand, for instance in his chapter on "Peoples, Languages and Religions", a certain uncertainty, due to the author's lack of mastery of the subject becomes evident. The difficulties facing an outsider in trying to give a matter-of-fact report of the actual conditions and real situation pertaining in the Soviet world in general, are the cause of that deficiency.

In the main part of the book, the general consideration and summing — up of Siberia as a part of the Soviet Union reveals certain gaps. Everything is seen too much from the perspective of its Soviet future, while no attention at all is given to a development in Siberia today which may make that interesting country a future factor against the Soviet Union.

On that subject we should like to refer our readers to an article which appeared in our No. 10, October edition 1951, entitled "The Promise of Siberia". Based on exclusive knowledge of the subject, the author points out in a convincing way that a fundamental urge for independence and an explosive anti-bolshevist and anti-Russian spirit is growing among the Siberian population which may lead to undreamed of consequences.

The book under review would only have gained in completeness and actuality if it had viewed the Siberian problem from that side as well. P. S.

## Other Publications Received

### The Ukrainian Quarterly

Vol. VIII — Number 4 Autumn, 1952  
Published by Ukrainian Congress Committee of America  
Address: 50 Church Street, S 252, New York 7, N.Y.

### Milli Türkistan (National Turkestan)

Journal of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee  
Chief-Publisher and Editor: Veli Kajum Khan  
P.O. Box 8066, Düsseldorf I (Germany)  
No. 82 B December 1952 — January 1953 and in Turkestanian 82 D, 1953

### The Voice of Free Georgia

Periodical Information Bulletin  
No. 1 New York, January 1953  
Publisher: Editorial Board  
Address: Dr. D. Chatara, 1531 Madison Ave. New York City

### The Eastern Quarterly

Vol. VI No. 1/2, January — April, 1953  
Editorial and Business Office: 32, Bolton Gdns., London S.W. 5

### A Psychological Defence of the Free World

By Jean-Paul David  
Published: 8 Villa Bosquet — Paris 7e

### Avangard

Journal for Ukrainian Youth  
Years VI/VII 1952/53 No. 4/5 (26/27)  
Address: Ukrainian Youth Ass'n, 49 Linden Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, London W. 2 (in Ukrainian)

### Phoenix

Nonperiodical issue of M. Mikhnovsky's Ukrainian Students Ass'n Vol. II No. 4, 1952  
Address: Munich 23, Belgradstr. 152 a B/2, Germany (in Ukrainian)

### Kultura

No. 1/63, 1953  
Address: 1, Avenue Cornicille, Maisons-Lafitte (S.-et O.) France (in Polish)

**ABN CORRESPONDENCE**  
Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

P.O. Box 70, Munich 53, Phone: 59 15 51 Germany.  
Published by the Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).  
Responsible: K. W. Orlecky.  
Account No. 10 707, Munich, Süddeutsche Bank  
Yearly Subscription \$ 2 or Shillings 12.  
Reproduction permitted if source (A.B.N.-Cor.) is given

# A B N CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. IV. No. 5/6. May/June 1953

\* Published in English, French and German \*

Price: 1 s; 40 c

## A Warning to the World

### Gen. J. F. C. Fuller on the Basic Problems of our Times

*The British military expert, General J. F. C. Fuller, a world-renowned authority on the strategy and tactics of modern warfare, has granted our London correspondent the interview reported below.*

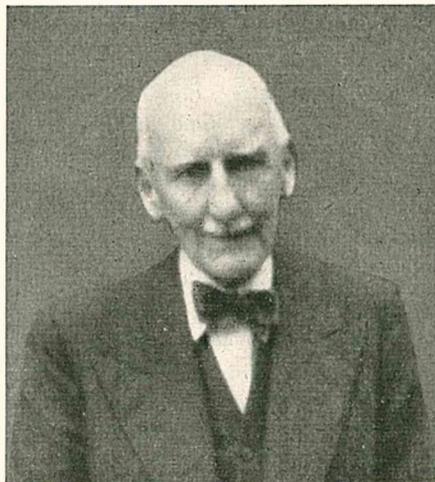
*It redounds greatly to the honour and competence of our editorial staff that the opinions of a military and political ability of the rank of General Fuller's should to a very great extent coincide with the conceptions, warnings and advice that we have always put forward in these columns, and that they should, moreover, give a convincing confirmation of the correctness of the A.B.N. conception. (Ed.)*

**Q.** Do you think, Sir, that it would be possible to localize the world war fomented by Russia, if the Western official political circles accepted your strategic and political conception?

**A.** The Russian conception of war is based on the idea of world revolution. The means are the subversion of all nations outside the U.S.S.R., in order to bring them, one by one, within that Union. As the conception is a total one, it cannot be localised. As long as it lasts, the alternatives are: either you are absorbed by it or you destroy it.

**Q.** Do you think, Sir, that the strategic and military conception at the present stage of the struggle against bolshevism ought to be deduced from the ideological and political conception? What importance do you attribute to the conception of the A.B.N.?

**A.** The struggle against Bolshevism — that is, Russian Imperialism — should be founded on the fact that its aim is world-wide. It is an intra- and not an inter-national conflict, and, therefore, like a pestilence, it must be attacked wherever it is found. The idea of the A.B.N. to destroy the pestilence in all groups



of subjugated peoples and thereby liberate them from Bolshevism is obviously the correct course to take. In character, strategy should be counter-revolutionary and not purely military. The problem is to remove a political disease more so than a hostile power. At bottom it is a psychological and not a physical problem.

**Q.** Would it be a serious danger to the victory over bolshevism if the Western world entered into the defensive anti-bolshevik war with only the slogans of the change of regime and not of the destruction of the prison of peoples?

**A.** A change of regime has nothing whatever to do with the problem, which is the elimination of a political disease. If a country is afflicted with a plague, the problem of getting rid of it is in no way solved by a change of government. In the present case it is not Tsarism or Marxism which are in question, because the pestilence is Russian Imperialism, which is common to both.

**Q.** Is it not possible that the very blaze of the war would impede any radical changes in the strategic and military conception of the war, however actually necessary, when ideological and political conception changes?

## A False Spring

W. Deceptive spring messages from the East and foolish weather prophets in the West — this gives the clearest picture of the world political situation at the moment.

Malenkov has every reason to be well satisfied with his debut. Only a few expedient peace-gestures from him have sufficed to send the barometers of a certain kind of western publicist soaring. Especially in those European countries which are cast for the part of the hors d'oeuvre on the menu-card of the bolshevik Moloch, and have already been, to a good extent, internally devoured by bolshevism, there are talk-happy parliamentarians and journalists who are, in all seriousness, promising themselves the beginning of a world-political spring from the change of government in Moscow.

Appeasement-politicians of the kidney of a Bevan in England, compromising advocates of a Russian "reinsurance" in France, and visionary politicians of a so-called "neutralisation" or even Rapallo-orientation in Germany go as far as to demand the cessation or even the decline of the integration and armament of the western world, so as not to drive away the spring swallows and angels of peace from Moscow. Malenkov's move promises, therefore, to succeed . . .

Eisenhower's message to the world and his historic peace-programme broke, nevertheless, like lightning into this nebulous atmosphere and have put an end to all Moscow's attempts to shroud its intentions in ambiguity. In order not completely to lose face after all its peace poses and protestations, and simultaneously to retain a hold upon the gullible in the West, the Kremlin found itself obliged, even if indirectly through "Pravda", to take up Eisenhower's proclamation and to follow suit. In the concluding part of "Pravda's" commentary, to which the West has paid inordinate attention, every opinion that, with the death of Stalin, one kind of Soviet policy has come to an end, in order to make room for another, is abruptly rejected, and it is very clearly stated that the Soviet Union would never dream of renouncing the traditional foreign-political course, whose correctness (certainly in the Moscow sense! — Ed.) had been proved by the entire course of international development.

Last but no least, in answer to Eisenhower's query as to whether the Soviets were willing to grant the nations in their sphere of power a free choice of their own form of government — which is indeed a preliminary condition for world-peace — the new despots in the Kremlin gave the prompt answer that one might not demand from the Soviet Union that it should again set up "reactionary governments" in the countries concerned, after these had been, after a hard struggle, driven out by the peoples themselves! Here is obviously meant all those constitutional, democratic governments of the satellite states which were forcibly overthrown by the help of the red army, in order to raise a commun-

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ist-directed "popular-front" regime, supported by decreasing minority-parties, into the saddle. This regime, moreover, still remains at the helm only through permanent terror and concentration-camps. Eisenhower's assertion that the point in question is forms of government which do not accord with the wishes of the peoples and are in contradiction to all the Soviet Union's obligations towards them is, according to "Pravda", "diametrically in opposition to the facts!" In the view of the Moscow government paper, all these countries could have made "great economic and cultural progress" only as people's democracies!

One sees therefore: as soon as one speaks of concrete matters, whose solution threatens to weaken the forcibly-seized vantage-points of the Russian-bolshevik world-aggression, Moscow beats a hasty retreat in its "peace-offensive". Malenkov will not even once enter into discussion of the future fate of the satellite-states, let alone be prepared to restore their liberty and independence to the more than 100 million alien peoples in the U.S.S.R. That is, however, just as much a fundamental condition for the world's peace and safety from Russian imperialism's inevitable relapses as the liberation of the peoples of the satellite-states. It belongs, in letter and spirit, to the principles upon which Eisenhower's peace-plan is founded.

Thus, for everyone who is opposed to indolent and suicidal compromises with Moscow and who is seriously concerned about the peace and future of the world, Malenkov's definite and categorial "Nyet" has already been spoken. In every prognosis for the future, this "Nyet" — to say absolutely nothing of the new provocative invasion in Indo-China — puts right in the shade even an eventual armistice in Korea or any such intermezzo that the new rulers in the Kremlin may be pleased to introduce into the bolshevik furioso. The enthusiasm of those weather-prophets who have been trying to check amalgamation and defence-efforts in the West must, in any event, have been slightly damped.

It is John Foster Dulles who caps it all — it is lucky for the world that he is here today! — when, in his long commentary speech on the President's peace-plan, he summons the West to reflect, and that with the statement: *the Soviet gestures are in reality no "peace-offensive" at all, but much more of a "peace-defensive"!* A defensive to which Moscow has been forced solely by Eisenhower's new policy of the firm hand, which has already snatched the initiative from the Soviets. Do we want to be convincing negotiators with Moscow, or even to expect concessions from them? Then that can only be achieved by an undeviating policy of unity and superior strength on the part of the West which is the only language that the Kremlin might understand and fear. In this connection, America's Minister of State did not omit expressly to remind us that a resolution of the President's was still waiting to be voted upon in the American Congress. According to this, America would decline to recognise Moscow's claim to mastery of the subjugated nations, which means that the restoration of the sovereignty of these nations would be made a condition for the regulating of the world problems.

How different do such words sound in comparison with the attitude of many another political circle, especially in the European countries, which shrinks back as soon as the talk turns to the fate of the subjugated peoples and their liberation, and prefers at every opportunity to make amorous eyes at Moscow, in the vain hope of coming to a separate agreement with the Russians, apart

## A Warning to the World

Continued from Page 1

A. War, as a purely military operation, would certainly impede the elimination of the pestilence of Russian Imperialism in whatever political trappings it may be decked, because through the chaos and suffering it creates, it would inevitably produce those very conditions in which Marxism finds its most fertile breeding ground. To defeat the Russian armed forces is one thing, and to defeat the Soviet ideology is quite another. Therefore, unless psychological war is combined with military, the latter alone offers no solution.

Q. *Would it not be expedient, when planning the defensive strategy, to make a similar distinction between Russia and her subjugated peoples, as was done in the case of Germany and the countries conquered by her in the 2nd World War?*

A. In the psychological war waged against Soviet Imperialism, it stands to reason that, because its aim is the liberation of all subjugated peoples, the Western nations should look upon them as their allies and support them to their utmost.

Q. *Do you think, Sir, that the Third World War is already in progress and the question is, not how to avoid it, but how to localise it and carry it through to victory for the West with the least sacrifice in human lives possible?*

A. The Third World War, in its psychological form, is in actual operation and has been since Lenin made world revolution his political aim. To localize it is impossible, because it is already worldwide. Its elimination demands a positive offensive strategy whatever may be the cost.

Q. *In view of the fact that a two-front war (external aggression and internal subversion) is carried on by Russia, do you think, Sir, that it is now time to start an offensive support of the underground national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain?*

A. Certainly. It is not only time to do so, but the time is long overdue. Provisional governments of all subjugated peoples should be established in the West, to collect information, keep contact with their respective peoples, and be ready at hand to take over control of them when the opportunity arises.

from America's present historic mission and possibly at the cost of the subjugated. That is, in reality, Malenkov's highest trump, which he is now endeavouring to play as cleverly and successfully as possible. The question is: will the western governments, parliaments, parties or trades-union fall for this and make the Kremlin's game easy or will the entire western world band together, shoulder to shoulder with all the nations earlier or later subjugated by Moscow, in the unshakeable advocacy of a universal conception of indivisible freedom, true peace, and the equality of all peoples, which only will suffice to stop the Kremlin's little game once and for all.

Only then and not one day earlier, will a true spring make its appearance in the world!

Q. *Do you think it right, Sir, that certain Western circles are supporting former Bolshevik collaborators, recognizing them as spokesmen of the will of their nations (e. g. Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary) whom they helped to enslave by collaborating until recently with Russia and bolshevism?*

A. Certainly not. If certain Western circles are supporting former Bolshevik collaborators, then these circles should be regarded with the highest suspicion.

Q. *In connection with the death of Stalin hopes are rising in the West that the U.S.S.R. will seek peace with the West, that fundamental changes will be made in its political structure etc. Do you think such views justified?*

A. I consider it possible that on account of Stalin's death, the Kremlin may change its tactics. But an offer of peace on the status quo is no peace at all. A true peace demands that the Muscovites withdraw from all countries they have subjugated and cease their subversive activities in those they have not yet occupied. Whatever their tactics may be, they do not intend to commit suicide. Therefore the Western Powers should beware of a peace trap.

Q. *Do you not think, Sir, that the essence of bolshevik dictatorship lies in the historical basis of bolshevism, as a form of Russian imperialism, and in the Russian character which has never known democracy and is inclined towards despotism?*

A. Yes. At bottom Tsarist and Soviet Imperialism are but names of the same thing. To parody Shakespeare: "What's in a name? that which we call a skunk By any other name would stink as foul."

Q. *What is in your opinion, Sir, the chief obstacle to the West's efficient defence from the aggression of Moscow?*

A. Ignorance of the Muscovite character and idealism. Since the fifteenth century the Muscovites have intoxicated themselves on the idea that their Duchy was to become the Third Rome. Liberty, as understood in the West, is unknown to them; they are authoritarian to the bone, and, like the leopard, cannot change their spots. Until Western peoples realize this, their defensive and offensive measures are likely to remain inadequate.

Q. *What is in your opinion, Sir, the value from the point of view of the anti-bolshevik struggle of the so-called "American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism" and of its creation — "Co-ordinating Centre of the Anti-bolshevik Campaign", who deny to the bolshevik-dominated nations the right to national and political liberation?*

A. The more one sniffs at the "American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism" and its appendix "Co-ordinating Centre of the Anti-Bolshevik Campaign" the more one smells the émigrés of 1917, who like their forerunners of 1789, learn nothing and forget nothing. Though their heads may be violently anti-Bolshevik, their hearts are zealously Tsarist. In short, they are as firmly wedded to Russian Imperialism as Malenkov and his fraternity.

## Ukraine in the Spring of 1933

*The dreadful 1933 famine in Ukraine, which cost the Ukrainian nation nearly five million lives and the thinning-out of almost an entire generation of youth, and was the most terrible catastrophe that has overtaken the Ukrainian nation within the scope of human memory, is nowadays sufficiently well-known to the Western reader. It is also well-known that it was not occasioned by any natural phenomenon but by an exterminating action, wilfully instituted and systematically carried through by Moscow, against the recalcitrant Ukrainian peasantry. Less clearly understood, however, in the West, is the deeper motive which inspired the Soviet-Russian tyrants to take such drastic action of this kind against the preponderantly passive resistance of the Ukrainian population, in order to procure a not inconsiderable decrease in the total population of Ukraine. The following article from the pen of a living eye-witness of the famine deals with those deeper reasons for this unique mass-murder. (Ed.)*

In the spring of the year 1933 the Ukrainian villages were like cities of the dead. Courtyard and street were overgrown with steppe-grass, houses were desolate, and amidst the rank steppe-



SIMON PETLYURA

President of the restored, Independent Ukrainian National Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian National Army (1919—1921), murdered by a bolshevist agent, May 26th, 1926, in Paris.

grass and unpruned fruit-trees rose spectre-like stoves and chimneys. Over everything lay the stillness of death. Not even a dog barked . . .

Millions were already resting under the soil, after an agonising struggle with death, millions of other starvelings lay, motionless as death, on filthy straw, dressed in rags that had once been clothing, giving up the ghost amidst the cramps of hunger in odorous, cold hovels.

Who will ever be able to paint the picture of "Ukraine in Spring, 1933"?

Many explanations have been put forward for this gruesome happening. Some say that Moscow artificially created the famine in order to subdue Ukraine. Others suggest, after the pattern of the mendacious Moscow propaganda, that it was the consequence of the Ukrainian peasantry's rash resistance to collectivisation. The third group go as far as to ascribe to providence the blame for this fearful tragedy and make "the drought" responsible. Others again believed implicitly the explanation of the Russians that they had not known "the economy and requirements of the Ukrainian village" and, as Stalin maintained, had muddled the matter — and what can one do against stupidity?

To pass over all these theses of open or disguised propaganda, the year 1933 appears in a quite different light: it was the final and decisive engagement against beleaguered Ukraine, when her defenders had no more strength to raise the

weapon, when the foe had scaled the unmanned citadel-walls and penetrated into the very homes. Women, children, old people — none went unscathed. In the Ukrainian homes, infirm grandfathers, with hatchet in hand, opposed machine-guns and mothers were shot in the doorways of their cottages. Children were herded by the thousand in "homes", to be perverted to modern janizary, and thousands fled into the steppe.

The year 1933 saw the concluding phase of that regular open war of the entire Ukrainian nation against the Russians which had begun in 1917, when Ukrainian regiments had commenced a face-to-face fight. When, in 1933, the very last hatchet had fallen from the grasp of Ukrainian women and old men, the war entered upon a new phase — that of an underground-fight. In 1920 and the years following, the Ukrainian-Russian War increased in ferocity, suspense, lack of compromise and bloodshed.

What was the real meaning of the Ukrainian liberation-struggle against Moscow?

The Ukraine wants to have "a home of its own according to its own law" and Moscow wants to be able to plunder that home continually and without cessation. The Ukrainian is defending his home against the Muscovite looter — therein lies the root of the matter. The certainty and predestination of Ukraine's ultimate victory in the future is guaranteed by the fact that every Ukrainian loves "his home and his right" more than life itself. He is defending these things in all circumstances and under the most difficult conditions, and for this cause is risking his life and pledging that of his wife and children.

The Ukrainian nation has for centuries been able to interpret Moscow's relationship with it in no other way: "Moscow's war with Ukraine over the Ukrainian bread — that is just the Muscovite, or some other kind of Socialism". Yet in the course of the execution of that "socialist plan" of Moscow's, of a total of 50 million pud of grain (1 pud = 16,38 kg), scarcely 8,5 million pud was produced in Ukraine in the summer of 1919, and every pud was richly sprinkled with blood. And in that year, Moscow was able to export scarcely 2 million pud "to Moscow and Petrograd".

Even during the bloodshed of 1919—20, Moscow was not able to plunder the Ukrainian homeland, for every Ukrainian cottage defended itself to the death with every means at its disposal. Some may think that a hatchet is not such a "noble" or effective weapon as, perhaps, the atom-bomb; they do not understand, however, that Moscow fears this very weapon more than all the atom-bombs, and that those people who go to war against Moscow with hatchets, pitch-forks, and stakes are, indeed, the most heroic and knightly warriors. It was from them that Moscow had to shrink in 1921.

"Militant Communism (i. e. direct plundering of Ukraine and all subjugated peoples manu militari — author's note) is an attempt to take by force the citadel of the capitalist element in town and country by frontal attack. In this fight the party advanced too far and came in danger of losing contact with its base. Now Lenin recommended retreating somewhat, temporarily approa-

ching a rearward position, changing over from the offensive to a long siege, in order, after strength has been gathered, to begin the attack once more" (Short Course on the History of the communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1942, P. 245, Russian edition).

The "retreat", together with "besieging of the citadel", found its expression in the so-called "New Economic Policy" (N.E.P.). This comprised the cessation of the militarily conducted plundering of Ukraine and the inevitable bloodshed — since this, as illustrated above, achieved nothing — and, instead of this, the proposing of "trade-relations" to the beleaguered, yet unconquered, citadel: about 20—25 pud for grain for a pair of badly-made boots, or 2—3 pud for one metre of shoddy Moscow calico. Ukraine replied to this "peaceful" plundering with a general boycott, without giving up her bread for that kind of "trade", and no more progress was made on the Moscow kolkhoses: according to Moscow statistics, scarcely 1 1/2% of the Ukrainian rural population were engaged in the kolkhoses — a minutely small proportion, therefore, that could be drummed together from among all the riff-raff in Ukraine.

But when Moscow had re-grouped its forces, it returned to armed attack:

"The refusal of the kulaks to sell the grain to the state at fixed prices (i. e. to deliver without charge — auth.) was answered by the party and the government with the instituting of a series of extraordinary measures against them . . . and the poor of the villages were given the right of receiving 25% of the kulak's grain for their own use . . . (ibid. P. 279).

It may, however, be asserted that the Ukrainian village did not, at the provocation of Moscow, proceed to mutual plunder, with the exception of isolated cases of favour-carrying towards the enemy on the part of an inconsiderable number of scum. The Ukrainian village displayed astonishing spiritual unity in its resistance, and Moscow was not successful in provoking fratricide and mutual slaughter in the "beleaguered Ukrainian citadel": the 25% Judas-money had no effect.



EUHEN KONOVALETS

Colonel in the Ukrainian National Army (1918—1921), Commander of the illegal Ukrainian Military Organisation (U.W.O.) (1922—1929), and Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) (1919—1938), murdered by a bolshevist agent in Rotterdam on May 25th, 1938.

Nevertheless, after a 7-year siege (1921—28) the general Moscow attack against Ukraine began.

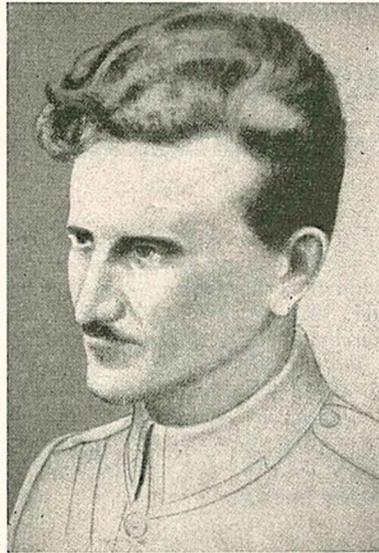
Tens of thousands of industrial workers from Leningrad, Moscow, and Ivanovo-Voynessenk, political commissars, G.P.U.—N.K.V.D. detachments, hundreds of thousand of Moscow Communists, divisions and brigades of the Red Army, stationed in strategically important areas, flocked into Ukraine. Double and triple cordons of G.P.U.—N.K.V.D. troops surrounded all the Ukrainian towns, forming impenetrable barriers which paralysed all communication between the individual villages and districts. Liquidation of the small-holdings and smaller farms, together with the herding together of the rural population in larger villages, destroyed the outworks, the defence-

and sallying-points of the besieged fortress of Ukraine — this was the first phase of the attack, which lasted from 1928—30.

From 1931-33 the main engagement took place — the general collectivisation of the whole Ukraine, in which the enemy penetrated into the Ukrainian peasant-cottages. The cottages received the enemy with hatches, stakes, pitch-forks — everything with which one can possibly defend oneself. Only very little news of this fight trickled into the Moscow press and then only on the occasion of the "cruel martyrdom" of Russian industrial workers, N.K.V.D. agents, etc., who had been detailed off for the plundering of the Ukrainian peasantry. Not the murderers, but the murdered, should be dubbed guilty. Behind every report of that kind was hidden, in reality, an episode from that incomparable, heroic fight, that mortal struggle of hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian men and women, who sacrificed themselves in the defence of their own home, their family, their Ukraine.

Hundreds of thousands of roaming homeless horses, slaughtered cattle, dead poultry, hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of hectares of wheat which was rotting as it stood or in the barns, only that it should not fall as booty into the hands of the foe — that was the final scene of that last fight in the Ukrainian-Russian war of 1917—33.

*May the thought remain with us eternally of these millions and millions of our Ukrainian brothers and sisters who fell in 1931—33 in the last fight for liberty. Only over their dead bodies was the enemy able to penetrate into the Ukrainian home. But their children, who fled out into the undergrowth and steppe-grass, who saw and survived it all, have now grown up into fearless defenders of the ruins of their home. The shades of their fallen fathers and mothers show them and us, who dwell in a strange land, the way to the continuance and fulfilment of the work which they were not enabled to accomplish.*



TARAS CHUPRYNKA

Chairman of the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) in Ukraine, fell in the battle against the N.V.D.-M.G.B. troops near Lviv (Ukraine) on March 5th, 1950.

*May the memory never die of those who fell in the Ukrainian-Russian War of 1917—33 and the bloody fight of 1931—33 against the Russian Kolkhos-slavery in Ukraine!*  
A. O.

## Malenkov's Soap-Bubbles

*"One need not hesitate to retreat one pace, in order soon afterwards to advance two, and thus attain one's goal." (Lenin)*

It is one of the greatest political tragedies of our times that there are still many politicians in the West who have not yet got the right idea about the psychological and political mood and facts behind the Iron Curtain. This has been, and still is, an enormous aid for Moscow and a weakness in the West.

In consequence of this terrible ignorance about the conditions within the Soviet dominion and about the true nature of bolshevism, diverse wrong speculations about the true policy of the Kremlin continually arise in the West.

Stalin's death, the change in the Russian government, Malenkov's hollow words of peace and little peaceful gestures have given rise to all kinds of groundless hopes and expectations in the West. The atheist Kremlin took its "friendly steps" very cunningly on the most important days of the Christian calendar, because it was hoping for the best psychological effect thereby. It was Stalin who chose Christmas Eve last year to communicate to the world that he had become an angel of peace and desired peace. Malenkov, his successor, chose Easter this year.

### They Speak of Peace and Think of Bluff

In the last few years, the Soviets have arranged peace campaigns, peace demonstrations and peace congresses all over the world. But all this occurred at the same time as the brutal and blunt "Njet" of the Russian diplomats to all proposals aiming at a genuine proof of peaceful intentions. But Moscow's words and deeds have always contradicted each other. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that those men who now form the inner cabinet of the Russian government were the best pupils of Lenin and close collaborators of Stalin and will never think of breaking with Stalin's policy.

In the long run, the present Soviet rulers are prepared for a ruthless war against the non-communist world. For a short period, even former Soviet leaders found it necessary to make far-

reaching concessions and to undertake political compromises. But, as a matter of fact, whenever Moscow makes concessions or sounds the retreat, it keeps an eye on that day when advance may be resumed. No doubt, Malenkov tries only to evoke a perilous, tactical change of mood in the west and in his own domain by his protestations of peace.

In reality, the same arbitrariness and the same terrorism remains active. This has been confirmed by the April number of the Cominform paper which issued further sharp attacks against the "western war mongers".

The peace campaign is to split the forces of the west, to disarm it politically, morally and militarily, to frustrate its political and military preparations so that then the Kremlin can start a new attack.

The speeches on the peaceful living side by side of the communist and capitalist world are not new, either. Lenin and Stalin ventilated the subject several times and tried at the same time to create the best conditions for the extermination of the non-communist world by world revolution. The bolsheviks are excellent tacticians and prefer to follow that motto of Lenin's which says that, sometimes, one may retreat one step without hesitation, in order to go two in advance afterwards and gain one's goal in that way.

### Attempts to Reduce Interior Tensions

We experienced personally the different "changes" and retreats of the Soviet policy and cannot perceive anything new in the present political manoeuvres of the Kremlin. The terrible and brutal collectivization was succeeded by the N.E.P. (New Economic Policy). We experienced the purge, by which the mightiest N.K.V.D. chiefs; Yagoda and Yezhov, fell: the purge in the Red Army in 1937 cost the lives of thousands of officers, with Marshall Tukhachevski at their head. We noticed many events of similar character in the U.S.S.R. — the nature of the Soviet regime, however, remained the same.

All the latest moves of Moscow are meant only for the strengthening of the party authority and

the position of Stalin's successor, Malenkov. As early as the 19th party congress, Malenkov tried to realize these measures in his account of the form of some resolutions and hints on the political line.

In the last few years, the guidance of the "great Russian people" has been consistently carried out in all spheres of life, entailing exaggerated Russian patriotism, chauvinism and antisemitism, which mark Soviet policy everywhere. Now Malenkov tries to change over to the policy of equality and fraternity of the peoples of the Soviet Union. This was done only in response to the pressure of the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow, in order to put things on a somewhat better footing. Even the announcement of that sensational amnesty which means freedom for hundreds of thousands of prisoners and the reduction in the sentences of further hundreds of thousands, is certainly intended to remove the perilous tensions among the peoples in the U.S.S.R. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that this was an amnesty of non-political prisoners, the number of whom exceeds 10 million.

How pressing the necessity of raising the general mood was felt to be may be seen from the extent of measures taken. It is not for pity's sake that the communists release their victims, but because the concentration camps are crammed full. In these camps mostly non-Russian people are detained as political prisoners. The screw of terror and violence had been turned so tight that the despots in the Kremlin could quiet down the population only by a grand gesture.

Moscow's emphasis on peace and peaceful cooperation can be also construed as being partly caused by the pressing necessity to appease the population, particularly that of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. The further price-cuts are welcomed by the masses in the U.S.S.R. although they will not be of great consequence in practice, for a sore lack of goods is still prevailing in the Soviet Union, as the Minister of Trade, A. Mikoyan, confirmed at the 19th party meeting. The unfounded hopes which the change of the government in Moscow evoked in over-optimistic politicians of the West, have already been bluntly refuted by Malenkov's utterance on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the bolshevik revolution, 7. November 1949: "The first world war entailed the bolshevik october revolution; the second brought the Soviet rule over middle Europa and China; a third will be the grave of the entire anti-communist world."

The West should not indulge in illusions as to the aims of Stalin's successor... W. G.

## Africa and Europe

On April 21st., in the Munich Rathaus, an interested audience was privileged to hear a talk on the above theme by Vernon Bartlett, the well-known British publicist. Mr. Bartlett described Africa as being, in existing circumstances, the natural hinterland of Europa, and said that it behoved all Europeans to take an interest in developments there. In speaking of South Africa, he emphasised the not generally-known fact that the white population was there first and, while not actually approving of Malan's policy, he gave him credit for trying to avert what might become a very serious danger.

Britain's policy in administering the colonies was not exploitation of the native peoples, but the training of them for self-government, which would be bestowed upon them as soon as they were ripe for it. He cited the West African colonies as examples of states which had made most progress in self-administration. The lecturer went on to speak of Kenya and the Mau-Mau terrorism, which had been instigated by the native intelligentsia deliberately playing upon the superstitions of the simple folk.

After referring to the proposed Central African Federation, which he considered would be a good thing, especially for Nyasaland, Mr. Bartlett invited questions from the audience.

The vote of thanks proposed by Freiherr von Pritwitz was heartily endorsed by the audience. B.

*The State of Science in the U. S. S. R.***JURISPRUDENCE**

By Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn

**III.**

Soviet jurisprudence had to put up for years with the fact that all legal maxims of the Tsarist Empire (which were but slightly modified after the February revolution 1917) had not only been cancelled in practice by the "socialist" October revolution but also condemned as "bourgeois" and "capitalist". New laws were continuously produced by the Soviet government, it is true; but it took several years until the wide gap was filled and the Soviet judges could refer to definite paragraphs instead of passing their sentences according to their individual "revolutionary views" and "proletarian class consciousness" — as in the period of "Military Communism" from 1918 to 1921. Moreover, the yearly increasing general centralization and rigidity of the Soviet regime demanded speedy codification of the new "socialist" law, but no particular importance was attached to the evidence, why it was actually to be regarded as "socialist". No doubt, there was no lack of support of such proof, but the "scientific" activity of these supporters was rendered extremely difficult by the interior "zig-zag" policy of the Soviet government in the thirties. It was too dangerous to elaborate general principles of the Soviet law and to try to conform it to concrete legislation, as in many spheres of life the new legislation was much too rapidly superseded by a still newer one (and that, partly, even retrospective as, for instance, the famous law against pederasty of March 7, 1934). The great "ideological" purges of the thirties did their bit to induce the Soviet jurists to restrict themselves chiefly to a purely pragmatic systematization of the texts of law and to refrain practically from any superfluous — and certainly perilous — starting theories. The "greatest scientist of all time" in the Kremlin preferred to keep silence on jurisprudential problems and that made people cautious.

During the second world war and the years after, when, in the U.S.S.R. a transitory ogling with the "western democracies" even on ideological basis, though not at all officially permitted, was however not expressly tabooed, timid attempts were made, even by Soviet jurists to form contact with European jurisprudence. Voices were heard (as that of Prof. M. Strogovich, the author of a textbook on penal procedure, published in 1946) pointing to the fact that not even the "superiority" of the Soviet jurisdiction as compared with capitalistic one could be proved regularly without the establishment of universal legal maxims — that is to say, basing *not* on "proletarian class consciousness" —: no comparison is possible without the foothold of universal maxims. And S. Braus took even the liberty of expressly pointing out in a treatise on the fundamentals of Soviet law that "not everything said by bourgeois jurists was wrong".

However harmless and self-evident those "liberal" utterances may seem — they did not meet with approval among Soviet jurists. Why should the superiority of Soviet law be "proved", when it is a matter of conscience for every Soviet (resp. Russian) patriot to believe in it without proof? True — "bourgeois" scientists have been right sometimes; but who might dare judge in *individual cases* if it could not be found in black and white in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and, above all, Stalin! Moreover, not even that was sufficient guarantee. After the events of the thirties people had become very cautious.

As a matter of fact, the cautious ones turned out to be right. At the beginning of October 1946, two months after *Zhdanov's* general attack on the Soviet writers charging them with "bourgeois objectivism", "formalism", "servility towards the West", a resolution of the Central Committee of the Party repeated all these reproaches to Soviet jurists and all "liberal" tendencies of war-time were thoroughly done away with.

Those "bourgeois deviations" (included later in the collective name "homeless cosmopolitanism")

were so eagerly combatted that sometimes quite remarkable and, in fact, highly compromising results were attained. W. S. Tadevosyan for instance, declared in his "Principles of Soviet Criminal Procedure" outright: the principle, that the defendant was to held innocent until he was found guilty, was just a bourgeois principle; *ergo* — in Soviet jurisdiction the defendant has to prove his innocence — which, no doubt, corresponds exactly to the actual practice but is scarcely suited for publication. Of course, still cleverer people appeared immediately who convicted the over-zealous Tadevosjan of "slandering Soviet law practice": in "capitalist" legal procedure namely, which naturally based on oppression and exploitation only, the defendant is only apparently regarded as innocent until the opposite has been proved, in practice, however, the moot principle is not seriously considered in the "bourgeois" penal law suites; thus, its validity for Soviet law could and should be advocated without hesitation. It was just the natural right of the defendant which is and can be realized only in the "socialist" law. And behold! This sagacious and seemingly "orthodox" argument leads to a "natural" law and thus back to the universal legal maxims, now tabooed! Still it was perhaps possible to declare that the moot principle was an achievement not of socialist but of *national Russian* law, which has been adopted illegitimately and only externally by the "capitalist" West (just as recently the abbot Jossif of Wolokolamsk was proclaimed to be the originator of the theory of the sovereignty of the state, a theory with which the famous Jean Bodin — early 16th century —

was formerly accredited.) But that is not so easily accomplished.

Under such circumstances it is easily enough to understand, that the standard-textbook officially recommended for use in Soviet schooling — "Element of the Soviet State and Law" (a collective work edited by *Trapin* and *Lewin*) should have been confiscated in the spring of 1949 and not replaced by anything else.

And the situation was changed again in June 1950, when the famous pamphlet of the "omniscient" comrade Stalin on "Marxism and Problems of Philology" was published. Somewhat startling at first: What is there at all in common between Stalin's commonplaces on "philology" and jurisprudence?

Well — according to Stalin, language is first and foremost a matter of nations and not of classes; it outlasts economic changes and social revolutions and is fairly independent of "ideological superstructures"; this applies also to legal language, though, and certainly to juridical terminology! There a chink of the door has been left open, as it were, if not indeed for "universal legal maxims", but at least for their national nomenclature.

Furthermore, Stalin lays strong emphasis on the great value of "pre-Marxian" science:

"Marx and Engels . . . were of opinion that their dialectic materialism owes its rise to the development of sciences, including the philosophy of the past".

If this is true of philosophy — why not of philosophy of law? Then one might begin to go back at least to the "progressive" Hegel.

Finally, by unconditionally rejecting the "japhetologic" philology concocted by N. Marr, scholar, Stalin rehabilitated thereby the comparative philology generally recognized outside of the Soviet Union; Why not, then, the comparative jurisprudence? And the comparative and historical method, in its turn, is inconceivable without universal juridical maxims.

Continued on Page 6

*Side-Lights***Political Astrology**

"The Soviet Union will pursue the same targets under Malenkov as she did under Stalin". This statement of Mr. Dulles' was certainly the right answer to the random guesses about the latest measures of the Kremlin. The very problematic amnesty for internal purposes, the not absolutely convincing support of the endeavours for an armistice in Korea, and the striking zeal in blowing the peace shawm, those facts should call forth double vigilance. They reveal only the uncertainty of the new supreme bolshevik in judging the question whether he will be able to stabilize his position, to secure his influence on the development of the Russian empire and to lull the West in order to delay the conclusion of the European Defence Community with all his might.

**Question-mark Tito**

In the meantime, the "insurgent" Tito has known how to provide for an incontestable position of power even against Moscow by his friendly alliance with Greece and Turkey and, furthermore, to strengthen his backing in the West on his visit in London. True, he has been successful already in regaining Yugoslavia's independence in foreign and economic politics. His new alliance, however, touched one of the sorest points in the Muscovite nervous system.

Thereby a step was accomplished in the Balkan strategy which is likely to comply very little with Mr. Malenkov's still obscure plans.

In this connection we are not to argue about the political reliability of that *communist* Tito, which he will always remain, and not about the value of his promises in London. It may be taken for granted, however, that England as well as America did not omit preventing, by certain safeguards, any misuse of their weapons and aeroplanes which are to be delivered.

**Repercussion of Stalin's Death**

It is a commonplace that any change in the government of a totalitarian regime entails interior tremors which inspire the adversaries of the system to brisker activity. Titoist excesses in many a satellite state are heard of, at the beginning of the return of those countries to Europe.

Czechia is about to provide some bad hours for Malenkov in this respect. Stalin's decease has strongly shaken the faith of the gagged Czechian workers and peasants in the omnipotence of the U.S.S.R. Gottwald's death immediately afterwards gave rise to timid hopes of an early deliverance, the release of the Jewish doctors in the Soviet Union and the disavowal of the Slansky trial thereby, dealt a further blow to the prestige of the Prague government.

**France Impedes**

The relatively cool reception of Mssrs. René Mayer and Bidault in Washington is a symptom of the conception prevailing there which must not be overlooked. That the war in Indo-China requires certain consideration shall not be gainsaid. Even the additional protocols were not wholeheartedly approved by American opinion, but the intended junction between the Saar-problem and E.D.C. treaty met with unanimous rejection. It may be remembered that it was France who practically forced the engagement with that treaty on the nations concerned, and now it is France again which secedes from its own ideas.

It could only be wished that such opinions as that of the right-wing paper "Aurore" in Paris will not meet with too great a response among the French population: "If Vyshinsky mentions possibilities of negotiations in the U.N. there is no reason to refuse. That would also dispose of all motives for a rash German rearmament."

As the point is only the timely ratification of deliberate arrangements with no haste intended, "Aurore" might be suspected of being the first to be taken in by Malenkov's plan of lulling the West. Therefore it may be reminded of John Foster Dulles' warning: If the French do not take care of their own safety, they must not feel offended if we care for ours!" G. I. H.

## The West shut its eyes to Tiso's warning

By Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky,

President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee

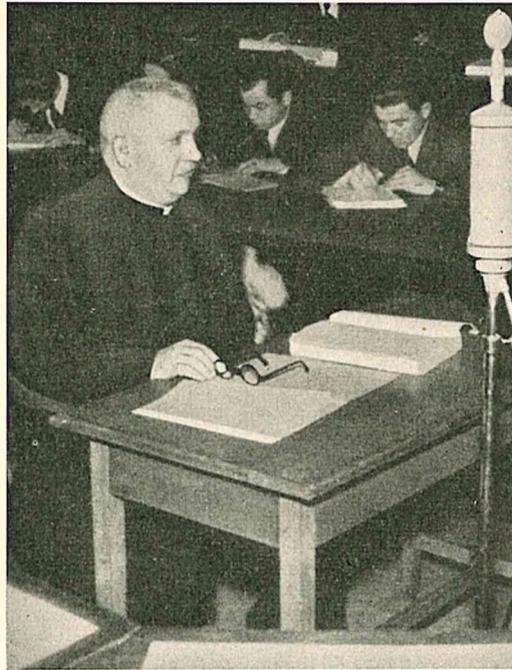
During and after the second world war it was a matter of reputation for every politician to co-operate with Moscow, to abet the Red Army in its advance towards the west and to create favourable conditions for the introduction of communism. Those who wanted to be taken for "Democrats" tried not to be outdone by others in servitude to the Kremlin. And those who were not overcome by this psychosis because they saw through the democratic coat of communism and the imperialistic intentions of Moscow and foresaw the imminent danger impending over the Christian culture and the freedom of the European nations, were given bad names such as "fascists". Did those politicians even dare to put their opinion into execution they were declared war criminals with all the cruel consequences resulting therefrom.

The communist propaganda apparatus removed every political adversary pitilessly in the name of freedom and democracy and that with the tacit consent and even the assistance of the other victors. So, like ten thousands of others, the president of the Slovak Republic, Dr. Josef Tiso, was sent to a concentration camp, imprisoned and finally hanged. The omnipotent victors were indifferent to the fact that this offended a tradition of centuries and the general principles of right.

Real-shortsightedness was taken for democratic-and foresight for fascistic.

The communists and their assistants were right in regarding Dr. Tiso as their irreconcilable enemy. He proved by his proceedings that he had seen through the problems to their core. He had not the slightest doubt that communism meant the ruin not only of the material but also of the spiritual and moral values of the peoples governed by it: "Communism brings down the human culture and economic level below the dignity of men . . . I don't like to have anything in common with a bolshevik even if he is a Slovak, as I cannot take as a Slovak any one who propagates bolshevism. He is the greatest of our adversaries and an enemy to the people . . ."

The Kremlin realized Dr. Tiso was an obstacle in its way to imperialism. Tiso made no secret of his conviction that Moscow being master of



DR. JOSEF TISO

President of the Slovak Republic before the Communist People's Tribunal in Bratislava, February, 1947.

the Danube basin would not only swallow the Slovaks but threaten the freedom of all European nations. "Bolshevism is not only an irreconcilable enemy of our national life but also of the whole of Europe" . . . That is why he persistently wars he the Slovaks against this danger.

Pursuant to his clear attitude, Tiso refused collaboration with Moscow even when no doubt was left that Slovakia would be pushed into the Soviet sphere of power with the consent of the West and the free nations would assist the Kremlin in putting its plans into action. Even then he rejected any compromise when Moscow hypocritically promised to maintain the national independence of Slovakia.

There is no doubt that it was one of the merits of President Tiso that the Slovaks as a whole kept to the anti-communist and anti-bolshevik line. "The Slovak people has become the interpreter of the unperverted truth about the infernal character of bolshevism which must not be joined nor even tolerated by a neutral attitude". It gives proof of his greatness that he answered for his principles not only as state president but also when — in violation of the general principles of right — he was transported to Bratislava in manacles for being murdered. There is no doubt that the show-trial staged under the sign "People's Court" must be evaluated as a deliberate murder. Indeed—Tiso was a danger for the bolshevik regime in Slovakia introduced by Dr. E. Benes. Tiso had to die for that.

It is the tragedy of his death that competent politicians in the west disregarded his warnings. The present disaster is the result.

## A Declaration of Solidarity

*The National Liberation Committee of Idel-Ural in Istanbul sent us a message signed by its president, Dr. Lebib Karan, the essential passages of which are reproduced in the following. (Ed.)*

**"To our friends and fellow-combatants of the A.B.N.**

We welcome your honest anti-bolshevik activity and declare our solidarity with those of your actions which aim at unmasking the deceitfulness of the reactionary group of Russian emigrants. While appealing for unity, they deny the true nature of that unity by their false doctrine that, ethnographically speaking, the "Russian nations" do not exist at all.

The aim of the Committee for the Liberation of Idel-Ural has been, from the beginning, the absolute economic and political independence of all peoples in that country. In doing so, our National Liberation Movement foots on the peculiarity of these peoples and their individual historical past. The great reservoir of productive forces and the power of the spirit of freedom have, during a centuries-long common life and fight, moulded the Turko-Tatars and the Ugro-Finns into a joint state. This means that every socially and politically active member of the peoples must continue the fight until the goal of the programme of the national assembly in Ufa in 1917/18 has been reached. Our present enemy is bolshevism and its hirelings in Idel-Ural. Our next task is to liquidate the bolshevik regime in our country and to clear its territory from Moscow favourites. This aim can only be achieved, however, for every people concerned, in common with all anti-bolshevik organizations in the world.

Some alarming differences have turned up among the anti-bolsheviks. Therefore we deem it necessary to make our views on the present situation plain.

1. The "American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism" is an unofficial or-

ganization which, it is true, was constituted for the purpose of unmasking the barbarous bolshevism and certainly wants to warn the nations of a common danger.

2. Unfortunately, certain representatives of that committee have been misled by adherents of the Russian military aggressive imperialism and have now a false idea about the main trait of communism in the U.S.S.R. which is only a particular form of Russian domination and the continuation of genocide for the purpose of a worldwide Russian aggression. Some anti-bolsheviks have thereby been distracted from the objective proper.

3. Certain Russian exile politicians, though claiming to be anti-bolsheviks, comply with the expansion policy of the Red Kremlin by their reactionary attitude towards the national question. By transferring the slogan of "unity" from the sphere of social appearances into the field of national life, they finally justify the crimes that bolshevism committed against the oppressed peoples, such as mass arrests, mass-resettlements and expulsions, barbarous programs against the national culture, arts and language of the non-Russian peoples with Russification the ultimate goal.

4. To fight against bolshevism is the duty of the intellectual forces of all nations, including the Russian. No doubt, there must be, in order to avoid chaotic conditions, a coordination centre which should be placed in the hands of qualified and objective experts who are thoroughly familiar with the national problems and all questions of the anti-bolshevik struggle. This coordination must guarantee, by form and extent, the full liberty for the protection of the national interests of all peoples concerned in psychological warfare.

Our peoples like, and are strengthened in their faith in their own freedom, by the integrity of the American people and its readiness for sacrifices as well as by the attitude of the English people, which restricts itself and leaves the colonial interests of centuries to their dominions."

### Jurisprudence (Continued from Page 5)

Now the "cosmopolitans" so badly abused suddenly came to the fore and were able on their part to reproach their opponents with "vulgarizing marxism" — which opportunity they made wide use of on the occasion of the discussion (i. e. glorification) of Stalin's pamphlet in the Institute of Jurisprudence of the Moscow Academy of Sciences.

A thorough change in Soviet jurisprudence has not been observed as yet, though, and must not be expected, and that not only in consequence of the unexpected decease of the "greatest philologist" (which also detracted from the value of his pamphlet for the present) but above all because there have already been several "changes" in Soviet jurisprudence and that always at the cost of the credulous and the careless. In a totalitarian state, all possible caprices of the dictator at the time are glorified but no one is confident that they will last.

It might have struck the reader, by the way, that this article only deals with the Russian jurisprudence in the U.S.S.R. But there is a good reason: it is the only one there. Among all philologist sciences, the Soviet jurisprudence is probably the most centralized and russified. Even 20 years ago, all jurisprudential institutes of the Soviet Union were subordinated to the direct leadership of Moscow. And wherever a jurist lectures, his scientific achievement is only evaluated by what he publishes in Moscow or Leningrad.

*What Will Happen in the U. S. S. R. in Future?*

## The Main Problem Still Unsolved

Stalin's death will bring about the rapid completion and legitimisation of a process that began before, of the transition from a pseudo-communist dictatorship to a dictatorship of the chauvinistic heads of Moscow officialdom in symbiosis with the like-natured topranks of the Soviet army.

As an ideal basis of the new regime, the myth of Russian world primacy is founded on atheist materialism.

The front of the immer struggles in the U.S.S.R. is not drawn between the classes, but between the peoples.

The supreme goal of communism — the world revolution of the proletariat — means, in the Kremlin's eyes, Russian predominance in the world.

In fact, the organized international *communist* movement is about to be liquidated, and those organizations which regard themselves as exponents of that movement, with Moscow their centre proper, are, in reality, mere agents of Russian imperialism.

The nations of the free world must evaluate the changes proceeding in the U.S.S.R. in the right way, as their own future will depend on that evaluation. We can testify that, in the expanses of the European-Asian continent, a prison has been set up for hundreds of millions of human beings whose mentality is formed by means of discriminatory race and national ideas, by a myth of the primacy and world mission of a single nation — i. e. Russia —, by atheism, materialism and a social and ethic cynicism. The world has experienced the consequences of a similar development of late in German Hitlerism, though in an incomparably smaller degree. The Russian communo-fascism is all the more terrible as it seized not 80 but 800 millions of men and does not develop in the atmosphere of European culture, but under the conditions of a Euro-Asiatic primitive socialism, and the aspirations of the Russian communo-fascism have the whole globe at stake, whereas Hitler's ambition restricted itself to the subjection of eastern Europe. The masses of every

people are susceptible to mystic catchwords. Even a people of such practical mind as the Germans gave almost whole-hearted support to Hitler at certain moments. How is it then, with the Russian people, who have, always tended to mysticism. We are told that the Russian people is only waiting for its liberator and is the best ally in any fight against the Kremlin. But those millions of Russians who waited in the keen frost for hours only to do the last honour to the late tyrant, do they not show just the opposite? That Moscow cabman and that Muscovite woman who wept before an American reporter — are they playing the hypocrite?

True, the revolution in old Russia claimed many victims of all the peoples belonging to that empire; true, that the industrialisation of that country was carried out at the price of a material impoverishment even of the Russians themselves. But the Russian people got an enlarged and strengthened empire in exchange for it and will never assist in overthrowing those who realized their national wishes. Real allies of the free nations in their fight against the hated danger are only those peoples in the U.S.S.R. who suffered most by the revolution, who had to pay for industrialisation and forced collectivisation with millions of human lives and got nothing in return but — instead of the position of a leading people — the prospect of total physical extermination. Only those peoples who have been fighting with their bare hands for their freedom and separation from the communo-fascist centre in Moscow for many years now, and maintain the only *inner front in the U.S.S.R.* — only they are right and reliable allies against those who sharpen their knives in order to cut off the thread of life of the free peoples in all the world.

Stalin's death was like a flash of lightning which unexpectedly illuminated the artificial darkness of Soviet life and in this light it will be found easier to discern what is false or true, what is pretended or real. Everybody interested may have a look and perceive matters in their true shape.

L. Senyshyn

Prof. Dr. P. Kurinny:

## Science in Quarantine

### No Soviet Scientific Treatise for the West?

(Concluded from No. 3/4)

A terrible disaster for science was the compulsory introduction of Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism as methodology. Whenever a carefully planned experiment of scientific research was undertaken in the U.S.S.R. which might have served scientific aims, it was carried out in such crude ways that it was an *insult to the fundamentals of Science.*

The scholars of all faculties who had accomplished their work in compliance with scientific principles at least to a certain degree, were forced, in every stage of research, to observe the Marxist principles issued by the Party Committee and to confirm them, contrary to all results and proper conclusions, from their experimental studies.

Thus science in U.S.S.R. passed each stage of the Marxism of Plekhanov, Bogdanov, Deborin, Bukharin, Trozky, Lenin and Stalin and all their various epigones in all domains.

Remembering that upon each change in the political attitude even the Marxist literature was confiscated one comes to the conclusion that the literary basis of science in the U.S.S.R. is disastrously small and that the experiment of using Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism for the greatest possible ideological support of the state has been nullified by the state itself.

It is easy to understand that "science" of that sort did not only fail to overtake or surpass European science but was not even strong enough to play any revolutionary role in scientific

methodology or ideology. It is not surprising, furthermore, that in the field of Marxist theory and methodology no results of lasting value were gained at that time though aspired after by many first class scholars who finally had to pay for their ambition by being deported or otherwise ill treated.

Consequently, science disappointed deeply even in the most important domain of engineering as we learned from the resolution, recently published by the state commission of the academician Keldish of 1952 on the occasion of the work of the technical department of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

Science of facts and research has become unnecessary and Soviet literary production has been simplified to the selection of quotations of the Marxist classics and to the invention of facts that might prove these quotations. There is no better example for scientific work of that kind than a comparison of the first and the latest edition of the "History of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R."

Moreover, science in the U.S.S.R. suffered most from the confiscation and annihilation of the works and the banning of the ideas of the representatives of the older scholar generation and the apt young scholars after their arrest. Thus the handing down of the results not only of the "bourgeois" or patriotic (*otye tcheskoi*) sciences but also of the internal Marxist has been cut off. The values of the past have been lost for ever.

In order to deprive the scholars of their absolute privilege — of productive reasoning and real knowledge — the system of collective work was introduced, that is the corroboration of the work of experts by ignorant men, whereafter the work belongs neither scientifically nor politically to the author. With that things often occurred which were unthinkable for normal brains and would expose their creators to torture in the case of a new change in political tactics. Best proofs are such "scientific" works as "History of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R." the drafts of the great "History of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R.", the "Great Soviet Encyclopedia", the works of the academician Grekov and others. The last stimulus for successful creation, i. e. the satisfaction in one's own piece of work and success, was deadened.

The great majority of the scientific works, however, was not printed at all; first, because no funds were granted for their publication and any printing on private account was prohibited; second, as from a certain time on, the material was kept secret and publication would have been considered high treason; third, because the editors simply avoided giving their imprimatur for the printing of any works they did not comprehend, even of most eminent experts, as they were afraid of losing their party membership. But, after all, even the author had to be cautious. A work was better not printed than giving occasion to charges and denunciations by avanturists.

It was another consequence of the facts mentioned that the scholars escaped into other branches, chiefly of economic character, in order to avoid the uncertainty of their special branch.

It was entirely different with the experts for the research of the natural sources of the country, who worked particularly for military purposes. They had, at least, financially secured positions and fairly well organized laboratories.

As shown, however, in the latest account of the committee of the academician Keldish of 1952 on the state of the work of the technical department of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., party science did not succeed even in that sphere.

\* \* \*

In order to do the scholars in the U.S.S.R. justice, it must be stated that they did not yield willingly to the barbarous annihilation of science and culture and of the fundamentals of genuine science.

Each stage of the annihilation of sciences in the U.S.S.R. called forth a corresponding form of resistance. I may skip the resistance of diverse political groups or the ideological struggle of certain parts of the communist party. That sort of resistance is likely to have existed. Yet upon the madness of the mass charges of people with no political affiliation whatever; in times of absolute lie and forced self-accusations it is difficult to discern truth and pure invention. Most of the charges against the scholars were obtained by lies and covered things of quite another category such as wrong labels on a bottle. With that resistance of scientists, the freedom of spirit, the principle of free research, the dignity of scholars and their right to creating uninfluenced, were primarily at stake. The first period of this fight was that of struggling for the autonomy of science and against its being gradually choked and also against the introduction of persons without ample qualification (party members) into the scientific institutions.

The second period was the fight waged for the freedom of individual research; for the right to conclusions in concord with one's conscience; and against compulsory subjects; against the harnessing of research to tasks ordered.

The third period was the struggle against Marxism as the only possible way to obtain scientific truth; against forgery, flattery, collectivism and mere quoting.

The fourth period was the revolt against the politicizing of science and its perversion to a tool of false propaganda. Thus the destruction of the fundamentals of science in the U.S.S.R. was accomplished.

In the national districts this process was somewhat complicated by the fact that national science and particularly the studies on the country and the efficiency of "people's scholars" were branded as "nationalism and counter-revolution" thwarting the introduction not only of communism and internationalism but also of Muscovite-chauvinistic imperialism. Therefore the national scientific

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## David Russé:

### Increase of Forced Labour in the U.S.S.R.

*In the following we publish a report of the noted French writer David Russé on his experiences with the international committee, which had been initiated by him for the investigation of conditions in the Soviet concentration camps.*

More than two years ago, an article by David Russé was published in the "Figaro Lettres". The author, having been detained in a German concentration camp during the war, appealed to all its prisoners and to all human beings in the free western world to whom the words "freedom" and "individual" are dear to form an international committee for the investigation of the living conditions of the prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. This pathetic appeal of his did not remain without response. A little while afterwards a special committee was constituted. This committee applied to the Soviet government for permission to send its deputies into Russian territory that they might ascertain the truth about the existence of concentration camps, which had been stubbornly and persistently denied by the Soviet representatives abroad. The committee did not receive an official answer to its request. Articles only were published, then, in "Pravda" and "Izvestiya" which attacked Russé and his committee sharply because they were trying to "discredit the U.S.S.R." in the opinion of the working masses in the world.

In spite of all — the committee began its work. It was restricted to the purpose to prove, on the one hand, the existence of concentration camps by means of the official Soviet publications and, on the other hand, by proved evidence of former camp inmates to provide enlightenment on the organization of those camps and the conditions there. The result of these investigations will be made known soon. Part of the documents collected will also be published, as Russé announced. The delegates of our committee, Russe continues, handed both to the special committee for the investigation of forced labour in Genf, the White Book and resume, of its work which demonstrates the great arbitrariness in the Soviet concentration camps, as well as a great number of documents unpublished as yet, which deal with the administrative organization and military power and economy of the supervisory administration of the concentration camp "H.U.L.A.G." and those camps depending directly from it. These documents will be published to the public in the coming

weeks. They are — as David Russé stresses — of particular importance for the evidence of the existence of concentration camps and forced labour.

Was it the only task of the committee to collect and classify the said material?

"No" — replies David Russé. "That is by no means all of our work. Most of our information refers to the last years of the war. Our next task was to find out whether, under the direction of the M.G.B. and M.V.D., the application of forced labour within the concentration camps has been increased after the war. But it was very difficult to do. And that just because the Russians, induced by the "uncom-

fortable curiosity" of the free world, intensified considerably the control even of the various information that did not refer to the concentration camps directly. Thus the method of cross-questioning and control had to be applied. We had to pore over the Soviet Press and to select everything concerning the work of the M.V.D. We looked up the names of the top functionaries who were written upon on some occasion or other. In connection with names found in the law and ordinances texts or by means of direct intelligence we made out that the application of forced labour in the U.S.S.R. was not reduced but on the contrary widened to a horrible extent."

"We ascertained furthermore", adds David Russé, "that in consequence of the existence of concentration camps and convict labour, the political police has grown a great economic and social power thus being a major political factor now in the Soviet state".

W. H.

### Clement Gottwald was to be the next

#### A Czech Voice

Stalin's death put an end to Stalin's era and that of his followers. Not even a week after the end of the great tyrant his first favourite and protégé, the Prague gangster Gottwald, fell. He was hale and hearty when he flew to Stalin's obsequies on March 8. On March 11 he returned in the company of a Kremlin "special physician".

An official announcement, however, and a report that Gottwald was suffering from a severe attack of pneumonia, was not issued till March 13; two days later his death was announced.

And the people enslaved are looking on the mutual slaughter of the slavedrivers. After Slansky now it's Gottwald. His place as the "strongest man" in the C.S.R. is taken by another good-for-nothing and drunkard, the concertina player Antonin Zapotocky. Yet the friendship of the red rulers in the Kremlin is so unreliable and their cold secret malice is so inscrutable that this adventurer, too, does not know the hour of his end.

Gottwald held a unique position in the East-Bloc. Although he was state president, he held almost all the power of the party and thereby of the state in his hand, after Slansky had been liquidated. In all the other states of the East-Bloc the power is actually in the hands of the prime minister and the secretaries general of the communist party, whereas the state presidents are mere puppets.

This kind of power distribution was to be introduced also in Czechoslovakia now. Consequently, since the September, 1952, meeting of the bolshevik party in Moscow when Malenkov made his way as Stalin's successor, a deadly struggle for the positions of power began between Gottwald and Zapotocky. The latter chiefly relied on his merit to be, like Smeral, one of the founders proper of the communist party in the C.S.R., which was not the case with Gottwald.

Zapotocky's chief weapon in this fight was the attack against the maxim of a "specific Czechoslovak way to socialism", which had been defended formerly by Gottwald. Zapotocky and his adherents (among others the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Z.P.C. Tesla and V. Siroky) waged this struggle indirectly by sharply attacking in their speeches the utterances of Slansky on a "specific Czechoslovak way to socialism". Though it is generally known that Slansky merely repeated the tactic catchword which had been issued by Gottwald in the meeting of the Czechoslovak communist functionaries of the Prague managements on October, 1946: "We must find out whether or no the means by which the Soviet Union achieved socialism, are the only possible ones. Thereby we prove in socialist practice what was maintained by the marxist classical authors, namely that there are more ways and means to socialism besides the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet state structure."

The words which Gottwald uttered so desperately at the national congress of the C.P.C. in November, 1952, are ample proof of the restless nights of that outlaw who was hunted by the furies of fear, the fear of disgrace: "With all caution and watchfulness in the selection of the cadres, we must not go so far as to suspect everybody and everything!"

Now, Gottwald has been liquidated and more are queuing up. A panic-stricken dread is creeping around in our country like an uncanny ghost. Today the mighty in their stolen villas are seized by mad terror, not those who are tormented to death in the concentration camps. The latter have got nothing to lose but everything to gain; and therefore they watch patiently but with a strong and unshakable faith the irresistible work of the mills of God as they grind slowly but exceedingly small.

J. Horny

("Bohemia" No. 20/21, 1953)

### East-West Tension in the Light of Psychology

This topic was discussed at the beginning of March by Ukrainian and German psychologists at a joint conference in Munich, arranged by the Psychological Institute of the Free Ukrainian University and the professional union of German psychologists.

These were the lectures:

Prof. O. v. Kulchytzky: *The Problem of comprehending the Inner Life of Alien Peoples and the Question of Inter-National Reconciliation*; Prof. Dr. h. c. A. Vetter: *The Backgrounds of the Present International Tensions in Intellectual History*; Prof. O. von Kulchytzky: *Occidental and Non-Occidental components in the Mind of the Ukrainian*; Dr. E. Smalko: *The position of Skovoroda's Philosophy in the Psychology of Ideologies in View of the East-West Tension*; Prof. H. Washchenko: *Psychological Science in the Soviet Union*; Dr. H. R. Lückert: *Characteristics of Psychology in the U.S.A.*; Dr. W. Yaniv: *East-West Tension in the Light of Psychology*; Dr. L. Zeiss: *The Overcoming of the East-West Tension — A Psychological Task*."

The speakers quoted several reasons for this tension and some possibilities to overcome it. They generally agreed that the mental crisis after the war contributed extremely to the strengthening of this tension. In searching for the causes, the speakers generally enlarged on the causes of the present crisis mentioned. Technics were regarded as one of the fundamental causes of man's having been converted into a soul-less being who remained but a functionary of civilization and its apparati. Man no longer retreats into the past but tries to control the economic conditions. In theoretical aspiration after knowledge, however, he goes too far and becomes the victim of technics. Man as producer has become unnecessary: those who were replaced by inventions do not find other places in work in view of the general unemployment. By means of sciences, man has created a picture of nature that does not provide any place for himself.

The conference served to show the inner contrasts between men of the East and the West. The wish was expressed that similar conferences with scientists of our peoples might be arranged in other western nations, too.

(It is a pity that no co-ordination centre for the scientists of our peoples abroad has as yet been constituted! Ed.)

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cadres were obliterated and discredited and their members were transported to concentration camps, or went abroad; they could not have their works printed and were succeeded by aliens.

Unbearable conditions have been imposed on the work of the scholars in the U.S.S.R. Science there has been separated from the scientific progress in the rest of the world for 30 years now. The universities work for the ministry of economy and prepare engineers only for big building undertakings. The home scientists are not trusted. The names of the scholars are not disclosed. This has been proved by the latest edition of the international "Minerva" handbook which contains not a single name of Soviet scholars, not even of medalled persons; and even the names of two thirds of the institutes established by the U.S.S.R. as exploiting laboratories in its numerous colonies, are kept secret. That is why European scholars have to be bound by contracts, and patents and inventions have to be stolen. That is why it is necessary to announce showily that Soviet science has surpassed the science of the whole world, and to conceal from the world the names of dead, deported or still acting scientists and to prohibit the publication of their works abroad, while spreading sensational reports on discoveries which actually belong to a scientific stage long past, mostly the end of the last century.

Prof. Dr. h. c. H. Washchenko:

## Psychology in the Soviet Union

Scientific work on classical subjects must rely on certain sources i. e. above all, on documents, memoirs, etc. Those resources are not always available for scientists who want to write on any sphere of life in the U.S.S.R. The Bolsheviks did not only seclude their state from the world by the Iron Curtain but conceal even to their citizens a number of events that happened and still happen in the U.S.S.R. If any event or ideological direction does not comply with the current policy of the communist party, all possible means are made use of to keep it from the Soviet public or to let it soon fall into oblivion.

To a certain degree, this refers also to my treatise on "Psychology in the U.S.S.R." A large part of the psychological literature which represented a direction that was promoted at the beginning, and afterwards declared antimarxistic, was annihilated by the bolsheviks. Therefore I cannot rely only on literary sources but have to fall back on my remembrance of that time when I was acting as Professor for Pedagogics and Psychology at Soviet universities from the beginning of the Soviet revolution up to 1941.

In order to obtain a more or less clear picture of the development of psychology in the U.S.S.R., it is necessary to sketch first in rough outlines the state of psychology in the Russian Empire before the bolshevik revolution. Russian culture at the beginning of the XXth century was characterized by a intensified struggle between the materialistic and idealistic conception. During the second half of the XIXth century, a great majority of the intelligentsia inclined to the materialistic view which was taken for progressive. In the XXth century, however, the idealistic conception gained ground and the conflict began. Many of the noted philosophers, such as *Lapshin*, *Lossky*, *Chilpanov*, *Trubetzkoi*, defended the idealistic view in their works.

In the early years of the XXth century, again, the experimental methods came into fashion under the influence of foreign psychologists, in particular of Wundt. Yet a purely materialistic movement developed also in the psychology of that period. It was founded as early as in the 60's by Sechenov, professor at Moscow University, author of the dissertation on the "Reflex actions of the Cerebrum". Finally it must be noted that foreign psychologists exerted a remarkable influence on the psychological science in Russia up to the revolution in 1917. Of the German psychologists it was Wundt and Ebbinghaus who enjoyed particular favour. Moreover, the psycho-analytic methods of Freud and the American psychotechniques had also some adherents in pre-revolutionary Russia.

### "Reflexology" — A Compromise

The October revolution evoked neither abrupt nor decisive changes in the psychology of the Russian Empire. Pre-revolutionary psychologists continued in their work at the universities and the laboratories and changed it only formally. This is quite comprehensible as there was no psychologist among the party communists and in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin nothing could be found but remarks of a general nature on the existence of material and consciousness as its function. Therefore they were chiefly idealistic psychologists who had to abandon their work in the U.S.S.R. Psychologists who inclined more to materialism took their places instead. One special characteristic of that period of the communist revolution was the appearance of "compromise". Numerous psychologists previously loyal to their idealistic movement were converted to materialism and combatted even their idealistic colleagues. Under these circumstances reflexology became the main trait of Soviet psychology. The bolsheviks responsible for education, the learned psychologists and pedagogues, profess the spirit of Marxism, as it denies the existence of any purely spiritual processes and deduces all actions from absolute reflexes. Some of the outstanding figures among the reflexologists were *Pavlov* and *Bekhterev*.

Pavlov based his scientific work on experiments on conditioned reflexes with dogs, carried

out with methods designed in detail and aim at keeping the animal from the influence of single factors, as far as possible, which might complicate the examined process of the rise or inhibition of certain reflexes.

The bolsheviks deemed Pavlov's system an enormous support in their fight against idealism. But Pavlov was very cautious in drawing scientific

## Old Song, New Tune

A.C.L.P.R. — A.C.L.B.

*The "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" (A.C.L.P.R.) announces in a special communiqué of March 25, that it has altered its name into "American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism" (A.C.L.B.). Here we quote parts of a commentary that Vice-admiral Leslie C. Stevens gave as chairman of the Committee.*

"The Committee adopted the name, "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", Inc., for the reason that it appeared to explain succinctly its aims and reason for existence to the American public, on whose support the Committee must depend. Liberation of peoples who are victims of oppression and suffering and loss of normal human rights is a concept which has an instant and instinctive appeal to the American people. The words "Peoples of Russia" are understood by the ordinary American, who has no esoteric knowledge of Soviet ethnic problems, to apply generally to those peoples which comprise the Soviet Union.

The Committee has been quite aware that the name under which it was operating was regarded with distaste or active disapproval by various and often conflicting elements of the emigration from Soviet territories for a variety of reasons. The complete contradiction in the reasons given was so apparent that they tended to cancel each other out in the eyes of interested Americans and of the moderate and objective elements of the Russian and non-Russian emigrations. Nevertheless, the issue raised — whatever the sincerity of the motives in presenting it — provided chauvinist, obscurantist elements and undercover Soviet agents with opportunities to mislead and confuse well meaning elements of the emigration which actually possessed the desire to concentrate on the anti-Bolshevik struggle."

*We may be allowed to ask for Vice-admiral Stevens' proof for his designating all "elements" who fight for the real liberation of their peoples and cannot operate in common with the organizations represented by him for reasons of principle, as "chauvinist, obscurist and . . . undercover Soviet agents"?*

*The reader will find the answer by himself which "elements" are "chauvinist and obscurist . . . those which fight for their peoples' right and freedom or those which have oppressed and intend to do the same in future.*

*As the "American Committee" still clings to its standpoint, exhaustively criticized by us, it does not serve the liberation from bolshevism but will, on the contrary, be a serious obstacle in the way towards this objective.*

inferences and, as a matter of fact, he did not go beyond the scope of the physiology of the nervous system.

*Bekhterev* was quite the opposite. In his works "General fundamentals of human reflexology" and "The Collective Reflexology" he advocates the thought that the entire existence and thereby the psychic processes of individuals or society as a whole, are subject to the same laws, which are partly physical or chemical. That is why psychology is definitely rejected as science and reflexology is holding its place. In pursuing his ideas on the identity of the material and psychic existence *Bekhterev* comes to the conclusion that substance is only fictitious and everything existing is but a manifestation of energy, which is the only real thing. The reflexological movement, with *Bekhterev*

its most prominent representative, found its expression in the works of numerous Soviet scholars such as *Ivanov*, *Smolensky*, *Chuchmarev*, who studied the reactions of men and animals.

### Strange Methods of Research

In Ukraine that movement assumed particularly extreme forms which were sometimes simply absurd. Its most influential representatives were *Sokolnasky*, *Zaluzhny* and *Popov*. They were all greenhorns in science in general and psychology in particular. Up to the bolshevik revolution, at least, they were absolutely unknown. This may account for the exaltation of their conceptions. Thanks to their exuberant activity they succeeded in obtaining leading positions in the "Narkom" (people's commissariat); they propagated reflexology as the true Marxian science of human conduct. Their attacks were chiefly directed against psychology, which was to be replaced by the real Marxian doctrine of reflexology. They eagerly remonstrated against the application of psychological terms, such as memory or attention, and suggested replacing them by the reflexologic terms: reproduction and dominance. As the centre of their doctrine the Ukrainian Scientific Institute for Pedagogical Research was founded in Kharkov. *Sokolnasky* published the so-called theses which constituted the basis of pedagogical activity and research. Those colleagues who shut their eyes to these theses ran the risk of losing their posts. The following fact is most illuminating as to the unscientific and even odd lines followed by reflexology. In the spring of 1925 I succeeded in visiting, together with the students of the Institute for Popular Education in Poltava, the psychological establishment in Kiev. The head of the establishment was Professor *Wolodymyrsky*, well-known from the time before the revolution, but the leading scientist was the lecturer *Makulsky*. He told us about the research work in his institute. With particular emphasis he explained to us the investigations with the screen of *Sorokhin*. This instrument resembles in shape Wundt's Tachystoscope. It was a vertical board with electric bulbs of different colours on it; on one side the wiring for the bulbs was connected, and on the other side were handles which could also be fed with electricity. The whole contrivance was fixed on the wall of an insulated cabin. The experiment with this apparatus was that the objects of investigation, mostly children, were seated in the cabin before the wall and had to touch one of the handles with their fingers. Then current was sent at first into a bulb of a certain colour and afterwards into the handle with the child's hand on it. The child, of course, drew his hand back as soon as it felt the current. This experiment was repeated 15 to 20 times. After that, the current was only sent into the bulb and not into the handle, but the child withdrew his hand even upon the mere flashing up of the bulb. Thus the existence of a conditional reflex was proved. We see that experiments with children were carried out at the pedagogical establishment in Kiev according to the principles of Pavlov's animal experiments.

There is much in common between reflexology and the American behaviorism, and the reflexologists were quite aware of that resemblance. Reflexology is near to what is known as reactology, the fundament of which was laid by *Kornilov*, the author of "The Doctrine of Human Reactions" (1921) and "Contemporary Psychology and Marxism" (1927). He undertook the task of basing the Marxian psychology on a synthesis of objective psychology and behaviour-psychology. Similar to the reflexologist, who deduced the whole behaviour of man from reflexes, *Kornilov* regarded it as the result of reactions.

An attempt at constructing a Marxist psychology by means of the existing achievements was made by *Vyhotsky* in his "Theory of the Development of higher psychic functions". He started from the claim that traditional psychology was too static and did not take into account those changes of the human soul which resulted from the historical process of development.

The psycho-analytic movement of Freud remains to be mentioned. *Salkind* was its exponent. It did not gain much popularity, however, and was declared anti-Marxist and eliminated by the end of the twentieth century. *Salkind* himself vanished into space and in the voluminous courses of Soviet psychology neither he nor his work has been mentioned. (To be concluded.)

## From the Activity of the A.B.N.

### A.B.N. Congress in Toronto

On March 21 and 22, the first A.B.N. Congress in Canada took place in the Prince George Hotel in Toronto. From the following national groups delegations took part: Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Slovaks, Croats, Hungarians, Ukrainians. They represented the A.B.N. branches of *Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Sudbury, Fort William, Hamilton, St. Catharines, Timmins, Welland and Lethbridge.*

In the name of the preliminary Executive-Committee, Dr. J. Kaskelis (Lithuania) opened the Congress. He addressed the assembly on the task of the Congress and appointed the presidency consisting of Father Brench, president, of the Anti-Communist League in Saskatchewan; Mr. Wilson Woodside, political editor of the "Saturday Night"; Mrs. Edith Hayder, broadcast commentator; Ivan Yaremko, representative in the Ontario parliament; Mr. Velegranis, Lithuanian consul in Canada; Captain Falker; Mr. M. Kravtsov; Mr. N. Dimitroff.

For the chair of the Congress were elected: Chairman — Mr. M. Kos (Ukraine); vice chairman — Mr. K. Akula (Byelorussia) and Mr. A. Ganderski (Bulgaria); secretaries — Mr. P. Leonas (Lithuania) and Mr. O. Sokolsky (Ukraine).

The Congress was greeted by Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.; by the Executive Committee of the American Friends of the A.B.N.; by the Executive Committee of the A.B.N. in Great Britain; the Hungarian Liberation Movement; the National Bulgarian Front; the Lithuanian Delegation of the A.B.N.; the Supreme Cossack Representation; the chairman of the Canadian Conservatives, Colonel George Droo; the Executive Committee of the League of Liberation of the Ukraine; the Ukrainian Canadian Committee of Winnipeg and others.

Two lectures were given — one by Mr. W. Solonyuka (Ukraine) on "We the Members of the A.B.N. are Fighting against Bolshevism and All Forms of Russian Imperialism" and the other by Mr. K. Akula (Byelorussia) on "Present World Crisis and the Way Liberation".

Dr. J. Kaskelis (Lithuania) was elected chairman of the Executive Committee. Vice-chairmen are: Mr. M. Rachyzky (Byelorussia); Dr. A. Todoroff (Bulgaria); Mr. A. Kotelnikov (Cossackia); Mr. P. Vargyasi (Hungary); J. Purmalis (Lithuania); Mr. M. Hojbota (Rumania); Mr. J. Molcan (Slovakia); Mr. M. Bazylewsky (Ukraine); Secretary General I. Boyko (Ukraine); financial secretary A. Kotelnikov (Cossackia); secretary for organization Dr. M. Kushpeta (Ukraine); Public Relations secretary D. Andronache (Rumania); technical preparation Mr. D. Pataky (Hungary); information J. Goba (Latvia).

### Youth Organization of the A.B.N.

In the youth organisation of the A.B.N. which was formed early this year, the following national youth organisations are represented already: Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechia, Latvia, Cossackia, Croatia, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and Ukraine.

After introduction by the political committee the first lecture by Kuroho-Skarho on "Byelorussia Yesterday and Today" took place on March 22. In future, lectures of that kind will be given monthly in alphabetical sequence. At the same time, monthly lectures will be given in London, on military topics, on the underground struggle of our peoples, on the latest military achievements, etc. The first lecture of that series was held on March 29, by the chairman of the Polish delegation, Mr. Szibor-Rylski, on the "Atomic bomb".

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On March 28, the president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Yaroslav Stetzko, met with the executive committee and the national council of the youth organization of the A.B.N. in London. Information was exchanged about the activity of the A.B.N. and new plans for the common work were discussed.

At a press conference, the Canadian press was informed by the head of the information bureau of the A.B.N. in Canada, Mr. W. Lyzaniwsky, about the A.B.N. Congress and the liberation fight of our peoples.

The Congress sent telegrams to the Canadian prime minister, Mr. St. Laurent; the Governor General, Mr. Vincent Massey; the Canadian Foreign Minister I. B. Pearson; the prime minister of Ontario, Mr. L. Frost; the chairman of the Conservative Party, Colonel George Droo; and letters to the president of the U.S.A., D. D. Eisenhower, The president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Yaroslav Stetzko; the insurgent armies and liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow; the chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, John F. Stewart.

The Congress was widely discussed in the Canadian newspapers, such as "Telegram", "Globe and Mail", "Toronto Star", and radio S.K.E.Y. broadcast the fact.

### Statements:

1) Bolshevism is a modern form of Russian Imperialism.

2) The present cold war as well as the hot wars in Korea, Indo-China and Malaya are a direct product of Russian Imperialism.

3) Under the mask of proletarian revolution, bolshevism is against any Western culture, against all religion and against any industrial and economic development in the still free world.

4) The Russian Imperialism will never stop in its political, economical and territorial expansion.

5) No half-measures, like containment policy, isolationism, or accumulation of A-bombs will be sufficient to match the Russian aggression.

6) There is no difference between national and international communism. Hence supporting Tito means supporting communist imperialistic ideals and retreat from the Western ideals of Christian justice, peace, freedom and equality.

7) A reconstruction of the Russian empire by a mere change of the regime within it is not a solution to the achievement of a permanent peace in the world.

On the basis of the above facts, the A.B.N. conference in Toronto, Canada, appeals to the western world with the following resolutions:

1) The destruction of bolshevism with the existence of the Russian empire in some other form is not a guarantee of a permanent peace in the world.

2) Only the dismemberment of the Russian empire into independent national states can free the world from the menace of new imperialistic wars and can create favourable conditions for the cultural, economical and political co-operation among the nations.

3) Therefore, we concur fully with the deliberations of the political centres and national liberation movements of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. that took place in Munich, Germany, December 14th, 1952, in connection with the so-called "Co-ordinating Centre of the Antibolshevik Campaign".

4) Only the ideal of national liberty — the right for sovereign national states within ethnographic boundaries and the ideal of social justice are a reliable weapon in the hands of the free democratic world.

5) We appeal to the Canadian government, to the United Nations Organization and to the whole freedom loving world:

a) To proclaim a declaration of freedom for the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

b) To recognize the insurgent armies and revolutionary formations as militant forces on the ground of Hague Conventions 1899 and 1907.

c) To ban all the communist parties.

6) We express our loyalty and full support for Canada in the long-term moves of the Canadian Government toward preserving peace, justice and freedom for all nations.

### Appeal

*Of the Congress of Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) in Canada to all freedom-loving peoples in the free democratic world*

We, the delegates representing Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Croats, Cossacks, Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Roumanians, Slovaks, and Ukrainians, gathered at the congress of A.B.N. in Toronto take a stand in defence of freedom, the most precious possession of all nations, which was brutally assaulted and destroyed in our countries by bolshevik Russia.

As witnesses of the crimes and injustice of bolshevik Russia, we appeal to you leaders of political, religious, cultural, educational and economic life and to all the people of the free world who love and treasure freedom not based on Kremlin's false promises but upon the just and everlasting truth of Christian faith, to bear in mind that there are but two alternatives.

Either the free world will destroy the Moscow bolshevism or else will succumb to the tyranny of this foe of our culture and civilization. Now is the time to take a firm stand in defence of the freedom of nations and individuals.

Our countries were the first victims of Russian aggression, they were the first to bear the Russian terrorism that seeks only to destroy the national and political freedom of all peoples but also exterminates their very existence and uproots their religious, cultural, political and economic life. As a result it transforms the individual into a defenceless slave of the totalitarian system.

The upheavals inspired by Moscow are spreading throughout the world and their fifth column is gradually undermining the very foundations of the economic and social life of this country.

During the last war Russia was saved by the western world from complete annihilation. The Korean conflict and other acts of aggression are Russia's only manifestations of gratitude for the friendliness and co-operation of the democratic world.

The danger facing the democratic world today is very great, because communism and Russian imperialism in the process of history have assumed a common identity. The objective of both these forces is the same — to create a world-empire governed by the communist system and dominated by Russians. Therefore, the only way to secure lasting peace and friendliness among nations is to destroy both the communist dictatorship and the root of evil, Russian imperialism. To attain that it is imperative to dismember the Russian empire and help to restore the national independent states.

Therefore, in the name of our people who are fighting against Russian-bolshevik tyranny and in accordance with universal human rights we suggest the following:

1. Proclamation of national independence for all peoples enslaved by Moscow;

2. An active and all-embracing political and moral support for our nations, in their struggle for independence.

a) Recognition of resistance movements of the enslaved countries as lawful delegates of their countries and their admission to U.N.

b) Recognition of resistance armies as armies at war in accordance with the resolution of Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907.

3. outlawing of communist parties which in fact are agencies of foreign power.

4. Formation of a united front of all the freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain in defence of freedom, social justice and all religions against Russian-bolshevik tyranny and barbarism.

Freedom-loving nations and people of the whole world, unite in a struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism for the freedom of nations and individuals!

*Our slogan is God and Fatherland!*

Presidium of the Congress A.B.N. in Canada.

Toronto, March 21. 1953.

## 35th Anniversary of Georgia's Declaration of Independence

After the breakdown of Russia in 1917, a national council was formed in Georgia which comprised all parties, town and country corporations, ranks and trade unions.

In order to create a Caucasian Federation, the Transcaucasian assembly was convoked on February 10, 1918, and the independence of Transcaucasia was declared. It fell to pieces, however, under Turkish pressure from outside and the difference between the Armenians and the Aserbaijanians at home.

On May 28, 1918, the National Council proclaimed the independence of Georgia, which was unanimously ratified by the constitutional assembly after a general election.

The Georgian Republic was recognized *de jure* by all nations of Europe, Asia and South America. The Soviet Union itself recognized the sovereignty of Georgia and the inviolability of its independence and borders, by the treaty of May 7, 1920.

In 1921, however, when the admission of Georgia to the League of Nations was imminent, Russia invaded Georgia without declaration of war and occupied the country after bloody struggles.

Thus Russia committed twice in one century a flagrant breach of treaty and law against Georgia.

Immediately after the occupation, a cruel terrorism was launched. The influential farmers, workers, political and military figures were shot. In all parts of the country revolts burst out. As late as 1924 there was an insurrection of the whole people, but they were choked in blood. Thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals and even those who had long been detained in prison and consequently could not have participated in the insurrection, were shot.

Terrorism continued unabated and raged with particular vehemence in 1935/36 and 1937/38.

Not only the last of the old national politicians, scientists, writers, but even all old Georgian communists, people's commissioners and highrank party-functionaries were shot.

Thousands more were transported to Siberia with their fate already sealed.

As the world heard recently, the hangman of Moscow, Beria, carried out, in order to prove his loyalty towards the Russians, new purges, the victims of which were high functionaries of the Georgian Communist Party.

The old Christian cultured people of Georgia is going through the most tragic period of its history. But the nation cannot be discouraged and will persevere in its fight for national existence.

Niko Nakashidze

### The End of a Twofold Despot

#### The Slovak Voice

If the news of Stalin's death was the cause for a burst of relief among the Slovak people, the death of the twofold despot Klement Gottwald evoked a real transport of joy throughout Slovakia. It is pointed out that Gottwald died at the same hour and on the same day, that the national assembly had proclaimed the independent Slovak Republic 14 years ago.

Klement Gottwald made himself odious with the Slovaks not only as the governor of the communist despotism but also as the representative and tool of Benes well-known policy towards Slovakia. Like Benes in former times, Gottwald removed by all means all those who attempted to apply the principles of a so-called "national policy" to Slovakia. Even such prominent communists as Husak, Novomesky, Okaly, Clementis and others had to feel this personally.

Practically speaking, there was no difference whatever between the Czech chauvinism of Benes and that of Gottwald. With the selfish goals of Czech policy in view, Gottwald fulfilled a promise given to Benes in his time by granting after February 1948 free pass to the West to Benes intimate colleagues and former collaborators of Moscow. In conformance with a verbal agreement

between Gottwald and Benes in May 1948, a harmonious cooperation was created between Benes former colleagues living in the free world, and Gottwald's communist apparatus, aiming at the liquidation of the Slovak fighters for freedom and at the entire frustration of the aspirations towards an independent Slovak Republic.

This accounts also for the remarkable concord and perfect harmony between Zenkl's adherents and Gottwald's regime. And that is why Gottwald's death evoked regret and apprehension in the circles of the so-called "Council of Free Czecho-Slovakia".

In Slovakia, however, people tend to consider just Gottwald's chauvinistic policy as an explanation or, perhaps, as the very reason for his death. Moscow, namely was deeply suspicious of that sort of policy and deemed it an expression of an intolerable opportunism.

Considering this fact, the opinion prevails in Slovakia that, during his stay in Moscow on the occasion of Stalin's obsequies, Gottwald was poisoned.

With Gottwald, Czech chauvinism as well as the Czecho-Slovak state conception have lost one of their most prominent representatives who succeeded in disregarding the fictitious principles of the "policy of nationalities" practised in the U.S.S.R. and in realizing an unlimited supremacy of the Czechs in Slovakia. If Slovakia finds itself under twofold despotism today, that is to say subjugated by the communist regime as well as by the Czechs, it owes this state first of all to Gottwald.

### If the World is to Recover . . .

*Extract from an article "Disregard of Individual Values" by Aino Torm. Owing to lack of space, the article cannot be given in full. — Ed.*

. . . It is as impossible to cut off a finger without gangrene setting in and infecting the whole body, as it is to exclude even one of the oppressed peoples from its right to freedom without endangering the recovery of world-politics. While the forces are wasted in fussy activity to the benefit of the enemy, truth remains disregarded — because it is so simple. Everyone hopes to keep his own freedom and to bring some united but still vague Europe about — which might save itself somehow. That the peoples still oppressed will be needed for that, in order to achieve some human co-operation, has not yet been seriously taken into consideration. On the contrary — certain circles of the European movement make themselves heard which encounter the struggles for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow with apparent hostility. They are ready, it is true, to admit a liberated, mammoth, complex "Russia" under Russian leadership — though nobody knows how to perform this liberation — and to sacrifice the fight of the entire non-Russian population for that. The "economically advantageous great territorial conception" which is often given as the reason, will hardly any important figure in the European community (if it is really taken seriously) and the competent representations of the non-Russian peoples have repeatedly expressed their readiness to co-operate with a united Europe on the basis of mutual recognition of the rights to freedom, so one feels bound to ask whether this division of free nations from those which are expected to renounce their rights to freedom, might not contain the germ for a new totalitarian state. For an all-European idea, seriously envisaged, cannot permit any tension to arise between the freedom of the peoples and their voluntary co-operation.

### A.B.N.-Demonstration in Derby

Under the device "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Individuals" the A.B.N. branch in Derby organized an anti-communist demonstration on April 12, 1953.

After solemn service, the national groups passed through the town in an impressive procession, with their national colours and banners to the monument of the Unkown Soldier, where a wreath was deposited. Subsequently a demonstration and a concert took place.

### Meeting of the Central Committee

On April 18, 1953, a meeting of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. took place in Munich, where political problems of the day and plans for the coming work were discussed.

The president of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., *Yaroslav Stetzko*, gave a full account of his journey abroad and of the present situation of world politics. Prince *Niko Nakashidze* reported on A.B.N. activity in general.

### Meeting of M.C. of A.B.N.

On March 11, 1953, a meeting of the Military Commission of the A.B.N. took place in Munich, with General Ferenc Farkas de Kishbarnak in the chair. All military delegates of the national organizations represented in the A.B.N. took part in the meeting.

The vice-chairman of the commission, General Hinko Alabanda, gave a full and detailed survey of the activity hitherto accomplished by the military commission of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

The new situation in world politics and the military political development were discussed in detail. At the end of the discussion, appropriate resolutions on the organizational work of the military commission were passed. It was resolved, among other things, to attach to the existing A.B.N. branches in the different countries military commissions which should comprise all the military experts at the disposal of the A.B.N.

### The Jury Meeting

A total of 53 drafts were sent to the A.B.N. by several artists of the national organizations represented in the A.B.N., for the A.B.N. competition.

The judges met on March 31, 1953, consisting of: Prince *Niko Nakashidze*, Dr. *Ctibor Pokorny*, Prof. Dr. *Wilhelm Szepesvaraljay-Haendel*, Dr. *Stjepan Buc*, Prof. *A. Winicki*, Redakteur *F. Janik-Horak* und Mag. *Yaroslav Benzal*.

The prize was awarded to "an old Hungarian veteran", whose name cannot be published for several reasons.

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On the march of the A.B.N. a decision could not be taken as yet, as the texts have been written in the mother tongues of the respective nations. It will take some time to have them translated into a language understandable to everyone. Only then can the final text of the A.B.N. march be decided on.

### A.B.N. Branch in Melbourne

A first conference took place on March 6, 1953, in Melbourne, at which the Australian branch of the A.B.N. was founded. Representatives of Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Cossackia, Slovakia, Hungary, Byelorussia and Ukraine took part in the conference. The following persons formed the executive committee: chairman — Dr. *Umrysh* (Ukraine); members — Dr. *G. Todoroff* (Bulgaria); Mr. *A. Bagun-Berzins* (Latvia); Mr. *S. Rutenfelds* (Latvia); Mr. *A. Kolodko* (Byelorussia); Mr. *Z. Urmeesy* (Hungary); Mr. *S. Gornal* (Slovakia); control commission — Mr. *Wiliunas* (Lithuania); Mr. *Doebrenty* (Hungary).

\*\*\*\*\*  
*"Soviet patriotism" is not common to all peoples in the area of the U.S.S.R. It is merely a variant of specifically Russian chauvinism!*  
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## A Grave Warning to the World

### The Summons of the Free Lithuanians

The "Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania" made an appeal to all Lithuanians in the world, on April 20, 1953. We quote:

"... We, the Lithuanians, are quite familiar with the Bolsheviks — their theories as well as their practice. We have personally experienced the hell of suffering and pain, the slavery and expulsion, hunger and cold, fright and terrorism, which they bring to subjugated peoples.

Therefore we will — objectively and well aware of our responsibility — announce and demonstrate increasingly and impressively to that part of mankind which inclines to follow the Russian tactics, that the bolshevik measures are only manoeuvres aiming, firstly, at splitting the western democratic world and thwarting its armament for the defence against further Soviet aggression, secondly, at keeping all the subjected nations in its possession and so subduing the easier, the rest of the world; and, thirdly by the new tactics of Malenkov — at hiding the Russian imperialism and Soviet reality behind a smoke screen.

... We can believe in the good will of the Soviets only if they abolish the occupation of the subdued states; stop exploiting the peoples; compensate them for the losses caused; and, above all, restore the freedom and independence of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the other subjugated nations. The Soviets have said nothing in this respect as yet.

... Our slogan: *No negotiations with the Soviets, no yielding, until the Soviets have withdrawn from Lithuanian and the other subjugated nations.*

In order to put our motto into execution, each Lithuanian addresses himself through his committee or the organs of the Lithuanian Freedom Movement to the head, government and parliament of his state of residence and to the U.N., verbally and in writing, with the following demands:

a) the Red Army has to evacuate Lithuania immediately; the sovereign rights must be restored;

b) U.N. troops shall, without delay, be trusted with the maintenance of order in Lithuania and for the protection of the population

c) a special U.N. commission shall supervise the performance of free democratic elections, so that the parliament elected in that way may charge a government with the execution of state affairs;

d) After the arrival of the U.N. troops in Lithuania, all Lithuanians transported to Russia or who have emigrated into the free world shall be enabled to return home immediately.

... It is of great importance at this moment that the free world should not be deceived and misled once more by the Soviet Union, but should face it, united and energetically, with the demand to remove first the consequences of the Soviet aggression — i. e. to evacuate Lithuania and all the other subjugated peoples — and only to discuss peace."

### Message of the Slovak Liberation Committee

On the night of March 14, the 14th anniversary of the proclamation of the Independent Slovak Republic, the Slovak Liberation Committee sent thousands of leaflets to Slovakia and the Bohemian countries by means of small balloons. There were two types of leaflets, one for the Slovaks and one for the Czechs.

And this is the text for the Slovaks:

"Slovaks!

To-day, on the 14th anniversary of the proclamation of the Slovak Republic, the Slovak Liberation Committee sends the most sincere greetings to you living at home in slavery.

We people abroad know about your suffering. We know your decisive resistance against Godless communism and the Muscovite plans for world domination.

The free world is no longer going to tolerate the rage of communism and Moscow in silence, but is gathering its strength to shake off the yoke of despotism.

Therefore don't lose your faith in a better future, but keep up your courage. Even Moscow's trees will not grow into the sky.

The day will come when freedom and peace will rule in the world.

The Slovak Republic will revive! As you are not allowed to speak now, the Slovak Liberation Committee is speaking for you. We have men in our ranks who are well-known as defenders of Slovak rights and fighters against communism. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, closest collaborators of our murdered state president Dr. Josef Tiso, is President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee.

The Slovak Liberation Committee communicates to the world the truth about your sufferings, your resistance, and your fight for the Slovak Republic.

Be sure that we combat even those circles in the free world which intend to force Czechoslovakia again on the Slovaks after deliverance from communism.

Oppose this with all determination! Be on your guard against agents and provocators who want to sell Slovakia into the same slavery you had before! Be ready for the time that will decide the fate of the world and the future of Slovakia!

Persevere in resistance against communism and Moscow and fight for the restoration of the Slovak Republic!

True to ourselves — forward, united!

Slovak Liberation Committee.

### Tito's Visit to London

#### Impressions and Thoughts

A letter to the editor from London, commenting on Tito's recent visit, kindly sent to us by Mr. A. N., reads as follows:

"During his stay in London, Tito was guarded by countless agents of Scotland Yard and the Special Branch and by no fewer than 6000 policemen in uniform some of whom had been brought up from the country on purpose. An armoured car was placed at Tito's disposal and permanently escorted by numerous motorized policemen. These somewhat grotesque sometimes. Indeed, Englishmen do know how to make any impression desired on simple people.

Extraordinary honors such as scarcely ever had been granted to anybody else in that degree, seem to serve the purpose of flattering Tito personally and, at the same time, exerting some propagandistic influence on the people of Tito-Slavia and, last not least, checking possibly exaggerated claims which Tito might think of presenting in London.

The over-great zeal of these honors put six families into mourning. On the air-force parade over Gibraltar three aeroplanes crashed whereby three officers and a pilot were killed. Two more planes collided over the airport in Tito's presence whereby two more pilots lost their lives.

Confronted with the weighty coat of mail belonging to King Henry VIII, during the inspection of the British Museum in London, Tito observed wittily: "There must have been very strong horses at that time to carry such horsemen!"

After having changed not fewer than five times on a single day Tito was declared by the press to have a soft spot for well-cut clothes, which propensity was explained by the poverty of his youth.

Daily Express wrote: "On his voyage to London Tito resembled a schoolboy on an excursion. He watched with curiosity, for the first time in his life, the starting and landing of aeroplanes on an aircraft carrier. Television was hitherto unknown to him, too, as television began in the Soviet Union only after his breach with Moscow. Therefore it was of great concern for the Yugoslavian embassy in London to procure a television set to arrange some performances expressly for Tito. In connection with diverse entertainments and dramatic performances offered to Tito, a reporter in the B.B.C. broadcast stated: "Tito would probably like best to see a cinema show on his own visit and reception."

Whereas Tito's visit was positively appreciated by the Conservative press, the newspapers of the Labour opposition though generally loyal came out with several caricatures and sarcastic allusions to the exaggerated precautions.

One cannot avoid the impression that the pompous reception granted to Tito shall be also a hint to the Soviet satellites by holding out the prospect of similar feelings to them in the event of their secession from Moscow."

### "Bevanites" and E.D.C.

On April 29th, in the Munich Rathaus, a talk was given by Mr. Richard Crossman, Left Wing Socialist Member for Coventry East. The subject was "Great Britain's attitude towards Europe under the E.D.C." Count Montgelas was in the chair.

Mr. Crossman, who stated at the commencement of his talk that he was voicing only his personal opinions, asserted that Europe should spare no effort to make herself independent of American aid, both material and moral. Rejecting the idea of federation on the grounds that Britain would not join in, thus leaving Germany free to dominate Europe, he inclined, despite the experiences of the past, to the view that the peace of Europe could be kept by a system of national compacts, a strengthening of N.A.T.O.

Regarding the question of rearmament, he expressed the view that this was leading to a deepening of the tension between East and West and also, while placing an intolerable strain on the highly-developed countries of Western Europe, was serving as a stimulus to the economy of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. There was, he said, no solution to the military problem, and a slackening of tension could be achieved only by psychological methods. The race to rearm was motivated solely by fear. In Europe, Russia was afraid of the prospective German army, which could thus be made a bargaining-point. Mr. Crossman suggested that, as one of the "many possible peace proposals" that could be made to Russia, Germany could "buy back" her eastern zone by offering to forego these twelve divisions. Germany would then remain neutral for a period of at least five years, with Allied and Russian troops poised on her opposite frontiers. It was hoped that, with Russia's "anxiety" appeased, she would slacken her hold on the Eastern European states.

Mr. Crossman's flattering references to German fighting prowess and his emphasis on the importance of reuniting Germany did not, on the whole, awaken much response from his audience. One feels, also, that he did not substantiate all his arguments. The short talk was followed by a lively discussion.

B.

### To our Friends and Readers

1. In order to assure the prompt delivery of the *A. B. N. Correspondence*, we ask all our friends and readers to order it direct from the publisher, Munich 35, P.O. Box 70, Tel. 59 13 31, Germany.

2. From May 1st., 1953, an edition is being published in French. Those interested kindly apply to: M. V. Kosyck, 26, rue de Montholon, Paris 9, France.

3. We hope you will remain a regular subscriber and should be most grateful for a donation to the Press Fund, no matter how small. That will not only secure the regular appearance of the *A. B. N. Correspondence*, but will be a contribution to your own freedom in face of the menace of Russian bolshevik tyranny.

4. Further, we request your active collaboration in increasing the circulation of our paper. By acquiring new subscribers, the more effective will our contribution be towards combating bolshevism.

5. Yearly subscription: Great Britain: 12 shillings U.S.A. and Canada: \$ 2.—, in all other countries the equivalent of \$ 2.—.

6. For the the numbers of the *A. B. N. Correspondence* already received we should be greatly obliged if you would settle our account. Kindly send the amount to account No. 10707, Dr. O. Wintoniak (A.B.N.), Süd-deutsche Bank, München,

Publisher and Editor

Prof. Dr. h. c. H. Washchenko:

## Education of Youth in the U.S.S.R.

(Concluded from No. 3/4)

As to the subject of teaching, Soviet schools made a fairly instructive experiment. Footing on the thought that the idea of labour belonged to the fundaments of tuition as it was an element which affected labour conditions and society, the Soviet pedagogues and above all, Lenin's wife, Mrs. Krupsky, applied the so-called complete educational system from 1923 on. The programme of the G.Y.S. (Economic Council of Education), too, was developed in conformance with that view. According to that programme, the whole subject of teaching was divided into three related groups: Nature, Society, Labour. Labour formed the centre, with nature as its object and society its consequence. The subject had no separate branches (such as geography, history, languages, etc.) but offered sections of life, certain topics from the productive activity of the people around (agricultural work in the autumn, preparations for the winter etc.). In that sort of tuition special knowledge was given only when it concerned some faces or other of production touched.

It must be noted that the curriculum did not even provide separate lessons for arithmetic and writing. This system — it is clear — so retarded the knowledge of the pupils.

### Headless Experiment

This was not enough however, for those who were responsible for education in the U.S.S.R. so they pushed on. When they saw that in the case of that complex system, the pupils learned the productive work of the people around only theoretically and did not actively participate, they introduced the method according to which the productive work of the pupils in kolkhose, Sovkhoses or factories formed the centre of training and education. This method came into force in 1929 and entailed disastrous deterioration of knowledge particularly in country schools. The pupils, who were sent to the Sovkhoses, did not learn anything, but worked in the field or did some work in connection with party directives such as fulfilment of quotas or even expropriation of Kulaks. There was not much time left for actual school work which, moreover, was performed without any scientific plan.

At the same time as in the said methods, the Soviet pedagogues experimented in the domain of educational organization. They taught in classes and lessons as introduced in all European schools on the initiative of Jan Komensky in the 17th century. In laboratory work, the Soviet pedagogues applied the so-called group forms, and spoiled the Dalton laboratory plan similar to that of the American pedagogue Helene Porcherst. This method of education based on a division of forms into "brigades" of six to eight pupils. The teacher gave "tasks" to them for one month in advance and the pupils worked "independently" that is, one pupil read to the others, who might listen or not. The teacher's part was restricted to the preparation of "tasks" and the supervision of the pupils at work. One can fancy without great imagination with what ridiculous success this sort of an organization came to an end. The communists leaders soon became aware of the situation. They saw that an all-round education of that kind was no proper preparation for higher studies and, at the same time, entailed a deterioration in the tuition of qualified workers for industry as well as for spiritual and cultural work. Therefore, the first method was banned in the regulation of the Central Committee of the C.P. and the second in the regulation of August, 25, 1932.

The Central Committee of the C.P. regarded all that as a "capitalist" confusion. The blame was not put on Mrs. Krupsky and the high-rank party-leaders but on the pedagogues who did not belong to the party and had only carried out the orders from above. Many of them were punished, arrested and sent to concentration camps as a warning example for the others. Soviet schools stopped experimenting then and returned to the old, pre-revolutionary forms and methods which had a better effect. The methods of teaching gradually

improved, the extent of work not belonging to school was decreased so offering the possibility to the pupils to spare more time and energy for their school work.

The improvement had a favourable effect on the activity at the universities. In any case, pupils who finished secondary schools in 1939/40 were much better prepared for further studies than those who attended school in 1930 to 1934.

From the beginning of the Soviet schools, the lack of Latin and Greek in the syllabus has always been a great shortcoming. It worked particularly harmfully on the activity of the philosophical faculties at the universities and pedagogical institutes. For, without any knowledge of classical languages, it is impossible to work in the sphere of philology, history, literature, and archeology.

Probably this was the reason why the classical philology was re-instated in the curriculum for middle schools after the war.

### War Mongery and Slander Psychosis

One thing remains to be mentioned and that is that military training of youth was intensified even before the second world war. Special lessons have been instituted for drill, sports, military games, etc. Moreover, trading schools have been built since 1940, for the special purpose of preparing qualified workers for war industry.

Furthermore, the bolsheviks organized so-called "Suvorov-schools". As can be seen from the name

### Mirrored in his own Words . . .

In a recent interview with the correspondents of the "Neue Zeitung" in Belgrade, Tito made the following remarks concerning his Cominform neighbours: "Up till now they have been becoming ever stronger and numerically more important. Large armies, however, offer no certain guarantee for morale and unity. It remains to be seen what attitude these subjugated nations will adopt in the event of war." ("Die Neue Zeitung", No. 99, of April 28th, 1953.)

One must wholeheartedly concur in this opinion of Tito's. What, however, is lacking in this interview is consideration of the morale and unity of the army of his own autocracy. For it remains even more to be seen what attitude would be taken, on the outbreak of war and in the service of Titoist despotism, by the Croats, Slovenes and Macedonian Bulgars who are subjugated in Tito-slavia.

they are to provide for fanatic fighters of the communist party.

And now something about the characteristics of the education of Soviet youth: As has been emphasized already, the main aim of schools is to make the youth an instrument of the Communist Party in its struggle for world domination. Accordingly, one of the highest virtues of well-bred youth is unquestioning loyalty to the Party, love of "old Joe Stalin" and the Soviet home land. Since about 1934, after the publication of Stalin's, Kirov's and Zhdanov's remarks on the history of the U.S.S.R., education for Soviet patriotism has become more and more a training for Soviet chauvinism. In the said "remarks", the Russian people was raised to a firstrank nation in the world that had waged the fight for social right already in the past and is now struggling for world-communism.

After the II World War, Russian chauvinism assumed radical forms, supported by all means by the leaders of the Communist Party. Beside the nervous preparations for the next war they try to persuade the population that the Russian people is the most capable and courageous in the world and is to deliver the rest of the world from capitalist exploitation. Its relation to the peoples subjugated by Moscow, according to communist

propaganda, is that of an elder brother who brought good luck to them by offering possibilities for development in the intellectual cultural, material domain. The western world and the U.S.A. in particular, is at the same time, presented as "going to ruin". All means are harnessed for the purpose, such as press, theatre, cinema, meetings, demonstrations etc. School played also a great role. In order to educate youth for Soviet patriotism and hatred of the West, popular "scientific" books were issued in masses. These books have been written by noted Russian scholars including members of the Academy of Sciences. The major part of these works deals with engineering which is of great consequence for war production. In each book has been demonstrated that almost all important inventions in the fields of navigation, aviation, electrical engineering etc., have been made by Russians. Suitable works of foreign authors, too, have been translated and published in large editions (i. g. Dickens, Mark Twain etc.). The chief tendency is to show the "decay and exploiting character" of the west. In order to guarantee the understanding desired, the books were introduced by special prefaces by which the authors try to prove the "decay" in the west in a detestable way and without regard to the truth.

As for the moral education of the Soviet youth, the main idea is the communist doctrine on morals. The latter was most clearly outlined in Lenin's speech at the 3rd conference of the Komsomol. Lenin rejected general human morals, which bind everyone, but held the view that there are only class morals. There is even a special moral for the proletariat. Its decisive point is the advantage of some action or other for the class struggle. This would lead to the conclusion that morals would justify a murder or most blatant lie if only it was advantageous for the proletariat. Such views are actually taught to Soviet children. Denunciation of one's own father, for instance, is regarded as a "duty and virtue" of a Soviet citizen. The noted Pavlik Morosov, who denounced his father for having concealed some kilos of grain during a collectivization, for which reason the father was arrested and shot — became a national hero and an example for the young. Thus denunciation is the order of the day in the U.S.S.R.

As it is impossible to go into all forms of moral education in the U.S.S.R. we only touch the relation of children to their parents and to adults. From the revolution up to 1938/39 when the conference of Komsomol took place in Moscow, the bolsheviks undermined the respect of the children toward their parent. The consequences, however, were harmful even to the Soviet government and the communist party. Soviet family-life is about to go to the dogs, but that, at the same time, impairs school discipline which fact, in its turn, exerts a bad influence on the progress in the training of qualified cadres for industry, armed forces, ect. The bolsheviks had to see that, and therefore, at the conference of the Komsomol, the device of the recovering of the family and of the raising of parental authority was proclaimed. This motto has been maintained even after the last war. And now, in books for pioneers, often tales will be found describing an idyllic family life with children respecting their parents.

### Our Representatives

Austria: Osyp Tiushka  
Herzog-Friedrich-Strasse 22  
Innsbruck  
Australia: O. Moros  
99 Victoria St.  
Potts Point N.S.W.  
Great Britain: W. Oleskiw  
28 Minster Road  
London N.W. 2  
Germany: ABN-Correspondence  
Munich 35, P.O. Box 70  
Canada: W. Makar  
140 Bathurst Str.  
Toronto, Ont.  
U.S.A.: Stefan Czuma  
734 E. 9th St.  
New York, 9 N.Y.  
France: M. V. Kosyk  
26 rue de Montholon  
Paris 9  
Belgium: M. O. Koval, 72  
Bd. Charlemagne, Brussels 4  
Holland: O. Kushpeta, Postbus 534, Tilburg  
Spain: T. Barabash, Donoso Cortes 65, Madrid  
Sweden: W. Federtiuk,  
Löstigen 10, Spånga, Stockholm  
Venezuela: Ing. M. Serdiuk,  
Callejon Bahidie a calle Losada casa verde, Barrio  
Minicomie, Caracas

# From Behind the Iron Curtain



## BOHEMIA

### CHURCH PERSECUTION CONTINUES

From the beginning of the persecution of the Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia, the communists endeavoured to win over as great a number of clerical dignitaries as possible from those priests who had seceded from Rome. Up to the present, however, their efforts to interest a bishop in their antireligious campaign has been in vain. They took the greatest pains to gain at least one of them. Then they themselves appointed dignitaries from among the seceded priests, vicars, chapter vicars, vicars general, etc. Today it is very difficult for the believers in the C.S.R. to discern a loyal priest from a seceded. Nevertheless, the communists dared not appoint an anti-Roman bishop of their own. So they tried to break the firm attitude of the Czech episcopacy, at least in one case, by promises and terrorism. By promises they tried to win the Prague archbishop, Dr. Beran, over to take part in the communist congress for world peace in Vienna. They held the prospect of free return to his diocese out to him and pretended the participation of cardinal Mindszenty. The archbishop refused, however. (I.B.)



## BYELORUSSIA

### MORE SELF CRITICISM, COMRADE!

The Moscow "Pravda" published in its No. 80 of March 21, 1953, a note on the conditions in the office of the town-committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussian S.S.R. in Miensk, from which we quote the following:

"On the ground of violating the C.P.S.S. (Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Ed.) statutes and inadmissible reaction on the criticism by the town-committee, the secretary of the party office in the Republican counting office in the state-bank, comrade Gandarov, has been dismissed with a severe reprimand. Another severe reprimand was issued to the administrator of the counting office, comrade Polyakov, on the ground of "wrong behaviour, rudeness, suppression of criticism".

The editor of the "Wall Newspaper", comrade Losizky, has been re-installed in his former position in the republican counting office in the state bank.

The town committee has taken measures to avoid inadequacies in the activity of the town- and district-committee as well as to develop self-criticism and mutual criticism and to provide education for inexorable requital of shortcomings in work.

### YOUTH EDUCATION...

The Moscow "Pravda", in No. 82 of March 23, 1953, expressed its dissatisfaction with the youth education in the Byelorussian S.S.R. in an extensive article. The paper wrote:

"In the city of Homel the pedagogic institute grants lectures on history and literature . . . In the machine-works, for instance, the "motor of the revolution (Dvigatel Revoluziyi)", comrade Kushelev, gave a lecture on communist morals. But instead of giving the young workers broad, lifelike examples of the superiority of the communist morals as compared with the rotten, vile, detestable bourgeois morals he offered fairy tales of the days of yore with no essence whatever . . .

In many places of the districts Svyetilovitch, Zhrovich, Streshyn and others, the lecturers did not appear for their lectures at all for years."

We gladly believe that the bolshevik central organ would like best to see the communist youth set against other nations and instructed in the methods of civil war and extermination from tenderest age. That there are still teachers, nevertheless, who take their duty of mediating sciences seriously may betoken that not all sane feelings

have been eradicated. Thus it may be suggested that broad circles lie in wait for the moment when they can finally abandon the system of mental and physical constraint, like numerous teachers who now already keep themselves away from the Soviet institution for the infection of youth.



## COSSACKIA

### SHORT NOTES

In its leader of March 25, 1953, "Pravda" stated that the irrigation canals and fields that had been built simultaneously with the Volga Don Canal last year, proved bad and require even now thorough overhauling. At the same time, "Pravda" observed that skilled workers are lacking for the irrigation plant.

For spring-time cultivation, the kolkhoses have taken measures for work by day and night. The tractors and harvesting machines take in petrol even while working so that work never stops — under the supervision of the brigadiers.

The secretaries of the Rostov district committee of the Komsomol, Khokhlov, Kadinov, Tkachenko, have been removed from their posts. They were reproached with *unpermitted* and *illegal* manipulations.

P. Korehagin, secretary of the committee of the Chkalov district, criticized severely the activity of all organs of the district in an article in the Pravda.

A monument has been erected to the writer A. S. Serafimovitch (Popov) in his birth place Serafimovich (Unst-Medvedizk).

At the last plenary meeting of the Stalingrad district committee of the C.P., secretary Grishin charges several organs of the district with "national deviations".



## CROATIA

### ECONOMIC MISERY AND HUNGER

Zagreb. The food-situation in Croatia becomes daily worse. The monthly flour-ration for 1946 to 1948 amounted to 4—5 kilograms per head. This ration has now been reduced to only 2 kilograms. The government states, in its foreign propaganda, that this is the result of drought, but the real reason is the forcible collectivisation of the farms. The peasants are unwilling to produce only what they need for their own consumption, and this attitude has made the government slow up the policy of forcible collectivisation. Another reason for the catastrophic economic situation is the bad state management. The former Croatian economic experts are confined in prison and concentration camps, as "reactionary elements".



## GEORGIA

### BERIA TAKES THE BULL BY THE HORNS

As the world learned from Soviet reports, the Minister of State Security in Georgia, General Rukhadse, the party secretary in office Mgeladze, and the party secretary Tsharkviani, dismissed last year, have been arrested.

They had sown national hatred and persecuted and arrested loyal communists, said the new Prime Minister, Bakradse, in his speech.

The arrested party secretary, a confidante of Beria's, was invested last year with the special order to purge the Georgian communist party from nationally infected elements. The party secretary, Charkviani, dismissed by him, was

charged with having tolerated and furthered national tendencies in the party and in Georgian literature.

Recently Mgeladze published several articles in Pravda, claiming that order had been established in the party. Now he has been arrested himself. They both, as well as General Rukhadse, belong to the younger generation. They did not like to yield to Moscow's directive that the Russian occupation in the Caucasus meant progress and civilization to the peoples. They did not like, either, to put up with the statement that Russia was the mighty elder brother of the peoples who would thrive happily, under her protection.

The almighty Beria knows his Georgian people. He knows how they hate the Russian domination and will prove his loyalty to Russia by taking those measures. The rulers now invested by him in Georgia are still more loyal servants and hirelings of Moscow.

It is evident that the wave of terrorism will also strike the masses. The complete Russification of the country is set going. The Georgian people is menaced by the danger of being obliterated as an independent nation. Still the Georgian people will not give way in their fight for liberation, in spite of all terrorism.

Niko Nakashidze

### STILL HOSTILE ELEMENTS

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" published in No. 42 of February 19, 1953, a long article by the Secretary General of the Georgian communist party, A. Mgeladze, on the activity of hostile elements in the communist Komsomol organizations in Georgia, part of which is quoted here:

"There was a lot of idlers in the Komsomol of Georgia. But that cost the Komsomol organizations dear. Negligence and carelessness have brought about conditions which furthered the infiltration of elements hostile to the Soviet system." (Still hostile elements seemingly, even among the generation that has been born and brought up under the Soviet system! — Ed.)

"True, the class of exploiters has been liquidated in the U.S.S.R., yet it must not be forgotten that we have not yet completely done away with the remains of bourgeois ideology and the psychology and morals of private property. Secret holders of bourgeois views and morals are still among us — men alive, secret adversaries of the communist party and the Soviet people . . ." (Still alive! — Ed.) "With the assistance of the Central Committee of the Party in Georgia, the Komsomol has unmasked and purged its organization of hostile elements who penetrated even into the Komsomol leadership . . ." (How long is it going to last? — Ed.)

Now Mgeladze himself has been arrested as a traitor. Moscow is not succeeding in making slaves out of Georgians!



## GERMANY

### PEOPLE'S POLICE TRAINED AS PARTISANS

In the former barracks of the anti-aircraft regiment 37 in Kochstedt near Dessau, a course of instruction in the Soviet partisan tactics of the Second World War war started on February 15 for about 300 members of the military people's police, under the supervision of Soviet officers. This course includes special training for sabotage and demolition detachments which concentrates primarily on the destruction of bridges, railway communications, vital utilities such as gas plants, water plants and electricity plants. Exercises are to a small extent, carried out on the former drill-ground protected against "the unauthorized" by outpost lines. The participators in the course, bound to secrecy beforehand, are neither granted leave nor evening out during the course.

### FLATS EVACUATED FOR PEOPLES POLICE AND "ACTIVISTS"

A forced evacuation of flats for members of the people's police, which was launched in the late months of last year and has affected several hundred flats already, is continuously carried on by the magistrate of Halle. From January 1 to February 15 alone, 194 dwellings in all quarters of the town have been evacuated. The persons afflicted are chiefly pensioners and those who are

not employed in production. The vacant dwellings are given to members of the people's police and to "activists" and "best-workers" from factories of special importance. The families evacuated are provisionally accommodated in emergency lodgings in the environs of the town.

#### ANOTHER 18 DEATHS IN THE URANIUM MINES

As we have only learned now, 18 workmen lost their lives on March 19, as a result of the sudden collapse of a gallery in pit 165 of object 8 of the Soviet Wismut A.G. It has not been possible to bring the bodies to the surface. More than 30 miners were injured and taken to the Erlabrunn hospital.

This has been the fourth disaster in object 8 since January. All remonstrances by the German miners to insist more on the regulations of safety were rejected by the Soviet management for the reason that the gallery 165 was to be shut down soon and therefore no further means would be invested.

#### A VILLAGE EVACUATED FOR AIRPORT WORKERS

The entire population of the village Letz in the Burg district was forced to evacuate. The 98 families were distributed among several other districts. The evacuees were allowed to take only very few household goods with them. The vacant houses were filled with workers who had been engaged for building a new Soviet airport. The new airport is to replace the airport Stendal-Borstel, which has been evacuated to make room for Soviet tank troops. (I.W.E.)



## HUNGARY

#### AFTER STALIN'S DEATH

Significant for the hopeful mood of the population in consequence of Stalin's death is the fact the Communist Party and the A.V.H. (Hungarian communist office for state security — Ed.) deemed it necessary on the occasion of the return of the Hungarian deputies from the obsequies in Moscow to take immense protective measures. The members of the Muscovite government in Hungary as well as J. D. Kiszelyov and Huan Cen, the ambassadors of Soviet Russia and Red China, and the representatives of all the other satellite states came to the air port Ferihegy in order to receive the deputation. Motorized and foot troops of the A.V.H., even armed with machine weapons and hand-grenades guarded closely the whole air port and the approaches. Special permits were issued by the C.P., valid for that day only, entitling to the entrance of the air port.

#### "A HAPPY LIFE"

In December, the labourers of the Mattias Rakosi works were apprised that the management will procure the most important foods, such as meat, fats, flour, potatoes, and other vegetables, for its workers and their dependents. The supply ran more or less smoothly until the end of January. Then the manager of supply called the workers together and declared himself unable to distribute rations for their dependents, giving as his reason the poor harvest, the drought and, last not least, the extensive sabotage activity of the "Kulaks". He made it plain that the workers had to prepare themselves for further restrictions until the next harvest. Furthermore he stated that the bread purchases of the workers will be closely controlled as it was strongly forbidden by an ordinance to take bread to the environs of Budapest which had been bought in the city.

The mood of the meeting was existed and the speaker was interrupted several times. The workers declared that they were unable to fulfil the very high quotas with 400 g of bread and a thin soup. When they heard that four alarm cars full of A.V.H.-troops with machine weapons stood by before the "culture hall", they took notice of the announcement and dispersed silently.

(UNIO P.S.)



## SLOVAKIA

#### PAMPHLET CAMPAIGN

In the night before March 14, the very day when 14 years ago, the Slovaks seceded from the Czech state union and proclaimed the Slovak Republic, a pamphlet campaign against Czecho-Slovakia was carried out.

At several places on the German-Bohemian border some thousands balloons were started by members of the Slovak Liberation Committee (S.O.V.) which organization includes the most part of the exile Slovaks in the world. The balloons were rapidly carried away by a favourable wind towards south east. The sheets were written in two languages and appealed to the Slovak people to persevere in spite of all trouble and to resist bolshevism up to the hour of deliverance and the restoration of a Slovak Republic free from Prague. The pamphlets in Czech language declared a fight against the communist tyrants in Czecho-Slovakia.

The action was directed by the former Slovak foreign minister Prof. Ferdinand Durcansky, who was, for many years, the most intimate collaborator of the state president, Father Dr. Josef Tiso, executed by the Czechs on April 18, 1947, in Bratislava.

As we heard from Slovakia, the pamphlet campaign had an encouraging effect on the Slovak people. Most favourable impression was made on the circles of the Slovak resistance movements by the fact that the action was started on the fourteenth anniversary of the Slovak declaration of independence and the day of Gottwald's death.



## UKRAINE

#### A SCOLDING TO THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The two day's meeting of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. was brought to a close on March 24, 1953, in Kyiv.

The meeting is discussed in the "Pravda" edition No. 84 of Mark 25, 1953:

Serious deficiencies in the activity of the academy were brought to light through the meeting. The chair of the academy as well as the heads of divers departments and institutes were strongly criticized. Stress was also laid on the insufficient distribution and training of the scientific cadres and on criticism and self-criticism which was inadequately developed."

#### FORCED LOVE OF THE "ELDER BROTHER"

On an article in the papers of the Communist Party and Government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. "The All-Conquering Power of Friendship between Peoples", the "Radyanska Ukraina" wrote in its No. 50 of February 28, 1953:

"Together with propaganda about the achievements of the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, symptoms of hostile ideology, the remains and relapses of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, Zionism, cosmopolitanism must be ruthlessly disclosed, envisaging the fact that the nationalists and cosmopolitans are infamous enemies of our country, acting as atrocious adversaries of peace and democracy, simultaneously in the pay of the American imperialism. After having sold their lives and souls for bloody American pieces of silver they concentrate on murdering, espionage, underminig and direct the spear of their ideology against the friendship of nations, which is one of the bases of the power and might of our country."

It is evident what such effusions aim at. The unceasing repetition of the catchword of the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" is to make the fact fall into oblivion that Ukraine is justified in making a fierce resistance to the Russian violation, with its claim to an complete independent based on international law.

## The Value of "Titoism"

By Dr. Stjepan Buc

"Titoism" is an experiment on the part of Belgrade to keep the artificial Yugoslavian state in existence, and is thus of a purely political, and not ideological, nature.

Tito-communism emphasises its genuinely Marxist attitude, and even reproaches the Kremlin with having deviated from Marxism. The Belgrade Communist Party styles itself the "Communist Union". Its whole attitude is communistic and its chief functionaries are veterans of the Spanish Civil War. The fact that the Tito-communist leaders have disesteemed from the collectivisation of agriculture does not mean that they want to relinquish communism, but that — as a consequence of the resistance of the enslaved peoples, especially the Croats — they are unable to carry it out. Their hostile attitude towards religion, especially the Roman Catholic, has in no way been mitigated, but they are planning new methods of eliminating religion, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the West.

"Titoism" is therefore a rejection of its brothers in the Kremlin, although it was once the latter's most faithful servant. This is because Belgrade fears to suffer a catastrophe in the event of a conflict between East and West and thus to lose its hold over the alien, subjugated peoples. There are, admittedly, certain circles (cominformists) who want to travel with Russia, but they are momentarily not at the top.

Thus "Titoism" is nothing established, but a short-term, tectical policy, with its heart in the Kremlin. The majority of the Belgrade-communists are adherents of the Kremlin. The "Titoists" are in the minority and exhausted with the time-servers of the regime. Besides these time-servers and vominformists are other camouflaged elements. It is childish to believe that "Titoism" has any deeper purpose than that of saving the Belgrade imperialism, which may be compared with that of the Kremlin, and not of Prague. It is logical that, since 1948, every dispute between Great Moscow and Little Moscow (Belgrade) has occurred simultaneously with the former's disensions with the Great Powers, and with their re-armament.

Since "Titoism" is a friend only in a tactical sense, it may turn to the Kremlin any time it sees that it cannot preserve its domination of the alien peoples. It is also logical that Eisenhower's declaration on the right of every people to self-termination has been decisively rejected in Belgrade. The communists clique there believes that America might give up her demands for their sake! These principles of freedom automatically compel them, both "Titoist" and "Kremlinists", to look more and more to Moscow. This circumstance, however, need not worry the West, as the military and political value of that Titoistic state is negligible. No-one can preserve such an artificial creation, formed by deceit and force, and against the wills of the peoples.

Conditions behind the Iron Curtain do not differ at all in principle. The experiment of "Titoism" can exist only until the moment when the peoples of Yugoslavia try to throw off the yoke imposed upon them by cliques such as the Tito-clique. The cliques are transitory, but the peoples are eternal. A "realistic" policy is a short-sighted policy, which has no place in this time of ideals.

The Croatian nation is so aware and compact that it can quite calmly wait for things to come. The situation in Croatia can best be described by the following comparison.

If one were to place two urns in the district of Croatia (Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Istria, Slavonia) — here Stepinac, here Tito, and allow the people to vote freely, 98% of the Croats of both religions would cast their votes in the first urn. That ist he strength of "Titoism" in Croatia! But its destruction is imminent. With the disappearance of communism will come he disappearance of the Yugoslavian state. The Communist clique's only hope is their dictator's attempt to associate himself with the West. But "Titoism" cannot succeed, for the ideal of the right of self-determination for all people is not to checked and will cast out both "Titoism" and cominformism!

## BOOK-REVIEWS

Hugh Seton-Watson:

### The Decline of Imperial Russia

1855-1914.

Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1952. 406 pp., 8 Maps., bibliography and index.

Hugh Seton-Watson, Professor of Russian History in the University of London, is well-known as the author of the books "Eastern Europe between the Wars, 1918-1941", "The East-European Revolution", and others. In a treatise of his, recently published by an English paper, he treated the problems of the nationalities in the U.S.S.R. and made some impression by the extent of his understanding of the present significance of the question.

In his latest book "The Decline of Imperial Russia" he examines the development of the Tsarist Empire from 1855 to 1914, from the Crimean War to War I, which period, regarding its relations between foreign and home policy, economic changes, idealistic and ideological changes, had been fairly neglected by the historians in favour of special sections detached from the integral complex. It is that historical period which gave rise to the Russian revolutionary movement, the origin of bolshevism and the U.S.S.R.

Seton-Watson divides his material into sections: the period of Alexander II (1855-1881), the period of reaction (1884-1905), the Revolution in 1905 and its consequences (1905-1914). In the "Epilogue" a survey is given of the main tendencies of the development of the Soviet Union up to 1948. As to the subject, he divides the events of each period into three sections: structure of state and chapter is devoted to the problem of the nationalities in society; political movements; foreign policy. A special chapter is devoted to the problem of the nationalities in each period.

For the purpose of this review, of course, the treatment of the last problem is the most interesting. Seton-Watson examines the state and development of the national consciousness of the non-Russian peoples of the Tsarist Empire in its different manifestations and maturity at the significant points of Russian political history, preserving a remarkable degree of objectivity which expresses itself even in the selection of sources (G. von Mende, for instance, has been quoted for Russian-Turks, Hrushevsky and Krupnytsky for Ukraine, that is to say, by no means only Russian authors). Seton-Watson does full justice to the problem of nationalities, which is only part of the subject treated. It is only natural that one remark or other of his will meet with contradiction from circles of readers interested, such as: "the later claim of Ukrainian national historians that the Cossack state was a national Ukrainian state must be accepted with some reserve." Still they should not influence judgement of the whole adversely, for it remains a remarkable fact that the author tries to put the national question in the place according to its significance.

His interpretation of Lenin's opinion on autonomy should be taken with a grain of salt. Stalin's view, announced at the III. Congress 1918, restricting the right to autonomy exclusively to the proletariat, is countered by Seton-Watson with Lenin's view that the Russian proletariat must not encumber itself with a "great-Russian chauvinism concealed behind the mask of communism". Lenin's generosity was a mere adaptation to certain conditions of that time, as proved by the interpretation of this view by R. Smal-Stocki in his new book "The Nationality Problem of Soviet Union".

On the other hand, Seton-Watson has been confused in that point by "theoretical controversies":

"Too much significance should not be attached to that. The fate of the non-Russian peoples of the empire between 1917 and 1921 was not decided by abstract criteria of that kind but by blood and iron". And to the statement that the "systematic discrimination on the ground of nationality has been abolished" — he added that this should be regarded with some reserve, too, pointing to the fate of the Krim-Tatars, Ingushians, and the growing Russification of Estonia and Latvia.

Thus, the book as a whole can only be welcomed. P. S.

Edward Rogers:

### A Commentary on Communism

London, The Epworth Press, 1951, Second Edition 1952, pp. 238.

This detailed monography which tries to combine historical description and philosophical criticism and has been written for scientific as well as for common readers, contains many points excellent in theory, but suffers from an obvious inequality of its different parts. The first four chapters containing a concise history of communist doctrine from classical antiquity on, have turned out rather superficial save the English "pre-Marxian socialists" who are treated somewhat more in detail. Chapters V to VIII form the most valuable substance of the book containing pithy reproduction and criticism of orthodox marxism proper, concerning both its essential conditions for economy and philosophy of history as well as its conclusions and aspirations in social policy.

The description and judgement, too, of what is known as Leninism in chapters IX to X is satisfactory on the whole though, now and then, the author's dependence on certain more or less Sovietophil sources (E. H. Carr, S. and B. Webb, etc.) can be unpleasantly felt. But when the author leaves the realm of theory and opinion (chapter XI "The Great Experiment") in order to risk a description of the actual consequences of Soviet communism in the red Russian empire, he lacks direct knowledge of Soviet reality; this leads him to some wrong conclusions (such as the statement that the transition from "Military Communism" to "New Economic Policy" was effected just by "the Kronstadt revolt in March 1921 and the peasant rising in the Tambor province" — two mere episodes) and, above all, to an understatement of the national problems in the U.S.S.R. and the fight for freedom waged by the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow, so much so that a genuine understanding of the history and the retrogression of the Soviet state is excluded. The fact, for example, that

"Ukraine and Byelorussia now sit in U.N.O. as independent republics" is naively interpreted by the author as "proving that these two puppet states were granted considerable independence", and although the author finally comes to the conclusion that "the truth seems to be that the principle of national self-determination is (in U.S.S.R.) a dead letter, that in time of emergency or panic central authority clamps down" he adds: "a very large measure of cultural independence is carefully fostered" which statement, in relation to Moscow's present "cultural policy" flies in the face of historical truth.

Considering furthermore that — for opportunistic reasons seemingly — the author goes so far as to allege: "we have noted the most significant thing of all, which is the rise of a new powerful, because technically efficient and necessary, middle class in the U.S.S.R." — one can not help evaluating the part devoted to Soviet communism as a downright failure. Even the moral condemnation of communism — from the view-point of Anglican ethic — can not change this judgement in principle. V. D.

### Communism

London, The Epworth Press, 1952, pp. 64.

This volume containing "five pamphlets which were designed to give to the general reader a comprehensive view of the nature and challenge of communism" endeavours to combine scientific criticism of Marxism with its ethical condemnation and that from the viewpoint of the modern English (and American) Protestantism; this makes up the ideal unity of the book which will not fail to have a positive effect on the religious Anglo-Saxon circles concerned.

It may be doubted if it will be equally successful in other and wider circles. The articles by Rogers and Loft-house, it is true, are of general value (Edward Rogers, "The Economics of Russia" — a criticism of the fundamental principles of the Marxian doctrine on economy; and W. F. Loft-house, "The Philosophy of Communism" — a valid proof that what is known as dialectic materialism, is neither dialectic nor scientific; it is indeed a generalization, but a generalization founded on a hasty study of the four centuries, which neglects the history of the earlier past as willfully as it colours the tendencies of the present"). The articles by E. C. Urwin, however, ("Communism and Violence") and by Maldwyn Edwards, the editor of the volume ("The Communist Millennium"), which have been treated rather from the moral side, can not count on general interest. Least satisfactory is the article by Henry Carter ("How Soviet Rule Came to Russia") which, on the one hand, often takes official Soviet propaganda for truth, (e. g.: Broadly speaking, each Five-Year Plan developed under national-wide discussion, and approximated to an expression of the workers' judgement and will") and on the other hand, entirely ignores all national problems in the Soviet Union. (Even the "Civil War" 1917-1921 is, in the author's eyes, a mere "open rebellion under army-officers — Koldiakh, Denikin, Wrangel, and others", supported by "foreign intervention"). A "factual information" of that kind is obviously more prejudicial than useful. V. D.

Roman Smal-Stocki:

### The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism

The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1952, Pp. 474, 5 supplements. Introduction by Prof. Lew E. Dobriansky.

The author, Professor at the Marquette University and Director of the Slavonic Institute, is well-known for numerous books and articles and does not require introduction. He is one of the first-rank Ukrainian scientists and politico-scientific publicists in exile.

Whereas with Seton-Watson (in "The Decline of Imperial Russia") the problem of nationality constitutes only one section of the entire complex of the development of Russian history — passing in historical review — it is the only subject of Smal-Stocki's book. With this he treats exclusively of the present time. The struggle of the oppressed peoples in East-Europe, Asia, Africa, is for him the fundamental problem of the present world crisis and the direct effect of the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence. The struggle of the peoples oppressed in East-Europe, which was in the West chiefly regarded as a home problem of the Soviet Union, had grown into a world problem after the incorporation of the states in central and south-east Europe, of China, Korea and Tibet in the Muscovite sphere of influence, which the West is now forced to face. Therefore this book goes beyond the topic of its title and examines the attitude of the non-communist world, above all of the U.S.A., towards the fight in the countries behind the Iron Curtain for the recognition of the principle of autonomy.

Smal-Stocki's exclusive reference to the present time required sources, of course, different from those used by Seton-Watson. Smal-Stocki quoted the Soviet papers, the press in the U.S.A., and the periodical and non-periodical publications of the east-emigrants thus introducing them partly for the first time into political science.

The root of the fight of nationalities in Russia Smal-Stocki finds in the programme: one God, one Tsar, one Nation and one Language — a result of the old ideology of the "Third Rome in connection with the Messiahship of Pan-Slavism as well as of the influence of German philosophers (Schelling, Fichte, Hegel). After a concise survey of the theory and practice of the national policy within Tsarist Russia, the author deals circumstantially with the conflict between "Russian communism and the national idea". The changes in Lenin's conception as tactical adaptations to the strong national movements after the breakdown of the Tsarist Empire and the political central authority, and the policy subsequently practised by Stalin have been exhaustively analyzed and proved. One is inclined to say that the book would not suffer from an abridgement of the quotations. The author attaches particular significance to the linguistic policy of communism which has been examined in all territories of national languages.

The book is a detailed and compact collection of sources for the national problem in the U.S.S.R. hitherto unprecedented. This in itself is sufficient value. In case of a new edition, a separate index of sources, an index of persons, and a supplement with the more circumstantial quotations listed would be appreciated. P. S.

### The First Martyrs

A White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine Rome 1953, 80 pp.

After a short preliminary treatment of the history of the Ukrainian people and its Church (988-1917), the first section of the book goes into the "Ukrainian History in Connection with Communism" (1917-1939). This is the merciless 35 years' fight of Ukraine for their national status against the red Russian subjugation. It was brought to an end in four stages: firstly, the extinction of the great peasant classes; thirdly, the organized communities and national movements; secondly, extinction of the leading classes of the people and its intelligentsia; fourth, the extinction of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church.

The second section, under the title "Ukrainian Catholicism and Communism" (1939-1952) deals with the martyrdom of Ukrainian Catholics. The readers learn from it that in the communists' striving for Europe, Ukraine was the first victim of the hatred of the Reds against Catholicism. The greatest action against Ukrainian Catholic Church began in 1945/46 and reached a climax in 1947/48 and again in 1951 when Bishop Hoydych was sentenced to imprisonment for life. The present balance of bolshevik terrorism is dreadful: 5 dioceses have been liquidated; 10 bishops arrested, deported or murdered; 2950 priests arrested, expelled or sent to Siberia; 520 monks arrested, deported or expelled from their monasteries; more than a thousand nuns forced by the conditions to leave their convents; 5040 parishes liquidated; 4440 churches broken up or taken over by Stalin's orthodox Church; 195 convents dissolved; all schools have become atheistic and marxistic; catholic press and organisations have been abolished; millions of true believers have to bear religious persecution and constraint; not to speak of the juridical state of the Church.

This terrible state of the Church has been mentioned already by the Holy Father in his encyclical "Orientalis omnes" with special reference to its supplement "Orientalis ecclesias".

The book has been illustrated and shows photos of the episcopal martyrs and their cathedrals as well as an ethnographical map of the Ukrainian territory. P.

### Other Publications Recived

ABN-Hirado

Vol. II, No. 1-2 1953. Address: Munich 22, P.O. Box 567 (in Hungarian)

Albanian News Bulletin

Vol. II, No. 16, March 1953

Published by the National Committee for Free Albania

Address: Piazza Trasimeno, 6/3, Rome (Italy)

Avangard

Journal for Ukrainian Youth

Vol. VII, 1953, No. 6-7 (28-29)

Address: Ukrainian Youth Ass'n, 49 Linden Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, London W. 2

(in Ukrainian)

The Ukrainian Quarterly

Vol. IX — Number 1, Winter, 1953

Published by Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

Address: 50 Church Street, S 232, New York 7, N.Y.

Ukrainian Observer

Vol. V, No. 4/5 April/May 1953

Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.

Address: 237, Liverpool Road, London N. 1,

Great Britain

Idziemy

Vol. III, No. 17-18, March-April 1953

Address: 12, Barclay Rd. London S.W. 6, Great Britain

(in Polish)

Liberation Path

Vol. VI, No. 4, April 1953

Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.

Address: 28, Minster Road, London N.W. 2,

Great Britain

(in Ukrainian)

National Bulgaria

Organ of the National Bulgarian Front

Vol. V, No. 1, 1953.

Address: Munich-Allach, P.O. Box 4, Germany

(in Bulgarian)

National Labour Journal

Official Magazine of the National Council of Canadian Labour

Vol. VI, No. 5, March 1953

Address: Rm 16-17, Trusts Bldg., 48 Sparks St.,

Véritas-Information

Ottawa, Canada

Vol. 2 — No. 13, March 1953

Address: Institut Véritas, C. P. 35, Station "O",

Montréal-9, Qué. Canada

(in French)

Urania Libre

Vol. III, No. 1-2, January-February 1953

Address: c. Soler 5059 - Buenos Aires, Rep. Argentina

(in Spanish)

Hrvatska Revija

Vol. IV, Dec. 1952

Address: Casilla de Correo 4725, Buenos Aires,

Argentina

(in Croatian)

La Revue de Culture Européenne

No 5, 1953

Address: rue J.-J. Rousseau, Paris 1, France

(in French)

**ABN CORRESPONDENCE**  
Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

P.O. Box 70, Munich 33, Phone: 59 15 31 Germany.  
Published by the Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

Responsible: K. W. Orlecky.

Account No. 10 707, Munich, Süddeutsche Bank

Yearly Subscription \$ 2 or Shillings 12.

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# A.B.N. CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. IV. No. 7/8. July/August 1953

\* Published in English, French and German \*

Price: 1 s; 40 c

## The A.B.N. to the Bermuda Conference

On the occasion of the coming Bermuda Conference, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) decided to present to the leading representatives of the three Western Powers, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, and the Premier of France, the following memorandum, copies of which have already been sent to further authoritative statesmen and politicians.

(Ed.)

At the coming Bermuda Conference, world-political problems will be under discussion which are of vital importance to the destiny of the subjugated nations in the Soviet sphere of power. The prosperity or destruction of these nations depends to a great extent upon the attitude of the western world, and its policy towards the Soviet Union. They can in no way feel indifferent to the decisions which are to be made in this matter. Just as divided Germany has, for well-founded reasons, been officially granted the right to be heard and kept well-informed in all questions concerning her destiny, all the other nations enslaved by bolshevism should be ceded the right of being heard, by means of their representatives living in the free world, in all matters concerning the fate of their own lands. The future of these nations should not be once more scaled over their heads. In the name of all the nations who have been, sooner or later, subjugated by Russian imperialism, and as spokesmen of the national resistance throughout the whole Soviet-Russian sphere of domination, we consider it our historic duty at the present moment to address ourselves to the responsible leaders of world-politics in order to express the following statements and warnings:

1) The government changes in Washington early in this year marked the beginning of a new political course on the part of the American leading world-power which was on the way towards adopting a "firm hand" policy with regard to Soviet-Russian world-imperialism. The basis of this new course was a very realistic appreciation of the world-political situation which was expressed in that resolu-

tion of President Eisenhower's concerning the subjugated nations. According to this resolution, the restoration of the latter's freedom was recognised as the chief problem of our times and made the preliminary condition for a peaceful ruling of this untenable

world-situation. This conception has awakened new hope in all our peoples and strengthened their spirit of resistance.

2) This historic resolution, however, met with opposition, and could not be put to the vote in Congress. Stalin's death and a few empty, though insidious, peace-gestures on the part of the new despots in Moscow also produced confusion in certain western countries and even in authoritative political circles and parties of the western world, and caused a retrograde development.

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### Turkistan Speaks

## Veli Kajum Khan on the Problems of his People and its Relations to the Islamic World

The President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, Veli Kajum Khan, being at the same time chairman of the Council of Nations of A.B.N., was kind enough to answer some questions put by our editor.

We are glad to offer this remarkable interview to our readers and the world and that all the more as questions of world political significance and topical interest are plainly and convincingly answered by a qualified man. (Ed.)

Q. How was it that Turkistan became a territory of the Russian state?

A. Russia's fight for the conquest of Turkistan has lasted since 1717. In spite of the unequal ratio of armament the Russians did not succeed in occupying Turkistan by force of arms until the end of the 19th century.

Q. Did the Turkestanian people ever approve of their life under Russian supremacy by authorized representatives?

A. No authorized Turkestanian has ever approved of the Russian supremacy over Turkistan up to the present.

Q. Which have been the characteristic features of Russian policy in Turkistan, formerly under Tsarist rule and now under bolshevik regime?

A. Russia's aim is, and has been, to make Turkistan a Russian country. Turkistan was needed as a source of raw materials and as a bridge to the conquest of the Orient. The policy of Tsarist Russia consisted of the Russification of the country, the settlement there of Russians, expropriation of ground by a cunning system of taxation, in order to settle Russians on the cultivated ground obtained. The Tsarist minister Stolipin said: "Russians must be settled on Turkestanian land in order to increase the local Russian population and to make Turkistan a Russian-Turkistan." They also gave orders that the Turkestanians living in the north and the east of the country were not to be allowed to purchase land in other parts of Turkistan. Under this regulation of 1916, the Kirgizhes and Kazakhs, for example, were not to purchase land in the Fergana district. This aimed at the mutual alienation of the Turkestanian tribes. Instead of "Turkistan", the name "Central-Asia" was introduced. In order to destroy the unity of

the country and its national fight, the Tsarist Russian government divided Turkistan up into two Governments General and these again into five Military Governments.

Khiva and Bokhara remained Russian vassals. It was forbidden to carry arms in Turkistan and the whole country was in a state of emergency. All offices were held by Russians. Russian schools were opened all over the country for the sole purpose of training interpreters, and Christian missionary schools were established in order to introduce Russian religion. The Turkestanians were forbidden to have a religious head of their own, the Mufti. Russia's aim was to become independent of the textile industry abroad and to make Turkistan a cotton source of her own. Therefore grain and other plants were to be superseded by cotton cultivation. This policy resulted in a complete dependence of Turkistan on Russian grain supplies. When the railway-line between Tashkent and Orenburg was broken in 1917, 3 million Turkestanians died of starvation. This was the policy of Tsarist Russia in Turkistan though it boasted to be a nation of culture.

Soviet-Russia continued in the Tsarist policy and confiscated all the arable land for cotton cultivation. They succeeded in so far as Turkistan now supplies 96% of the cotton requirement in the whole of Russia. In consequence of the compulsory introduction of the kolkhose-system and the prohibition of grain cultivation, again more than 3 million Turkestanians starved to death in 1936/37 as they had no grain themselves and were not provided with it from outside. Land has been entirely expropriated. All offices are held by Russians; again and again the Great-Russian people is spoken of as a bearer of culture. Every religious activity has been banned. The schools opened by the Russians serve Russi-

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fication. Like the Tsarist government, they fight all national aspirations, and Turkestanian culture and language are defamed. Bokhara and Khiva were definitely occupied by bolshevik Russia, which borders thereby directly on Afghanistan and Iran, that is, the Near East. Pursuing Tsarist policy Red Moscow divided Turkistan likewise into five regions now called "republics". Instead of governments the highest posts of these are held again by armed Russians. On comparing this division of Turkistan with the Tsarist, only small differences will be found. Again a state of emergency has been declared in Turkistan, which has become a mere colony of Russia.

**Q.** What was, and still is, the relation of Russia to the Islamic religion?

**A.** The aim of Tsarist Russia was the Christianization of Turkistan. Neither the organization of Islamic churches nor a Mufti was tolerated then. But Russian missionary schools were opened. The bolshevik government tightened up this policy by tolerating no religious activity whatever. Islam is persecuted in particular. The Russians, it is true, have, invested a "red Mufti" who, however, serves merely their propagandistic purposes in the Orient.

**Q.** What is the prevailing political will of the Turkestanian people to-day, who can speak in its name, and which is its authorized representation in the west?

**A.** The Turkestanian people is waging a common war against Russian imperialism in order to gain its independence, as is shown by the revolts against Russia in 1916, 1933 to 1941 and 1950. Under the Tsarist regime alone there were 16 insurrections and 4,922 plots in Turkistan. In revenge for the revolt in 1916, the Russians laid whole towns and villages in ruins and murdered their inhabitants.

Today it is only the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.U.C.) which is entitled to speak in the name of the Turkestanian people abroad and that on the ground of the authority given by the Congress.

**Q.** What is the matter with the famous Basmachi-Movement? How did the heroic death of Osman Batur occur?

**A.** The Basmachi-Movement is a movement of the Turkestanian people which came into being in response to the removal of the Turkestanian autonomous government of Kokant by the Russians on February 12, 1918. In the sanguinary struggles in Kokant, in the course of which the bolsheviks overthrew the Turkestanian government and occupied the country, the nationalists withdrew fighting to the mountains and the steppes. In these inaccessible regions the fighters assembled and were organized. They fought up to 1923 and caused the Russians much trouble. They even expelled the Russians out of parts of their country and at a congress convoked by the Basmachi in April 1923 in Samarkand, the independence of Turkistan was declared. The famous Enver Pasha, the head of the Basmachi movement, offered an ultimatum to Lenin on May 19, 1922, to withdraw the Russian troops from Turkestanian territory within a fortnight. From 1923 to 1942 the Basmachi fought underground. Even in 1950 and 1951 they waged their war from the mountains of Pamir. This fight is continued even now, according to the present conditions, of course, in order to spare forces and fighters. The Russians called these fighters for freedom "Basmachi" (i. e. "robbers") which became an honorable name for all Turkestanians. One of the leaders, Osman Batur, was captured by the Russians and Chinese and was hanged in the same year.

**Q.** What about the relation between the Turkestanian people and all other Islamic peoples outside of the U.S.S.R.?

**A.** The Turkestanian people has always entertained very friendly feelings towards all the other Islamic peoples. The scholars of Islam assembled in the towns of Turkistan and Bokhara became the centre of religious education.

## The A.B.N. to the Bermuda Conference

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3) In answer to the peace-plans proposed by President Eisenhower, which once again remembered the right of the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe to determine, freely and independently, their own form of government, the Kremlin declared, through its mouthpiece, "Pravda", that this would mean a restoration of "reactionary governments" in these countries, and categorically rejected such an "unreasonable demand". Nothing was mentioned at all of the restoration of national freedom and political independence and of the right to self-determination of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., who number not less than 100 million.

4) *Rebus sic stantibus, we disapprove of every willingness of western circles and powers to lend themselves, in the cause of Western unity, to an arrangement with Moscow and to come to an agreement with it at the cost of the oppressed countries and peoples. This would be a fatal error, which would, sooner or later, take bitter vengeance upon all the rest of the world. Such a step would have a devastating effect upon the psychological condition of our peoples, whose spirit of resistance has now flared up and is causing a serious internal crisis in the U.S.S.R.*

5) *In this hour, when the western world's attitude towards the U.S.S.R. is overshadowed by tragic diversities of opinion and differences, when the policy of the United States itself seems to be ruled by portentous contrasts and threatens to fall back into fateful error, we wish once again to put forward the problem of our subjugated nations as Problem No. 1 of every world-political planning or solution of the present time.*

The friendly feelings towards Turkistan are still alive. They are cherished from abroad now.

**Q.** What response has your activity met with in the Islamic world of the Near and Middle East?

**A.** The Islamic peoples feel like our brothers. This became quite obvious when the N.T.U.C. addressed an "Appeal to the Islamic peoples" on March 24, 1952. The Islamic peoples propagated this appeal immediately by press and radio and announced the constitution of a neutral commission for the investigation of the conditions in Turkistan. All Islamic peoples are morally supporting our struggle for independence. The "Organization for the Independence of the Islamic Peoples" sent a memorandum on Turkistan to the U.N. some months ago which was signed by the representatives of Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Iran, Indonesia, Jordan.

**Q.** How do you evaluate the role of the Islam as a credo in the fight against the materialistic and atheistic bolshevism?

**A.** The Islamic religion fights materialism and atheism and therefore all Islamic peoples reject bolshevism. Islam may be regarded as a firm enemy of bolshevism.

**Q.** How do you judge the importance of the A.B.N. conception in the present situation of world politics and what would be the ways and means to realize the aims and ideas of the A.B.N.?

**A.** The mottoes of the A.B.N., "Fight against Imperialism", and, "Freedom for Nations and Individuals!" meet with a special response in the Islamic world, as Russia is menacing the West as well as the Near and Middle East. We are sure that the mottoes of the A.B.N. comply with the conceptions in the free world and will finally make their way. We are of the opinion that the Orient should not be neglected. If Occident and Orient fight together, they are certain to defeat Russian imperialism.

6) *Even an armistice in Korea and any other part-solution such as an Austrian Treaty or a uniting of Germany according to the recipe of a so-called "neutralisation" would, at the most, grant a very welcome breathing-space to the Kremlin, but would bring the world no long peace and no security.*

7) *If Moscow is allowed much longer, certainly under the protection even of the Locrano Guarantee, to continue undisturbed, with its well-known bolshevik thoroughness and ruthlessness, the exploitation of the territorial, economic and human potential of our subjugated countries; if it were also allowed to profit immensely from the restoration of normal trade-relations with the West; then would the day be not far distant when the militant Soviet-Russian world-power would outstrip all western superiority and lay the whole free western world in dust and ashes.*

8) *So long as our countries and peoples are delivered up to the bloody domination of Soviet-Russian imperialism, the Damocles' sword of bolshevik world-peril hangs threateningly over the heads of all the rest of mankind. In these our times, freedom and peace are indeed indivisible, and this indivisibility is no empty word.*

9) *Developments have today got to that critical point when decisions can not be postponed, nor can mistakes be made with impunity. The release of all our countries and peoples from Soviet-Russian enslavement and Russia's retirement to her ethnographical territory should be put to Moscow, openly and unequivocally, as the conditio sine qua non.*

10) *The hour demands a drastic solution of the world-crisis by means of the dissolution of the despotic Russian empire, as the breeding-ground of world-wide bolshevik aggression, leading to the final disarming of the inexorable Russian imperialism. The preliminary condition to this is a resolute and active amalgamation of the whole free world with all our subjugated nations, for the purpose of restoring the national liberty and the political independence of all our peoples, naturally inclusive of those of the U.S.S.R. itself. Anything else would be merely a doubtful part-solution which would still leave the door open to Russian imperialism and bolshevism and bring the world neither peace and security, nor prosperity.*

*Videant consules!*

## Insufficient Legal Protection in the U.S.S.R.

The official Soviet paper "Izvestiya" published a lengthy article by the Deputy Minister of Justice in the U.S.S.R., P. Kudryavzev, on May 23, 1953, under the headline "Keep Sacred the Rights of the Soviet Citizen!"

"... It is to be regretted that in the practice of the courts, cases of offences against civil rights still occur. An inspection recently conducted by the Minister of Justice showed that in some districts of the Georgian S.S.R. citizens have been tried without reason for mere insignificant wrongs. Added to this: illegal charges against kolkhoze peasants, retrenchment of the dwelling rights of town-dwellers in many districts of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and so on.

Violations of the law, red-tapism, and other obsolete faults of the old society are still holding their place in our midst. Our Soviet state apparatus is the wrong place for those things and therefore they have to be eradicated ruthlessly.

In the practice of the work of the Executive Committees of the local Soviets, violations of law, infringement of the rights of the citizens and mistaken views as to legislation are still occurring. Some Executive-Committees forward false reports based on things not provided for in the law."

*In the Focus of Events***Revolts against Moscow  
in the East****Tears for Atom Spies  
in the West**

W. The page had not yet been turned on which the truce in Panmunjom with its tragic consequences for the Koreans had been entered, when new events in the Soviet Zone of Germany were recorded in the annals of the history of our agitated era, world-shaking events of utmost tragedy. We are not thinking so much of the victims and reprisals which the working class in Berlin and the population of the Eastern Zone have to bear, but of some thing else:

Before the eyes of the heavily armed Soviet occupation army, and notwithstanding the constant close watch and spying of the myrmidons of the People's Police, a real revolt of the masses broke out in one of the most important centres of the Soviet domain. It was by no means a plot attempt of a group of aristocrats and "bourgeois" or a military clique, but a spontaneous and real insurrection of the people represented by ten thousands of workers in Berlin. It was an outbreak of the desire for freedom of millions of gagged and tormented people of all ranks and classes.

Communist party buildings and offices were damaged and set on fire. Soviet colours were torn down, pictures burned, and prisons stormed. The avalanche is growing irresistibly and it appeared for a moment as if the Bastille of the present liberation revolution against Moscow was placed in Berlin.

Men and women who joined this courageous march confided, therein, in the immediate neighbourhood of the free western world and might have hoped that they would not be left in the lurch . . .

But what did the authorities in the west do? They quietly looked on the scene where Russian tanks rolled down demonstrating workers; where innocent unemployed were shot under martial law; where the whole of East Berlin was changed into a regular house of correction by the proclamation of a state of emergency—and contented themselves with the usual expressions of sympathy and the usual protests.

One is inclined to ask: Did not even the Potsdam Agreement offer a legal right to the West to intervene? Are the Soviets entitled under that agreement to tyrannize over their sector of Berlin and the Eastern Zone arbitrarily and to shoot people there like outlaws?

What might have happened if the West had energetically intervened to restore order? War? The Kremlin has certainly not a good mind to risk that, at present, for, in that case, the fire of revolution would break out in many places, above all in the U.S.S.R. itself. Berlin, then, would have been the spark to kindle the tremendous desire for freedom and the confidence of millions and millions of other peoples enslaved, to tear down the yoke so that freedom would have been restored over night and that perhaps even without war. That it did not happen this time was another neglected chance, if not a world tragedy.

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**What is Behind Moscow's "Peace Offensive"?**

By Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.

The western opinion that with Stalin's death a new era of real relaxation has come about and that all peaceful gestures of the Kremlin have chiefly, if not exclusively, been forced by the pressure of the West, does not meet the real facts.

First and foremost, the impulse to the divers amnesties; to the pretence of readiness for peace; to the permission for the private management of "individual vegetable gardens" in Ukraine, as well as to the change of the political course of the U.S.S.R., is due to the pressure of the growing national resistance within the Soviet Union and the other countries under its domain, and not so much to the foreign political situation. The recent removal of the ill-famed Secretary General of

Russian republics in the U.S.S.R. by so-called "resignations" and the like. For the same reason the Soviets repeat hypocritically again and again the phrase: "If friendship and unity bind the peoples in Soviet domain, we need not be afraid of external enemies!" Just this sentence makes plain where the shoe pinches the Soviets to-day and of what eminent importance this question is.

To this primary aim of the unity of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. and its further domain, all peaceful melodies and extenuations of the regime, and all economic mitigations by price and quota cuts are tuned. Those are the internal troubles which prevail in the foreign political manoeuvres of the Soviets to-day. This accounts also for the pretended conciliatory spirit in the Korean war and for the announced complaisance in the German Eastern Zone as well. For the permanent restlessness and the failure in defeating the "American imperialists" in the Far East, so often anticipated by Soviet propaganda, and in driving the American into the sea, as they were repeatedly promised, undermined Moscow's contact with the oppressed peoples more and more. It was just these facts which made peaceful gestures towards the West appear opportune to the masters in the Kremlin, and that the more as they came to the conclusion that not the West but the subjugated peoples are willing to fight. The latest events in South-Korea are very illuminating in that respect and confirm fully our statements.

Besides that, Malenkov's "peace-offensive" follows the special aim of destroying all hopes for an inexorable policy of the West which had dawned in the subjugated peoples after Stalin's death, and of showing them that there is not the least reason for such speculations and expectations.

These things in view, such speeches as the last parliamentary address of Sir Winston Churchill's and the corresponding comments in the western press have a crushing effect on the revolutionary spirits of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet satellite states. Our peoples take such pronouncements as a sign that the west is not willing to sympathize with their fate and surrenders them to sanguinary Muscovite despotism. When such manifestations are published in the Soviet press, it is not to offend the western readiness for peace but only to deepen just this crushing effect on the subjugated peoples. The custom of the Soviet press to comment appropriately on every new moral retreat of the West follows the same policy of compromising the Western Powers in the eyes of the enslaved peoples in the U.S.S.R., and to erect a moral Chinese wall against the West.

President Eisenhower's "Resolution of Liberty", wherein liberty, though only generally, was made the first principle, may have been meant as a kite. Becoming more concrete, only the so-called satellite states were spoken of, but not only in that form the resolution was to be the official platform. Sir Winston Churchill added the last straw by saying that he was only interested in the status quo and furthermore, that he wanted to release Moscow from its fear of the West. This speech presses heavily on the minds of our peoples and has left the impression that the principle of the right of peoples for self-determination was denied.

The priority of the policy of nationalities in the U.S.S.R. forces the present rulers in Moscow to tuck about constantly. It has a bearing on all the Muscovite jugglery on the international stage, whereas, significantly enough, Stalin's name has never been mentioned any more. He has obviously to be the scapegoat now. All the blame for the past is put on him, in order to evoke the illusion that the new masters were better men. That is the reason, again, why external changes on the façade were undertaken immediately after his death.

**Peoples of the Baltic Mourn  
and Warn**

*On June 15, the Baltic peoples — Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians — remember the occupation of their native country by the Russians in 1940 and of the mass deportations on June 15, 1941. On the occasion of this mournful commemoration, the Supreme Lithuanian Committee of the Liberation has issued a memorial, which runs:*

"Now that just these same Soviet leaders try to befool the western world with a peaceful tune on their shawms, it is a sacred duty for every Lithuanian not only to remind the people of the free world of the tragedy of the Lithuanian nation but to warn them, at the same time, that it was not only irresponsibly naive but also a severe crime towards mankind to believe in the deceptive allurements of the Muscovite Imperialists and totalitarians.

Deeply afflicted, we commemorate, to-day, the Soviet deportations on June, 14 and 15, 1941, in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, an atrocity unprecedented in the world's history for its cruelty. In those days and nights the myrmidons of the N.K.V.D. seized thousands of Baltic citizens and deported them in endless transports to Siberia. At the same time we remember the terrorism under which our nation has suffered ever since and is still suffering. We raise our voices and demand that the situation created by red imperialism behind the Iron Curtain and thus in the Baltic region, too, shall never be forgotten! We demand that neither by negotiations nor by concessions this state must be legitimated but, on the contrary, that all subjugated peoples shall be given back their freedom in order that they may be incorporated in the community of free democratic nations!"

the Communist Party in the Ukrainian S.S.R., Melnikov; the radical personal changes in the Georgian S.S.R.; the parallel events in Lithuania, which are all on the line of a "relaxation of Moscow's policy of nationalities" and are meant to blow sand into the peoples' eyes in order to appease their national revolutionary tendencies; all these things are telling proofs for the statement made. But as soon as the interior order is restored, the bolsheviks will certainly no longer hesitate to snatch at the Atlantic coast.

People in the Kremlin are aware that, if war should break out to-day, it will inevitably lead to a collapse of the bolshevik system; and that not under the shower of American bombs and tank missiles but rather by an internal decay evoked by the national revolutions for liberation. This is the solution of the riddle why the masters in Moscow show so conciliatory a spirit now, and pretend to be ready for several concessions in home and foreign affairs.

Just for that reason Beria purged, during the last months, the government of the non-

D. Donzow:

## When will the West Understand Russia?

Every political move by Russia is mistaken in the West. It was believed in the West, in 1945, that Russia's only aim was to have buffer states in Europe with friendly, non-aggressive tendencies. In reality, however, it wanted to dominate those states as its colonies.

It was believed, later on, that Russia wanted its satellites to be its political vassals — as Morocco and Tunisia were for France. It was found out, however, that Russia wanted to dominate them not only in a political but also in an economic, cultural, and political respect, and to introduce its own system in every sphere of public life. The West wanted a Chinese China, friendly to the West. Russia, however, wanted to dominate China as a communist Russian territory.

The West believed that Russia, after having been saturated by presents from the West, would aspire after peace, like the West. But Russia aspired after nothing but the PAX MOSCOVITICA — that is Russian world domination. The Western Powers, following their line, did everything possible to gain peace; Russia, in return, did everything possible to gain spring-boards for further conquest and domination.

The West intended to make use of the organization of the United Nations as an instrument of peace, Moscow, however, intended to dominate this instrument or to paralyze it by its Veto.

The Western Powers entered into diplomatic relations with Moscow in order to smooth and improve its political and economic relations with this eastern power. But Moscow wanted to use these relations as a lever, in order — by its Fifth Column — to ruin the west economically and demobilize and demoralize it politically and morally — and to dominate it afterwards.

The conclusions to be drawn from the present situation in the U.S.S.R. and its "peace offensives" are the following:

Threatened by rising national revolutions for liberation Moscow pretended changes in its political course to evoke the impression that since the death of the meanwhile defamed Stalin a turn has or, at least, will come about, expressing itself in seriously-meant mitigations in public life.

The West has missed the opportunity of interfering in the moment of a kindling insurrection of the subjugated peoples. Another chance has passed. Moscow's response to the conciliatory speech of Sir Winston Churchill was, in view of the planned Bermuda Conference, expressly arrogant. The final effect was that the West was again discredited in the eyes of the subjugated peoples.

General Eisenhower's becoming president, and his first steps, strengthened the moral front of the subjugated peoples, but now Moscow finds itself in the position of waiting and asserting that American policy, in spite of Mr. Dulles and other representatives of a new course, has fallen back on Mr. Truman's course.

Instead of strengthening its position and using the consolidation of the front of the subjugated peoples for weakening the U.S.S.R., the West has suffered severe losses in tactics and in prestige.

The armistice in Korea will destroy many a hope of the national liberation fighters for an energetic and consistent policy of the U.S.A. Even here bolshevism succeeded in throwing sand in the eyes of the West. It pretends, it is true, to strive for peace with the West. In reality, however, it only wants to extinguish the last small spark which might be able to inflame the will of the subjugated peoples to fight and to settle accounts with bolshevism finally. The Kremlin's sole aim is to bring a

The West sent its diplomats to several conferences with Stalin in order to bring an agreement about; the Russians, however, tried to gain at those conferences some Alger Hiss who was to dominate the allied delegation. And now, as the last straw, the Western Powers intend to enter into talks with Moscow, offering the present of all satellites and China in advance. Moscow's intention is — as it has been from the beginning — to disunite the Western Bloc, gradually, by cold or hot war, in order to dominate it the better. Moscow's aim in all these cases is to create a "new" world modelled on the Soviet pattern.

The aim of the West is prosperity, peace, trade, and a compromise with the U.S.S.R. — at any price, even at the price of a continuous growth of power of the Russian imperialism. The aim of the Kremlin is the continuous extension of the Russian domination over the countries, souls and bodies of the peoples of the world. As matters are, it is obvious that the western politicians cannot understand the Kremlin.

Once, at the time of Pitt and Wellington, of Clemenceau and Foch, the western European leaders had that "domineering spirit" which put their peoples in the way of breaking the arrogance of ambitious world conquerors. Are our present leaders in possession of that spirit, too?

The young Queen Elizabeth II said in her Christmas message: "Above all we must keep that courageous spirit of adventure that is the finest quality of youth", — of those young, brave peoples which love freedom more than peace and regard slavery as their hardest torture . . .

If the West does not return to that spirit its future will be dark.

small war to a temporary end, and, after the consolidation of the inner political situation, to seize the first opportunity to begin a new conflict of arms—there or elsewhere.

Just as the Soviets deceived Hitler by using inefficient troops and old weapons on the front in Finland, they try now to take in the West with the same falsehood, to induce it to compromise concessions, and by breaking down the front of the subjugated peoples, to frustrate any contacts and agreements of the latter with the West.

The rehabilitation of the Jewish doctors should, for the same reason, make the Malenkovs, Berias, Zhukovs, and so on, more agreeable in the eyes of the public, though there is not the slightest difference between them and Stalin. They had to kill two birds with one stone: first, to show that in the U.S.S.R. some things in reference to jurisdiction were thoroughly changed; and second, to give the Jews another chance of seceding from the U.S.A. and abandoning Israel.

By London's and partly Washington's following this Muscovite extratour, the internal position of the Kremlin rulers was strengthened. Thus they could risk making the "hangman of Ukraine", Nikita Khrushchev, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, and strengthening the position of the "purger of Ukraine", Kaganovich, as both these men are experts in Moscow's policy of nationalities.

Everything in the U.S.S.R. is adapted to the priority of the policy of nationalities, to which Malenkov's doves of peace belong, too. Let us recapitulate: the impulse at the bottom of all changes in the political course of the Soviet Union is not the Atlantic Pact Army, which only exists on paper till now, but the chief trouble of the present Soviet rulers, and that is the restraint of the desire for freedom among the subjugated peoples and the fears that national insurrections might occur.

## Revolts against Moscow . . .

Continued from Page 3

But that is not all. At the same time when the working masses in the Eastern Zone of Germany—as the outpost of freedom of the Russian despotism, went on mass strikes; let themselves be run over by Russian tanks or put in irons; the West had quite another trouble: the lives of the legally condemned atom spies Rosenberg were defended! Trade unions demonstrated, associations protested; ministers, representatives, and intellectuals pleaded for mercy for persons who had helped that despotism to gain the plans of atomic weapons which is going to present the same fate to all the world to-morrow from which the workers in Berlin tried desperately to defend themselves in these days.

But even in Bavaria, people would not stay behind. In the always very self-complacent Saturday's comment (June 20, 1953) of his, in one breath with a comment on the events in the Eastern Zone, the speaker found hearty words of sympathy for the—indeed, so inoffensive—couple Rosenberg who had to die "only" for their being convicted of espionage by their own relatives before all courts of American judicature! But even the other minds in Munich seemed more troubled, in these days, with the problem of Saturday's shop-closing than with the sacrifices in Berlin.

Thus, in all seriousness, the question for the standpoint of certain western circles and factors, forces itself on our minds. Are they true defenders of freedom against despotism or do they rather make use of west-democratic liberty in order to promote Moscow's work in the west under the management of obscure plot centres?

And, finally, if the corpses of those mass murderers of the sort of the Rosenbergs are even lying in state in Brooklyn that the bearers of Bolshevist world poisoning might have an opportunity to bow before them, we have reason enough to state in Hamlet's words: "There is something rotten" in the western world! Let us hope that the West will not die of this rot itself.

## Soviet Regime strengthens its Position

In compliance with Moscow's latest example the Ministries of State Security in all national republics of the U.S.S.R. were merged with the Ministries of Home Affairs, in the second half of April. At the same time new persons were appointed Ministers of Home Affairs.

Among the new appointments the following are worth mentioning: In the Ukrainian S.S.R., Pavlo J. Myeshik; in the Latvian S.S.R., Mykola K. Kovalchuk; in the Georgian S.S.R., W. G. Dekanosov; in the Karelian S.S.R., M. P. Husjev; in the Aserbaijani S.S.R., S. F. Emilyanov; in the Tadzhikistani S.S.R., D. K. Vyshnevsky; and in the Byelorussian S.S.R., V. Y. Baskakov.

In this connection it is remarkable that the newly appointed M.V.D. minister for Latvia, Kovalchuk, is the very same person that held the post of Minister of State Security in the Ukrainian S.S.R. after the Second World War and inspired the actions for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). This Kovalchuk granted, as the chief of the M.G.B., in December 1949, an amnesty for the soldiers of the U.P.A. and the members of the national Ukrainian Underground.

All the newly appointed ministers have proved themselves in the liquidation of the "national opposition" and the "deviators". They have the task to consolidate mercilessly Moscow's power in the non-Russian countries.



### Sword and spirit hand in hand

Nevertheless, they do not lose confidence or think of relinquishing their alliance with the western world. Their faith in the victory of the common ideals remains unshakeable. They greet with joy every piece of news which reaches them from the outer world, signifying confirmation and moral support. The arrival of new people from the western territories of Europe is a festive occasion for them, so is that of the members of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. which are for them the link binding the fighting homeland with the West.

They are filled with a truly ravenous hunger for literature from the European civilisation which will offer them spiritual weapons and prove that they do not stand alone. For not only in the military pool, but also in the founding of philosophical values, they see the guarantee of final victory. Out of this conviction they are developing a comprehensive system of national education among the population and even of propaganda work among the officers and soldiers of the Soviet Army. The contribution made by the Underground publicists, who stand side by side with the soldiers of the U.P.A. in the fiercest fight, can be seen from the following list of brochures published by them.

### A Wealth in Militant Literature

#### In the Year 1950:

"Suggestions for propaganda Action for the year 1950"; "Robert (Yaroslav Melnyk)"; "The massed armed struggle behind the Curzon Line"; "Colonel Hrehit-Rizun"; "Memoirs"; "To the Nation"; "Yurko Berezynsky"; "Captain Chernyk" "Our Struggle and the Cadre Problem"; "Towards Dissolution" — Journal for Youth for July 1950; "Toward the Great Ideal"; "For unity Monolit"; "Bolshevist Solution of the National Question"; "The Conception of an Independent Ukraine and the Basic Tendency of the Political Development of the Modern World" by P. Poltava; "Colonel Ivan Bohun"; "The Structure and Tactics of the O.U.N. for the Achievement of the Independent and United Ukrainian State (U.S.S.D.) are the only right ones"; "For What is the U.P.A. fighting?"; Journal of the "Information Bureau" of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) for March, 1950.

#### In the Year 1951:

"In an Epoch"; "Why are we for the Independent and United Ukrainian State (U.S.S.D.)"; "Our Plan for the Liberation of Ukraine under Present Conditions" by P. Poltava; "Virka"; "Bloody Years"; Journal of the "Information Bureau" of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) for March, 1951.

#### In the Year 1952:

"Report on Organization for the second half of 1951 to September 1952"; "Plan of General Organizational Work for Summer, 1952"; "Plan of Propaganda Work for the period June 15th — Sept. 30th, 1952"; "How we receive news of our people's reaction to our literature"; "Suggestions for the ideological-political work"; "Why and how protocols on conversations are to be written"; "Our Slogan-Liberty for Nations and Individuals"; "The Programme for Conspiratorial Training, No. 1"; "The Programme for Conspiratorial Training, No. 2"; "Instructions for the Celebrations of the U.P.A."; "Training in Organization"; "Jetons for 5 and 100 Karbovanci"; "Pamphlets for Youth"; "Two pamphlets for Peasants"; "The U.P.A. to the Ukrainians of the Eastern Province"; "The Ukrainian Partisans" by S. F. Khmel.

The almost superhuman struggle over there on the south-eastern bulwarks of our continent is, in a military, as well as spiritual, idealistic sense, a great saga of our century. May the West show itself worthy of the loyalty which is there being shown towards it in such an exemplary fashion. If not, future generations will have to shake their heads in condemnation of its lack of understanding!

## † Eternal Glory to the Fallen

In the liberation-struggle against the Russian occupiers for an independent Ukrainian state, the following liberation-fighters have died a hero's death:

**Petro Poltava.** In Winter 1952 U.P.A. Major P. Poltava, (only 35 years of age) fell in Ukraine in the fight against the Russian bolshevik occupants. He was Vice-Chairman of the Secretariat General of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), member of the chair of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), head of the political department of the Supreme Staff of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), head of the "Information Bureau U.H.V.R.", prominent fighter for freedom and an independent Ukraine, and a leading underground publicist in Ukraine. His works are as well known in Ukraine itself as among the Ukrainian emigrants.

**Bayrak,** Chairman of the Province Executive of the O.U.N. K.K., in Autumn, 1951;  
**Nechuy-Nechuyenko,** Commissioner for the direction of the Foreign Units of O.U.N., in Summer, 1951;

**Pomsta-Ternyk,** Sergeant in the U.P.A., leader of a company of the Communications Service of O.U.N., decorated with the Silver Cross for Service in the Field, 1st. class, in June 1951;

**Boyko,** Chairman of District Executive of O.U.N., in Spring, 1949;

**Nestor,** Chairman of District Executive of O.U.N., on Feb. 17th, 1950;

**Bohdan,** Chairman of District Executive of O.U.N., in Spring, 1950;

**Kobsar,** Reporter in Security Service, Autumn, 1952;

**Veres,** Sergeant in the U.P.A., September 1951;

**Berkut,** Sergeant in the U.P.A., Summer 1951;

**Sokil,** Sergeant in the U.P.A., Autumn, 1952;

**Myron,** Communications Service of O.U.N. in Ukraine, Autumn, 1952;

**Bohdan,** Communications Service of O.U.N. in Ukraine, Autumn, 1952;

**Ihor,** Leading member of the Communications Service of the Foreign Units of O.U.N., Autumn, 1952;

**Moros,** Soldier of the U.P.A. and Communications Service of the O.U.N., December 1951;

**Klen,** Soldier of district-company of Security Service, Autumn, 1952;

**Skory,** Soldier of district-company of O.U.N., Winter, 1950;

**Lastivka,** Soldier of district-company of O.U.N., Winter, 1950;

**Hayduk,** Soldier of district-company of O.U.N., Winter, 1950;

**Orest,** Soldier of district-company of Security Service, June 1951;

**Bersa,** Sergeant in U.P.A., member of Communications Service of O.U.N., Summer, 1951.

The heroic death of these liberation-fighters is a severe loss for the Ukrainian nation. But their spirit will live. That they sacrificed their lives for the liberation of their beloved home charges every Ukrainian patriot with the sacred obligation to strive indefatigably in his mind for the high target for which they died, until it is attained.

## Why a Plebiscite?

Some of the adherents of Russian imperialism make a great concession to the peoples enslaved in the U.S.S.R.: they grant the right of these peoples to decide by plebiscite whether or not they really detest the centuries-old Russian policy of extirpation to such a degree that they want to be separated.

I will not touch upon the question whether a free expression of will would be possible at all for the non-Russian nations after the consolidation of the "new" post-bolshevik Russia — Russian police and Russian army being in Ukraine and in the Caucasus, etc. I should only like to put some questions to all the plebiscite-adherents.

1. Why did they acknowledge the annexation of Chinese Manchuria by Russia *without plebiscite*?

2. Why did the Western Powers acknowledge and even carry out themselves the separation of Alsace from Germany and the annexation of West-Ukraine by Poland *without a plebiscite*?

3. Why did they acknowledge and carry out themselves the establishment of a number of new states out of the territory of the Habsburg monarchy (Bohemia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary) *without a plebiscite*?

4. Why did they acknowledge and further, then, the establishment of new states cut out of the body of the Ottoman empire, *without a plebiscite*?

5. Why did the United States acknowledge the independence of the former Spanish colonies, Cuba and the Philipines, in 1898, *without a plebiscite*?

6. And, finally, why did the colonies of Great Britain in North-America proclaim their independence, at the end of the 18th century, even *without a plebiscite*?

No more questions. We will receive no sensible answers anyhow. Omitting the examples of West Ukraine, East Prussia, the Oder-Neisse district and Manchuria, where the changes of nationality were certainly performed against the will of the population, we keep to those nations who separated from pre-war Austria, Turkey, Spain, and Great Britain (North-America, India). There was no plebiscite, as the population, either by its fight or by an otherwise hostile attitude towards the rulers, gave a clear proof of its will for an independent national life.

This same will was plainly proved by the Ukrainians and other peoples enslaved in the U.S.S.R. by struggle and bloodshed, and therefore these nations are not in need of this comedy of a plebiscite, especially not under the supervision of Russian or Russophile police.

It is quite comprehensible that the Russians propagate the plebiscite and the indivisibility of the monster empire; no robber will hand out his booty voluntarily. When, however, certain western politicians represent themselves as protectors of the Muscovite highway-robbers they must be prepared for the question whether they are patriots of a nation threatened by a monstrous empire or — Russian patriots. D. D.

## The State of Science in the U.S.S.R. (IV)

# Statistics in Theory and Practice

By Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn

If western people hear of Soviet statistics they immediately and involuntarily think of those forgeries of statistic data and collections accomplished with an amazing audacity and regardlessness, which have been published in the U.S.S.R. (respectively its satellite states) since the end of the twenties. This, however, has actually as little to do with statistic science as have real forgeries of bills with a theory on banking business. Crimes committed methodically do not constitute a scientific method and will never have any influence on it whatever — not to speak of the fact that, in order to be able to forge statistic reports “competently” and more or less credibly, one must have them. And the Soviet Government is, of course, — like every government in the world, — interested in statistic data of the greatest possible truth and accuracy for its own requirements and use. That accounts for the seeming paradox that, on the one side, the statistic publications in the Soviet Union contain more lies and conceal more facts every year but, on the other side, the statistic scientists even in the U.S.S.R. follow and develop the usual principles and methods of statistic research of all the world and did not until recently find themselves threatened by any “dialectic materialistic” demands whatever (in opposition to quite a series of other sciences). Some occasional eulogies on Stalin — which are obligatory in the U.S.S.R. — must not be regarded as a change in that. The same Muscovite academician W. Nemshinov who published an article about “Stalin’s share in the statistic theory” in 1940, asserts in his fundamental work “Agricultural statistics and Principles of the Common Theory” that “mass phenomena of different mark in nature and in all domains of social life are objects of statistics” and that “it is the task of scientific statistics to bring the qualitative peculiarities of the examined matter to light by appropriately chosen scales and summaries”. Any renunciation of scientific statistics, as managed in the West, was out of the question.

The more interesting is the abrupt turn in the beginning of 1950 and was, above all, officially and extremely brusquely proclaimed at a two days’ conference on “questions of methods” held by the Central Statistic Office of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow on February 20 and 21. The head of the said office, W. Starovskiy, for instance, declared frankly, that “the expansion of the statistic science and literature was hampered by injurious bourgeois influence and anti-Marxistic travesties”; and the main blame was put on a “school of formalistic mathematics which regards statistics as a universal science for the study of nature and society based only on the law of the great number and not on the Marxist-Leninistic theory”. As can be seen from conference reports as well as from official and semi-official articles published later on, statistics shall be, from now, on, exclusive social science, its task being “to assist in establishing a communist society” and with “the historical materialism and the communist national economic doctrine” being its theoretical basis.

As there is nothing in a totalitarian Soviet state, however, that is not bound to assist in “setting up communist society”; and as, on the other hand, even with best intentions, neither in the dialectic nor in the historic materialism can be found anything concrete in reference to the statistic method, the main stress of this new opinion lies on two prohibitions: firstly it is forbidden to designate those statistical methods applied outside the sphere of social appearances and processes as statistics any more, and secondly it is forbidden to apply purely mathematical theories, such as the theory of probabilities, within the “social” statistics. The first prohibition, to be sure, is a mere matter of terminology. No doubt, for instance, with tests at random for the examination of the quality of industrial products in the U.S.S.R. this same theory of probabilities will be applied even in future (as there is actually no substitute for it). They only will have to call it “mathematics” in future, instead of

“statistics”. This change of names has, of course, no sense in itself; it is a mere concomitant phenomenon of the second prohibition, which latter follows the purpose of keeping everything purely mathematic, and in particular the law of the great number, of the Marxist-Leninistic statistics as a “science of the quantitative changes of the historical, concrete, social phenomenon and processes — and that in principle: no social science must be tolerated which does not foot exclusively on the Marxist-Leninistic dogma.

Yet there is a condition of great consequence connected with it: One of the leading Soviet statisticians pointed out that “the analysis of statistic data can only be successful if the character of the appearance to be examined is known already... It is impossible, for instance, to know the nature of the socialistic way of production as well as the principal differences between this way and the capitalistic method of production, only by means of a quantitative analysis of the appropriate figures”. — We gladly believe that. It only means that the Soviets have finally seen

that their “socialist” propaganda cannot rely only on figures gained by means of statistic methods of research (however forged these figures may be!) — and therefore, all those methods of research have been thrown overboard. For, as soon as statistic science loses its right to ascertain the qualitative nature of mass appearances, by means of quantitative analysis (W. Nemshinov) that is to say, as soon as statistic science is no longer allowed to advance from the quantity to the quality of its object of examination, then it is degraded to a mere auxiliary science, which is not to find out but only to illustrate the social-economic relations in question: it does no longer explain anything, it does no longer ascertain anything, it only may illustrate what has been stated already by the Marxist-Leninistic economic doctrine. From the view-point of a totalitarian despotism, such “development” can only be regarded as perfectly consistent. That, however, neither Marx in his “Capital” nor Lenin in his “Development of Capitalism in Russia” would have been able to create these works on the basis of statistics held in tutelage in that way and being made an “ancilla oeconomicae politicae” — that is quite another question which, by the way, is nobody’s affair in the U.S.S.R. Did Lenin declare before the revolution that statistics were “a tool for the construction of a communist society” (that is to say, they might prove, being as they are, of some use for communist politics

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## After the Latest Election Comedy in Hungary

According to Lenin’s words, it is the nature of parliamentarism that, in certain intervals, it is decided which members of the ruling class are to oppress the people by parliament.

We could hardly find a more classic example referring to this than — and now really appropriate and in the right place — the new elections in Hungary which came to end on May 17, 1953, with 98,2% of all cast votes given for the so-called standard-list of the communist government.

The communist’s seizure of power took three years in Hungary. When in the first parliamentary elections after the war the party of small farmers obtained 56% of all votes cast, and the socialists and communists held the second place with 17% each, the Communist Party secured for itself the post of the Deputy Prime Minister and the most important key-position in the State, the Ministry of the Interior. The next step of the communists was to split the opposition by defaming the right wing of the small farmers’ party as reactionary and coercing the expulsion of 24 representatives from the party. Subsequently leading circles of this party were charged with having prepared a plot against the existing state order: the Secretary General of the party and one minister, who was at the same time a leading party member, were arrested. The communists made use of the confusion in the camps of the opposition parties and organized new elections.

As the bloc of the left-wing parties gained, by fraud, the absolute majority, it was easy for the communists to put their people in all influential positions of the state and the government.

### The End of the “Salami-Tactics”

The Hungarian communist dictator, Rakosi, called this step-by-step tactics of the seizure of power “Salami-tactics”. It works like a butcher who cuts off one slice after the other until, in the end, the whole sausage is gone.

In this May the legislature period of the Hungarian National assembly expired and new elections were proscribed by the government for May 17, with the law of election adapted to the latest development, of course. It goes without saying that this law did not admit of a participation of oppositional groups but granted only the mass organizations under communistic control, such as the trade union, women’s association, etc., some say in the election of the candidates. The minimum age for constituents was again reduced. Just as in 1949, only a single list was put up — that of the “Independent People’s Front”.

The list of the candidates of the people’s front showed a number of new names in the 20 constituencies of the nation. As the number of the seats

in parliament was reduced from 402 to 298, many of the representatives, who had not satisfied expectations, had to resign from standing for parliament again.

As in all elections in people’s democracies, in this case, too, the result was an understood thing: a parliament was elected again which was as devoted to the present despots in Budapest as was the previous one.

### Five Years’ Plan — Propaganda in Spite of Famine

It is customary in people’s republics to use elections only for propagandistic purposes. The by-gone election in Hungary was to propagate the request for more work and more intensive work. The electoral manifesto of the People’s Front urges on to stricter work discipline, increase of production, economy, and work contests on the occasion of the election. The manifesto says literally: “The election shall be a plebiscite for the successful performance of the Five-Years’ Plan.”

All speeches in the election meetings dealt with this subject. They make it plain that Hungarian economy has to fight great difficulties which is — and to no small extent — a consequence of the lacking will of the masses of the discontented. In addition to this, the situation in food supply has become so critical, above all in the country, that the government (though Hungary was once an export country for fat pigs) has decided to import frozen meat from abroad in order to prevent famine in certain rural districts.

In response to the growing discontent about the insufficient food supply, the government has recently cut the prices of some food-stuffs. In spite of these reductions, however, the prices for food are still 50 to 300% higher than last year.

Hungary had a poor harvest last year. The authorities declared that the severe drought was the reason. It was asserted, however, at the same time, that the great farmers had not worked in the right way. The real reason for this disaster is the disorganization of agriculture by the communist agrarian policy. The large estates, it is true, have been socialised but without sufficiently trained experts.

The government in Budapest has already, on the occasion of the election, decided on a temporary stop of the collectivization of agriculture and to leave the peasants in the possession of their property, at least for the near future. According to the new ordinance of April 4, 1953, penal deliveries as well as retrospective indemnifications of farmers, have been cancelled. This means practically a considerable restriction of the measures for collectivization in the near future.

Prince Niko Nakashidze:

## Our Independence — *Conditio Sine Qua Non!*

(Some remarks on the action of the "American Committee")

"The American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism" was founded to support the peoples enslaved in the Soviet Union in their fight against Muscovite despotism. It took its rise from private initiative and is well-meaningly supported by the competent official authority.

It is its aim to unite all political organizations of the Russian and non-Russian people in order to wage that fight in common.

From the very beginning, the activity of this committee evoked sharp conflicts among the emigrants. It was clear that the Americans, starting from mistaken premises, had adopted a thoroughly erroneous conception, that did not comply with the historical facts and disregarded the realities of life.

In the following we will, once more, point out the principal errors of the American conception and show forth the real facts.

This committee was previously called "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". That such denotation was geographically, ethnically, and, consequently, also politically wrong and inadmissible, has dawned even on the Americans meanwhile. This denotation was not only misleading but constituted a downright degradation of our peoples to minorities and that means dishonour. Thus not only surprise but also, as a natural reaction, indignation was evoked, which was certainly not to the best of the cause.

The association set up by the American Committee and shortly called K.Z.A.B., is, according to its statutes, a union of "democratic organizations" in emigration. With that its titles and authorities are closely limited as those of a *community of private interests*, its task being propagandistic activity in the domain of psychological warfare. Therefore, no agreements made and no liabilities accepted by this association can be obligatory for any of our peoples. The Russian organizations are purely formations of emigrants without any root in their home countries. Among them there is a sham organization without any adherents worth mentioning, under the leadership of Mr. Kerenski who passes as a great failure in history. His parliament was, in 1917, driven asunder by his own people and he himself was expelled. But now he behaves so pathetically and audaciously that he kills the nerves even of the Russians.

The Americans think they have to pay regard to the Russians who are still possessed by the phantom of a great empire and have not become aware of, or have deliberately overlooked, the great revolutions in the world and in the lives of many peoples.

On what are the claims of the non-Russian

With regard to the elections and to the severe situation in food supply, the farmers are granted another respite.

### Only Six Percent of the Population are Communists!

From the viewpoint of the western democracies these latest Hungarian elections are regarded as a comedy with tragic consequences for the Hungarian people. The actual mood in Hungary is so — according to the description of western diplomats living in Budapest — that in the case of free and secret elections the present regime would not even obtain 6 percent of all votes; in spite of all this, great disappointment has spread in consideration of the situation of the Hungarian people. After the great victory of the Republicans, the population hoped for a quick intervention by the United States. These secret hopes were considerably strengthened by Stalin's death. Many months have passed since but nothing has happened... In fact, in Western Europe an agreement with the Soviet Union at the cost of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain is more and more under consideration. All the hopes begin to turn into bitterness and the western world is condemned as a "selfish traitor" to Eastern Europe and would, following this way, advance to his own doom. (—\$\$\$—)

peoples on the restoration of their national authority based, and why is this for us, i. e. the representatives of these peoples in the free world, a *conditio sine qua non?*

As we all know, the old tsarist empire was built up by the conquests of foreign countries and the subjugation of foreign peoples. These peoples then pressed into the Russian empire had century-old states of their own which they were deprived of by brutal force. After the collapse of the tsarist empire, these people separated from Russia and re-established their own democratic states by national revolution.

Bolshevism won the victory only in Russia and only there it got the power in hand. There was a Russian state, then — R.S.F.S.R. — Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, that is Russia in itself. It was this Russia which, in the time to follow, conquered in its superior force, all the

### Ex Russia Lux

A progressive Soviet scientist succeeded in unmasking another lie of the Anglo-American travelers of history. In a broadcast of radio Moscow the young Soviet art historian Sotin has declared recently that it was not the American Edison but the Russian electro-engineer Alexander Nikolayevich Lodygin who invented the modern electric incandescent bulb. As early as 1873—that is six years before Edison applied for his patent—the Russian Lodygin produced his invention in public in Petersburg. Upon that he was rewarded by the Russian Academy of Sciences with the Lomonosov prize. (By a Russian of the name Hotinsky.) Lodygin's invention was taken to America in 1877. From him Edison learned all details of this bulb; he constructed it and "gave it out as an invention of his own".

Thus the Russians have not only invented the current cut but also the first electric incandescent bulb.

As we have learned from competent sources, Sotin has bound himself to prove, in the course of the current year, that the printing-press was not invented by Gutenberg (died in 1468) but 100 years earlier by the great Russian scientist Ivan Nikolayevich Nyechnikov.

nations that had become free, and deprived their peoples of their liberty.

With the re-establishment of their states, which was a legal act of creating subjects of international law, the interests of these nations became an international question. These are irrefutable, historical facts. We, the representatives of these peoples, are commissioned to win the public opinion over to our just national cause and to regain our freedom by assistance of the civilized world.

All these things the Americans must understand and take into account. Any attempts at finding some formulations to postpone these demands or to escape them under the pretence of "leaving the decision on the future arrangement of their lives to the peoples themselves" will fail and will not only lead to nonsuccess but also deeply shake the confidence of these peoples in the Americans.

When N. Jordania, the late President of Georgia who died in Paris this year, read, in 1918, as the leader of the Social-Democratic Party (the strongest party in Georgia) the declaration of independence in the name of all Georgians, he ended up: "When we step up to the world now, and we are asked, "What do you bring along with you?" then we will answer: "a more than two thousand years' history of a Christian civilized people".

This was the sincere belief of an honest democrat in the humane and democratic attitude of the civilized world. Meanwhile, however, he had perceived how erring this faith was, and his memoirs testify the deep disappointment with which he parted from life on earth.

We know pretty well that historical factors

alone are not decisive for the free world but that legal, and economic considerations and, first and foremost, state-political appropriateness play an important figure. Therefore, we will not appeal to the feelings of the free world but keep to the real-political conditions.

Under § 30 of the Soviet constitution the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics is "a Federal State based on the voluntary union of social republics with equal rights". Consequently, each member of the "Union" is a state in itself and it should be presumed that he has entered the union voluntarily. That this is not true in reality, that they are treated as mere dummy states, this is a question which shall not be considered in this connection. It is alone decisive that the members of the union are states of equal rights according to the constitution. They even hold — theoretically — all attributes of a state: legislative power, parliament, executive power, government, and the right to set up a budget.

The constitutional law is not often applied in practice, though, but that does not mean to say that the constitution has no validity whatever.

### The Situation in International Law

With respect to international law, the non-Russian states of the Soviet Union are in the same position as the other nations subjected by the Soviets: Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, etc. The emigrants of these peoples, their exile representatives and their national-political organization ought to be the legitimated representations of these nations, as were those from Belgium, Norway, the Netherlands, etc., during the German occupation of their countries.

The Russian emigrants, however, are political emigrants, who were forced by inner-political revolution to go abroad. They are not entitled to enter into any agreements and have not the legitimation of a national representation.

Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia have been admitted to the U.N. and have therefore been recognized by all nations of the civilized world as autonomous states. By this conclusive act of the United Nations all the other members of the Soviet Union have been recognized as autonomous states, too. That is to say that these states, with respect to international law, must not be treated otherwise than, for instance, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan and other Commonwealth members.

Like all these nations, the members of the Soviet Union, too, have the right of secession from the union. This fact must be particularly stressed, as formal legal conditions and considerations appear to be of great importance for western diplomats.

Furthermore, if the Soviet rule collapses one day, whatever the reasons may be, the union ceases to exist and its members are free from all commitments. Then the members withdraw from the union automatically. To acknowledge these facts is no unfriendly act towards Russia as, according to the Soviet constitution — as mentioned above — all states are voluntary members of the union and, as such, are free to determine.

An encroachment or intervention into the affairs of a foreign state is also out of the question as the point is only the confirmation and recognition of certain facts and conditions in national and international law.

Why should the right to re-establish their states only be admitted for those peoples who were occupied, for instance, only after 1939? Which human and democratic principles do these limitations meet? Since when has it been that the right of men and peoples are subject to terms of prescription? And by whom are these terms determined?

We live in an era of national liberation. And our nations have at least the same title to self-determination as Israel, Libya, and Liberia. Only the idea of national freedom can inspire the peoples to fight. They gladly renounce purely philanthropic assistance.

The problem of the nations subjugated by Moscow is the central problem of world politics. There will be no peace in the world until it is solved.

The Americans must see that and must grant the same rights to our peoples which even the smallest peoples of the world have enjoyed for a long time now and which we claim also for us.

Not to recognize that would be a slap in the face for all the principles of the civilized world.

# U.S.S.R.

## "Socialist Home" or Dungeon of Nations

When, to-day, the Soviet state is spoken of as a political phenomenon and factor in the world situation, the satellites, without doubt, must be included. The countries and peoples of the whole Soviet range of power, totally co-ordinated, are all dependent upon Moscow as the only real metropolis and forced equally to serve the Soviet Russian potential, without regard to the question whether or not they are situated within the frontiers of the so-called "Soviet Union". The Hungarian or Rumanian People's Republic, for instance has, to-day, no more national "independence" than the Ukrainian or Georgian "Socialist Soviet Republic", which latter, in their turn, hold no less formal attributes of a fictitious independence than the whole series of the present Soviet satellite states.

This statement discloses the essential problem of the Soviet Cosmopolis which lies in the question: Is the Soviet state a real union of peoples of equal rights united in service for a social ideal or is it rather an unlimited imperialistic ruling system based on the oppressing and combatting of nationalism? If this is true — who is oppressing and for what purpose? Is the obliteration of the national spirit in itself the aim — perhaps as it is regarded as an obstacle in the way of creating a higher international system of society for the common weal of the nations of the Soviet world? Or are, in the said world, the peoples rather categorized and driven under the motto: *Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi*? The answer to this question leads to consequences of the greatest bearing and that not only for the theoretical illumination of the problem but, above all, for its solution on a practical political basis.

When the well-known Russian scholar and philosopher *Berdayeff* set up the thesis that Bolshevism was, in reality, nothing but a modification of the Russian imperialism of old, this assertion of his might have been regarded by some people as being rash or exaggerated. Many were still dazzled by the sun of "Social world revolution" in Moscow which was to bring "peace on earth" and "welfare" to all people.

During the revolutionary confusion 1917—1921, it is true, the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union gave an ample proof of their national will for independence and, for a short period, under the motto "Free From Moscow" they even gained by fighting some national states of their own which, however, were soon defeated and conquered, one after the other, by bolshevik armies. Yet there was not much tendency in the West to attribute particular importance to these "episodes" and people afterwards became accustomed to the idea of a "united" Soviet Union with all the other "Russian" peoples, — according to the western view — tightly gathered around the Russian core and even devoted to their common "socialist home" by virtue of a new "Soviet patriotism". It is true that within twenty years after the first world war riots and insurrections were continuously heard of, now in Ukraine and now in Georgia or Turkistan or elsewhere; but the people in the West were inclined to construe those events as a mere discontent with the political regime and as resistance against the bolshevik system, without pondering much about the deeper relations and the national component of those appearances. Even a famine systematically brought about in Ukraine which cost the lives of millions of Ukrainian farmers and citizens, and aimed at reducing the "obstinate" Ukrainian forty millions, did not touch the world public and the rigid superficial attitude of the West towards the problem "Soviet Russia"...

As a matter of fact, it cannot be denied that in their first period of government the Soviets in Moscow, in the policy of nationalities, passed themselves off as wolves in sheep's clothing by combatting national tendencies only as "capitalistic and reactionary" but carefully avoiding favouring the Russians openly or overstressing Russian nationalism. Moscow gave itself the air of a sorrowful mother whose only care it was to teach the other peoples of the Soviet Union concord and love to their "elder Russian brother". According to the Soviet constitution these "younger brothers"

got their "Independent Socialist Republics" and were even endowed with the right to secede from the union though, in practice, not without Moscow's consent. How ready Moscow was to give this consent we could learn now from the example of Tito's Yugoslavia and even better from the fate of the German Eastern Zone where Moscow strikes its claws deeper and deeper without the slightest token that this might be changed in peace and harmony.

In fact, the Second World War had to come first and all that the Kremlin subsequently offered to the world, to unmask its true face and to make the character of the Soviet state plain to the world. Even the blind must see now that it is a Janus-head, with two faces, one showing bolshevism and the other Russian imperialism. Even during the war the Soviet despots did not hesitate to write Russian nationalism on their banner and to bring up Russian chauvinism, by making use of the traditional Russian messianism for the catchword of a "proletarian world revo-

lution" and a socialist society and — vice versa — using these "ideals" for the inflation of a boundless Russian imperialism. This was the result of a development which had gradually come up in the Soviet Union as early as the thirties and about which the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. and in particular their national élite, can tell a tale. The bolsheviks, it is true, try at times to moderate any too harsh impression of their chauvinistic Russian policy by tried dialectic methods and then, as recently, they loudly blow a deceptive tune of a new "Soviet patriotism" but the mad Russian world imperialism is unmistakably lying in wait in the background, as the motive force. And now even the Baltic nations, the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, and, last but not least, the Germans in the Eastern Zone, had to experience the blessing of "deliverance" by the Soviets until, at last, the world became aware of what was actually happening behind the scenes in Moscow and what the Soviet policy of aggression was really about.

Throughout the Soviet sphere of domination the same song is heard at present: the glorification of Russiandom in all possible variations but always combined, now openly and now veiled, with the motto of the "unshakable friendship and loyalty to Moscow and the great Russian

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## Side-Lights

### Where Politicians Err . . .

"The happy days of Aranjuez have come to an end!" the English politician may say — like Schiller's Don Carlos — since the celebrations of the coronation have died away, and the millions of cheers of an exulting crowd had to yield to the requirements of every day life.

We gladly believe that it was a necessity of the English people's heart to show their hereditary dynasty all their love and constancy on this occasion, and that the competent personages fulfilled with particular zeal their chivalrous duty to arrange the day of honour of a young queen with all devotion possible. But there is no doubt, either, that the harnessing of press, radio, and television, with their world-wide range, served an unequivocal, political purpose: the manifestation of the inner strength and unity of the Commonwealth and its successful idea. From this Mount-Everest summit of management it was possible, for some time, to eclipse the gloom of foreign-political chasms by the splendour of a queen's crown.

### British Position in Near East Endangered

The Hydra of obstinate problems, however, is still hissing with all its heads against the island realm. It was not only for Great Britain's threatening difficulties in the Suez-Canal-Zone and in British-Central-Africa that the American State Secretary John Foster Dulles had an eye on the Near and Middle East, but, first and foremost, the festering wound in Teheran. The point, there, is not the race for the Iranian oil but the divergence of the political opinion of Great Britain and America which appears to turn out, in the end, as a contest of the powers of influence.

On this occasion it must be inserted that the decisive factor on the eastern front of the cold war against Russia is Persia. If Persia becomes communistic, not only the Iranian oil wells would fall into the Soviets' hands but those of Iraq and Saudi-Arabia as well . . . Moreover, Moscow would be put in the way of threatening, by navy and air-force, all the western lines of communication with South- and East-Asia directly.

The United States take Mossadeq for the strongest protection against bolshevism whereas the English put their eggs, in case that Mossadeq should be thrown over, in the basket of the younger forces within the nationalistic movement. The American embassy in Teheran, in its turn, is, in that case, afraid of a co-operation between the powerful Mullah Ayatollah el Kashani with the communist Tudeh-party.

All that and the fact that all the Arabian peoples seem to dislike the colonial policy of Great Britain and its unfortunate treatment of

the Palestine problem more than communism, induced Mr. Dulles to declare in his report that the United States must do everything within their power to save these nations from China's fate. That means, translated from the language of diplomacy into plain English, that Washington begins to think of considerable restrictions of England's liberty in dealing with Orient problems.

It appears more than dubious whether the emphasized homage of the Commonwealth members in London will suffice to dispose of the Arabian misgivings and so avoid the United States taking the question in their own hands.

### Sir Winston Churchill's Shocking Speech

Sir Winston Churchill's "Locarno" speech was little suited to disentangle the threads of European politics. As a blow against the Kremlin it was an absolute failure. And in most nations of our continent it left an extremely bitter after-taste. Apart from all other facts this speech reveals an Anglo-American rivalry which will, by no means, promote the common struggle against bolshevism. In opposition to the United States, where Mr. Dulles above all others advocates the idea of a psychological crusade against world communism (the sacrifices brought for Europe would otherwise be unhearable), Churchill, whom Stalin once called his "old war-horse", aspires to the leading role in a hyper-democratic readiness for agreement and compromise towards the bolshevik world enemy No. 1. The Zurich newspaper "Die Tat" hints of the consequences which this policy might lead to, by writing: . . . "the latent alarm is so much the greater as it was clearly understood that a new Locarno, whatever it might be, may lead to the neutralization of Germany — of the whole of Germany — *in one form or other*" (that is to say, even under the communist S.E.D.-government — Ed.). Opening the Soviets a bridge towards the Atlantic in this way would render an extremely bad service even to England and her young queen who has raised Churchill to the rank of a knight just recently! —

### Battue Shooting for Senator Taft

As France, in consequence of its permanent governmental crises, is acting again as a mute in the world political play, we may restrict ourselves to some remarks on the real sense of the Congress speech of Senator Taft's which has been distorted and mistaken so often.

The point is by no means an "isolationist" aspiration as certain people want to impute. The senator himself has categorically denied any such intentions and, furthermore, proved the clear sight of a statesman far from any quaint tendencies whatever, by his proposing the conclusion of a Pacific Treaty with Great Britain. Accordingly, his conception does not aim at the retreat of American politics behind the American fron-

# For Undivided Peace

By Bulaq Bashi

## Discord, thy Name is Bolshevism!

If one endeavours to discover the roots of the world's discord, one will find them not only in the wars that were fought by millions of soldiers with tanks and aeroplanes, but in Russian communism and its imperialistic regime. It may even be asserted that it is this system that is the source of all the wars that were fought in the last decades.

Speaking of war we do not get at the root of things if we only speak of military fronts; we may safely say that we find war wherever communism rules. This kind of war appears in bolshevist terrorism, it being a communist doctrine that a fight should be put up against all enemies at home and abroad. That is why bolshevism is in the truest sense of the word the destroyer of all the most important values of the human soul, the destroyer of peace. It is communism that kindles the fire and makes enemies of friends. It can be seen again and again that countries ruled or undermined by communism have lost their peace forever. On the other hand it may be seen that those countries in which communism has never existed or where it was defeated, people lead a happy and peaceful life.

It would be an illusion to think that peace could ever reign in the lives of peoples or individuals in the U.S.S.R. or its satellites. The peoples that have lived under Soviet rule for 36 years, are every day exposed to communist terrorism. Their freedom is trampled upon by the Kremlin and discord has become master. If we compare the daily life of men living under the Soviets with that of members of belligerents of the western sphere, we may notice that the former enjoy still much less freedom than the latter, who are living in constant fear of terror and the danger to their lives and souls which is growing from day to day.

Soldiers at the front, for example, try to protect themselves from bullets and shells. Their parents and relatives are anxious about their sons and pray that they will return safe and sound. At the same time they themselves are in danger from air-raids. But these dangers, terrible though they may be, are not permanent as those in countries living under Soviet rule, especially the so-called "National Soviet Republics".

tiers hut, just the contrary, at the extension of the western defence into the endangered sphere of East Asia.

The much blamed allusion that Europe must possibly be able, one day, to defend itself, must not be taken for a threat without premise, but it was preceded by the statement that it was high time for Europe to contribute its share to the fight against the arch-enemy of mankind. In order to bring about a true fighting community with the other free nations, immense sums from the pockets of the American tax-payer were put at the disposal of the European Recovery Programme and the improval of the European defence potential.

This is just what the American State Secretary, who is sure to be beyond all suspicions of isolationism, expressed unmistakably on his trip in Europe.

It is deeply regrettable and by no means a glorious record in the annals of history that responsible statesmen must be warned repeatedly to keep to the principles of relations in good faith. And that in particular as nothing less is at stake than the existence of their nations. What are, under such aspects, hollow phrases as additional protocols, questions of procedure, forms of organization, and so on, and so on, if every day lost by such red-tapism might bring us nearer to our doom!

Things which even gods strive against in vain we will not impute to competent politicians. All the more does it rest with them to save the nations entrusted to their guard from the terrible end in the jaws of the bolshevik Moloch, and not to refuse carelessly the helping hand offered to them! For their own fate is tightly bound with the fate of their nations! G. H.

These peoples live in permanent fear and trembling for their dependents doing forced labour in Siberia or imprisoned in concentration camps, and they hope to see them again. On the other hand they themselves live in permanent danger, for, as "nationalists", "capitalists", "enemies to the people", they are constantly exposed to every suspicion and persecution possible. When belligerent nations have to bear psychological loads and destruction in the economic and social domain, as well as that loss of life due to warfare — people living under Soviet rule have now for 36 years had to suffer these pressing loads permanently. The soldiers at the front have the possibility of defending themselves against the enemy and to choose a favourable time for attack; besides that they have arms. Peoples living under Soviet terrorism have nothing left but their pure conscience, their faith, and their national ideals. But for that they are helplessly exposed to any terrorism.

It is a real insult that, while those people have to live their lives in such disquiet, the Soviets assert that the Kremlin alone is the "source of peace".

The true answer is the communist slogan: "Stalin's peace." It would contradict all logic to connect peace with the name of Stalin; for all the misfortune dealt to the peace-loving nations is inextricably bound to him. Under this name entire peoples and nations formerly existing as such, have disappeared. These things are unprecedented in the wars of our era; Stalin alone and the communist system were able to accomplish it. Thus the underlying purpose of the Soviets' "peace slogans" is nothing but the desire to enslave the people under Soviet rule even more and to fetter the free nations with bondage. The demagogic trick at the "peace demonstrations" in Stockholm, where signatures were collected from millions of inexperienced and naive men, had the purpose, again, of bringing communist discord among them.

It is the aim of the communist doctrine to incite friends and neighbours against each other and to sow suspicion amongst them. Mutual suspicion, however, is the root of all hostility. When a communist statesman utters the word "peace" he is only abusing it for propagandistic and tactical purposes. Can one believe it when the same persons make the propagandistic assertion that the communist system could live peacefully side by side with the free world, though the actions of the Soviet leaders are well known?

## The Only Salvation — the Overthrow of Communism

Stalin is the man who talked most about this "peace" and it was he who sabotaged it in practice. Malenkov is blowing the same tune today. What can he do in practice? Can he renounce communist doctrine? Is not communist doctrine based on causing discord?

True peace is only possible amongst free men and nations. The free democratic world endeavours to take measures to defend and protect this treasured blessing. It endeavours to maintain peace by all means. Therefore, it takes all measures to avoid a new war. But this alone is not enough!

If the totalitarian communist regime is preserved, and one third of mankind goes on living in a state of disquiet, one can not, in the word's truest sense, speak of the creation of peace. Whoever thinks of divided peace, is mistaken. Divided peace causes discord everywhere. If discord is preserved in one part of the world, it will spread all over the globe. The peace of the world will only be secured by the liberation of all nations living under the bolshevik regime. These nations are continuously fighting for their freedom. This fight for freedom is not only a matter of their own national independence but serves the peace of the whole of mankind. It is an international problem of concern to everyone and, therefore, it must be supported by all the free nations.

*Peace is indivisible!*

*Divided peace is no peace!*

## "Bulgarian Thermopylae"

A Memorial Festival in Munich

The "All-Bulgarian Cultural and Social Association" which was formed at the beginning of the year in Munich and is to unite all Bulgarian emigrants in the German Federal Republic on a cultural level above party lines, held a commemoration in the Festival Hall of the Bavarian Ministry of Economy in Munich on June 7, 1953, on the occasion of the anniversary of the heroic death of the great Bulgarian writer and national revolutionary, Christo Botjoff, and his comrades, 78 years ago, in an unequal fight against the alien oppressors of his native country.

After the opening speech of the president of the association, Mr. Alexander Tabakoff, Secretary P. Gransharoff read a vivid lecture appreciating impressively Botjoff's personality and work even with reference to our present times.

Some passages of that lecture run: "This phenomenon is almost unparalleled. Botjoff is the most popular writer of "Bulgariandom" and, at the same time, the legendary champion for freedom of that people . . . There are not more than twenty ballads of this highly gifted son of Bulgaria left, but his verses are of such poetical power as is seldom reached in world literature. Botjoff was not a poet of contemplation. His native country was in terrible distress, then, just as to-day. Botjoff's songs are nothing but the inciting sound of fanfares, calling to fight and sacrifice. He fought, however, not only by his pen but at the same time even with a sword. His songs were as glorious as the end of his life, sealed by his self-sacrifice on the legendary mount "Wola" in northwest-Bulgaria. . . . He and his comrades knew they were dead men when they entered into a hopeless fight in order to awake the conscience of the free world by their sacrifices. . . . As long as Bulgarians live and the voices of our forefathers have not ceased to sound, Botjoff's name will be a symbol for every Bulgarian. . . . For all the Bulgarians on both sides of the Iron Curtain, Botjoff and his memory is a pledge for the liberation of their home tomorrow. . . . In present times, men like Botjoff do not only belong to their own people. Their work and names shine as bright leading stars for the crusade of freedom in our gloomy times."

After this lecture, which was framed by music, the representatives of the other subjugated peoples held speeches of salutation. The former Prime Minister of independent Ukraine, and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Mr. Yaroslov Stejko, opened the series of impressive salutation speeches with the statement: "It is a good idea, just in present times, to remember the ever memorable tradition of the Bulgarian Thermopylae, where Christo Botjoff and his heroic comrades fell so honourably. In an epoch of doubt, of the depreciation of values, it is well-timed to remember the glorious defenders of noble ideas and everlasting values — patriotism, social justice, freedom, and honour. Botjoff is just one of those outstanding personalities who have formed the history of their peoples. A man of faith, an man of deep thoughts and national pride, a man of action — the bravest of the brave. . . . If such deep faith, if Botjoff's fanaticism, his boundless readiness for sacrifices, his uncompromising attitude and idealism, were held by all people in the Western World, neither in Berlin, nor in Peking or Sofia could the despots do what they like . . ."

Enthusiastic applause accompanied also the speeches of the other national representatives, who were: the former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic, Prof. F. Durcansky, the representative of Georgia, Prince N. Nakashidze, whose speech was several times interrupted by applause, the representative of non-German refugees, Prof. Pirkmeier, the Croatian representative, Dr. St. Buc, and the representative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Mag. Benzal.

Prof. Dr. h. c. Washchenko:

## Psychology in the Soviet Union

Continued from No. 5/6

At the beginning of the 20th century, even before the October Revolution, psychologists and particularly pedagogues were deeply interested in child-psychology.

This is confirmed by numbers of works translated from foreign languages, which deal with this branch of psychology.

Of the Russian psychologists, it was Leshaft, Rossolimo, and Blonsky, who worked upon the problems of child-psychology. Up to 1936, the majority of the Soviet scholars deemed child-psychology a part of pedagogics. Blonsky in the R.S.F.S.R. and Zaluzhny in Ukraine studied a great many pedagogical problems. The latter examined especially child-collectives which he classified into the following groups: long enduring and short enduring, organized and spontaneous, simple and complicated. These classifications were of a merely outward and mechanical character and corresponded entirely to the spirit of reflexology.

### Marxistic Coordination

The struggle against reflexology and other so-called non-Marxist movements began in 1930. Reflexologists, reactologists, adherents of the theory of the cultural development of higher psychic functions were charged, in a series of discussions, with adulterating the Marxist doctrine about man, with mechanizing, with eclecticism, with infiltrating bourgeois views into the Soviet science. The reflexologists made no attempts at defending themselves, but simply "repented" of their errors.

Pedology remained undisturbed at first, until July 4, 1936, when it was brought to an end by the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party concerning "Pedagogical adulterations in the system of the 'Narkom' (People's Commissar, Ed.) for people's education".

The pedologists were recommended to accommodate themselves to pedagogics. Some of them were arrested and transported. It was proclaimed that there were no untalented children but only careless and untalented pedagogues. Thereby the latter were put into a very difficult situation. As the pedagogues had to answer for bad results among their pupils, they often found themselves forced to evaluate the works of their pupils undeservedly high. This is the end of the first chapter in the history of Soviet psychology. The Soviet psychologists endeavoured to improve Marxist psychology on the basis of the so-called dialectic materialism, harnessing to this end the achievements of pre-revolutionary psychology and philosophy as well as the results of Western psychology.

In 1936 a new period begins in the evolution of Soviet psychology. The most prominent feature of this period is that, from now on, the direction of science and pedagogic work rests completely with the Communist Party. For scientists, not the least deviation from the "general line" is possible. In the course of 20 years the party leaders of science and education, and even the scientists in the U.S.S.R., made themselves more or less acquainted with the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and for that reason their views are becoming the starting-point and sign-post for the psychologists.

### Communism is the General Line

The Soviet psychologists assumed a deeply suspicious attitude towards western science. Kornilov gave words to it by writing: "The psychologists should remember Lenin's words that we ought to be extremely critical of the bourgeois heritage and should make use of it only in so far as it may be helpful in creating a system of Marxist psychology. Soviet psychologists should wage war on two sides: on one side against idealism and on the other side against mechanism. Psychology is going to be devoured by a wave of vitalism, mysticism, and irrationalism. The instinct, coming up from the depths of organism (Bergson)

and the "vital force" of MacDougall impede the intellect. The emphasis is then shifted from higher processes moulded by history to pre-historic, primitive "depths", from consciousness to unconsciousness, that is, instinct.

Now — what is Soviet psychology and what are its achievements? After 1936 three relatively voluminous textbooks were published in the U.S.S.R.: Kornilov and Rubinstein (1940) in Russian and Kostyuk in Ukrainian (1939). The most voluminous work of these is that of Rubinstein: "The fundamentals of General Psychology" with 596 large-size pages. Judged from the sources used and the accuracy of the treatment of the psychological problems, this course is the best founded. Besides this, however, one cannot find any essential difference in the contents of these works. The authors endeavour with all their might to stick to the "general line of the communist party" and for solving psychological problems they all start from the views of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

### Degradation to Byzantinism

Finally it must be pointed out that, in the courses of instruction in Soviet psychology, many eulogies are sung to the honour of the founders of Marxism and Leninism as well as the social system in the U.S.S.R. Especially with Kornilov we find a number of them. For example: "Stachanov-work is always creative work... The role of imagination is particularly important with us in the U.S.S.R. where creative work reaches an enormously high level (p. 227). The feelings of a young man show this deep idealistic character, this abundance and directness, which mark one considerable feature of the emotional life of Soviet men." (p. 265.) The great socialist October revolution shows as many vigorous examples how the consciousness

of man and his character is altered by the process of a thorough revolution of social conditions (p. 352).

But we find enough of such eulogies in Rubinstein's course of psychology, too. For instance: "Work in the capitalist order is a heavy burden of the labourer and therefore he is not interested in it. In the socialist system the worker knows that his work serves the common weal, and that this common weal is his own affair which he has at heart and is particularly interested in... and therefore he gains an entirely new views of work and new motives inspiring him to do it" (pp. 478—479).

One can hardly believe that Kornilov and Rubinstein could not have known the slave-work done in the U.S.S.R. and the terrible concentration camps where at least 15 million forced workers died of hunger, cold, and excessive, exhausting work — that they should not have known, furthermore, that the Stakhanov-system constitutes an unheard-of means of exploitation of workers.

It goes without saying that, in such circumstances, creative work in any domain whatever is quite out of the question. The treatises on psychology, however, are merely the expression of a lamentable slavish flattery. There is no creative work in the domain of Soviet psychology and will never be, as the principle condition for it is freedom and honesty in scientific thoughts.

After 1936, a great number of works on psychological problems were published in the U.S.S.R. showing the same features that are characteristic for the development of Soviet psychology mentioned above: entire dependence on the view of the classicists of Marxism and lack of real creation.

We gave here a short study of Soviet psychology in the time from the October Revolution to 1941. If we think of the sparse news we get from the Soviet Union we may conclude that, after the Second World War, the conditions for creative scientific work in general and psychological work in particular, have grown even worse.

## Statistics in Theory and Practice

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and propaganda) — now the Soviets interpret this utterance in a sense hitherto quite unforeseen, namely that statistics can only be useful for Soviet communism if they are remolded into a mere tool, into an "instrumentum vocale" (as the old Romans used to describe their slaves). Accordingly, the official task of Soviet statistics is now to "illustrate" whatever the Soviet governments should just desire to be confirmed.

Does that mean that the Soviet government needs no more scientific statistics whatsoever — neither inside nor outside the Muscovite dominion? Within the Soviet Union it will need them, of course, but only in the role of a downright "secret science" the results of which are only to be submitted to the supreme heads of the Party and the government — in case the latter should wish it. Thereby Soviet scientific statistics fall into the situation of the old astrology, as it were, which, in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, was mostly strictly proscribed and cruelly persecuted, but at the same time nearly always secretly consulted by the sovereigns. Public scientific statistics, are of no use at all for the Soviet despots, neither at home nor abroad, as can be seen by the history of the Soviet official publications of statistic reports. *Pachydermus* was quite right in stating in "East Europe and Soviet Russia" (No. 360, 13, Dec. 1951) that in this respect different periods can be discerned:

From the beginning of the Soviet rule up to about 1927 certain absolute figures were concealed or adulterated yet without applying a certain system. Since the beginning of the first Five-Years' Plan a play with absolute figures and percentages has begun, the further the more warrantable, and the adulteration soon became systematized. With that the annual reports got tinner every year and their contents became less and less weighty. Since 1939, no more annual reports have been published. From 1941 onwards Soviet statistic data only containing percentages,

have been published in an arrangement which completely excludes any comparison with western statistic materials. During the war the statistics fell, the further the deeper, under the severe laws on "state secrets" — a usage which, after the war, was very soon extended to the satellite states. And finally, since the end of the first post-war Five-Years' Plan (1946—1950), even percentage figures are just published exceptionally.

The situation is clear now. At first — in conformance with Lenin's tactics — the Soviets tried to influence public opinion in the West by approximately right or just occasionally falsified statistic data. Since Stalin took the absolute sway in hand, however, this proceeding proved impracticable, and the Soviets had recourse to more and more drastic and audacious forgeries until Soviet statistics became an unprecedented exemplification of the famous saying of Napoleon's: "Statistics are a lie in figures". And gradually they became aware that it was much safer and more to the purpose — simply to keep silent. Silence is golden, in particular if almost everything is better kept in silence.

This resolved, however, there was no more reason why the Soviet statistics should keep their exceptional position amongst the Marxist-Leninistic "social sciences" held in tutelage, and why it should have the theoretical possibility of independent "research" any longer which had been granted to them because of representative duties towards the world outside. Consequently, the Soviet statistics were now officially separated from the "bourgeois" science in the west by the Chinese wall of Stalinist dogmatism. Whether or not this now "party-bound social science" will in the end be proclaimed as "truly Russian" and will get a chauvinistic-Russian "national face" — cannot be seen as yet. Probably it is a mere matter of time. What suits all the other sciences under the Soviet yoke will also fit "social scientific statistics".

## The 30th of June, 1941

### A Memorable Day in the History of Ukraine

The renewal and restoration of Ukrainian national independence is not devoid of application after the lost war of independence from 1917 to 1921. The aims of the Ukrainian Independence Movement still remain what they are, without regard to unfavourable constellations in world politics and the difficult situation in the Ukrainian territories due to the occupation. The revival of the political national consciousness in Ukraine has strengthened the Ukrainian political endeavours and offered new bases for the concentration of the struggle for independence.

To this end the Ukrainian Military Organization (U.V.O.), in particular, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) did excellent work by revolutionary means and active support by the great majority of the population as did the political parties of West-Ukraine in a legal way, and so the foundation was laid for the renewal of Ukrainian independence.

Since the beginning of the Second World War and after the occupation of the West-Ukrainian territories by the Soviets, the Ukrainian people waged an open, unlimited, and large-scale war against bolshevism. The political situation as a whole was not very favourable for Ukrainian intentions in the first two years of the war. On the contrary, all signs indicated an anti-Ukrainian attitude in National-Socialist Germany as well as in the camp of the western allies.

Neither Hitler's urge towards the East nor Roosevelt's positive attitude towards the Soviets and his confidence in the possibility of a "co-operation between liberal America and socialist-Russia" left any room whatever for Ukrainian concerns. Even the German-Soviet war brought about no fundamental changes; it only accelerated the development of events.

On June 30, 1941, soon after the outbreak of the war, the independent Ukrainian state was renewed by the Ukrainian national assembly in Lviv on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and with the active co-operation of all Ukrainian ranks and classes and political movements.

The two primates of the Ukrainian churches, the metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Andrej Sheptyzky, and Bishop Policarp, of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, issued pastoral letters on July 1, 1941 and July 10, 1941, requesting the Ukrainian people to be quiet and obedient, and to co-operate with the new government.

The temporary Ukrainian government was formed by Yaroslav Stejko, Members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (U.N.D.O.), of the Ukrainian Social-Radical Party (U.S.R.P.), of the Front of National Unity (F.N.E.) and the independents took part in it. The formation of a coalition government composed of different political movements met the requirement of the hour and found the approval of the Ukrainian public.

The newly-formed Ukrainian government began immediately to improve the state apparatus and endeavoured to bring about a happy development of Ukrainian political life. It wanted to create a basis for a strong Ukrainian state and would furthermore continue the fight against bolshevism. National Socialist Germany was, however, not interested in an independent Ukraine and a new order in Eastern Europe. It wanted to press those countries into a colonial system.

After the treacherous arrest of the members of the Ukrainian government, the Ukrainian people took up arms in an uncompromising war on two fronts against National Socialism and Bolshevism, which lasted many years. It was supported by the Ukrainian organizations, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), and, at the head, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.).

In this struggle the Ukrainian nation stood quite alone with its companions in misfortune, such as Byelorussians, Turkestanians, Georgians, and so on, who were likewise at the mercy of the Russian despots. The western-European nations, such

as France, lay defeated and were unable to offer any resistance at that time. The western allies, i. e. the U.S.A. and Great Britain, were on the Soviet side.

The 30th of June, 1941, is a memorial day in the fight of the Ukrainian people for free and independent nations, which will be fought in spite of all obstacles and opposition.

### Cossacks and Koreans

On the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the greatest tragedy of the Cossack people, meetings took place in all Cossack centres of the world. This time, the memorial meeting in Lienz/Drau (Austria), the centre of this tragedy, was of particular importance.

On May 31, and June 1, several Cossack delegations from different places met there in order to do honour to the Cossack victims. The mourning celebrations began with a requiem-service. Subsequently a procession went to the monument, about 2 kilometers outside the town, which exile Cossacks had erected.

At the head of the procession Cossacks carried their national colours veiled with mourning crepe.

Then followed Cossack delegations who carried the wreaths and then came the Cossack soldiers in rank and file and the other Cossackian people. Moreover, representatives of the Austrian population and of several peoples subjugated by bolshevism were present. Special attention was paid to the wreaths of the Supreme Cossack Ataman, President General S. M. Makeeff and of the Supreme Cossack Representation in exile, adorned with the national colours. They had the inscription: "To the Cossack Fighters for Freedom" and "To the Cossack Victims and to the Free World as a Warning."

At the monument, the former Colonel and present Supreme Cossack Priest, Minyeff, celebrated a requiem-mass which was attended kneeling by every one present.

At a solemn hour in the afternoon, the deputy of the Supreme Ataman President, the representatives of the Supreme Cossack Representation and of several delegations from numerous countries made speeches. They described the terrible events of the end of May and the beginning of June, 1945, when 5720 Cossack officers, among them 35 generals, and 165,000 Cossack soldiers and refugees were handed over to the Russians with the assistance of allied troops and amid acts of violence beyond all description.

The speaker of the Supreme Cossack Representation in Exile pointed out how regrettably deep the sense of morals and justice had sunk then. Why, he asked, was the principle of individual freedom after discharge not — as in Korea today — applied to the Cossack prisoners of war; why were they delivered to the bolshevik bayonets?

As to this question, passages from an article of the noted Dutch professor, L. Grondis, in the Dutch news paper "Telegraf", were quoted. Grondis demands a thorough investigation by the western public in order to ascertain those persons who are responsible for the delivery of the Cossacks, as the Cossacks were the best fighters against the present world danger and only fought for the liberation of their own people from the bolshevik yoke. Grondis goes on to ask: "Were these immense sacrifices of the Cossack people necessary in order to come to the realization that such acts against morality are to be condemned?"

There are, however, many signs that the West has not seen all its mistakes even yet. For the mistakes of 1945 it is paying with the blood of its best sons in Korea. And it will have to pay much more if it should again try to gain its weal and pretended safety at the expense of other nations.

The sacrifices of the Cossack people constitute a reminder and a warning to the free world.

W. G.

### Congressman Declares for Liberation of Slovakia

The American Congressman, Mr. Madden, proposed, on May 7th, 1953, a resolution to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in which he expressed the friendship existing between the United States of America and the Slovak nation and called for the formation of a Slovak Exile Government.

We quote the following passages of this significant resolution:

"To give meaning to our historic friendship for the Slovak peoples, the Congress of the United States hereby expresses the strong hope of the American people for the early liberation of the Slovak peoples from their Communist enslavement. To assist in bringing about this liberation at the earliest possible date, the President is requested —

(1) to demand that free election be held for the Slovak peoples, under police supervision of the United Nations, in order that they may, without pressure, organize their own government founded on such principles as may seem to them most likely to effect their safety and happiness and secure for themselves the blessings of liberty;

(2) to explore the methods whereby the American people, through their Government and by private means, with Government assistance, and otherwise, may offer aid and moral support to active fighters now struggling for the liberation of the Slovak peoples and other Communist-dominated countries; and

(3) to recognize an effective Government in Exile representing the anti-Communist Slovak people as well as Governments in Exile for the people of other nations now subjugated and enslaved behind the Iron Curtain."

### U.S.S.R. . . .

Continued from Page 9

teacher". Its purpose is the systematic Russification of the oppressed peoples at the price of the extirpation of all present and future national peculiarities and culture. This principle tendency is so obvious that it is dripping already with banality.

And so it is time to face the problem of national subjugation as the basic problem of the Soviet Union and its sphere of power. This sphere of power, founded on the enslavement of about 200 million people of non-Russian nationality, is no "socialist home" nor is it regarded as such by any of these people, but is, in reality, but a gloomy prison for peoples into which Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Aserbajjanians, Armenians, Cossacks, North-Caucasians, Idel-Uralians have been cast for years and systematically decimated, like the peoples of the satellite states now. Neither the one nor the other have ever bound themselves to Moscow voluntarily; and if the present Russification in the satellite states is to go on, the world will get accustomed to defining them as "Russian peoples" as carelessly as it does with all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. now. Whether or not the steam-roller of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism can then be stopped, is a question on which those may ponder who have not had any experience of it as yet.

Within the problem taken up here it shall only be stated that all those peoples, having become the victims of Russian imperialism, and being annihilated in their national substance by audacious bolshevism, are forming a potential avalanche which is waiting for its moment of release and might prove of unexpected power. It is not only because of this potential power, however, in the fight for the overthrow of the Moscow despots that this problem is of outstanding interest. The knowledge and explanation of the bolshevik world-wide danger from the motive forces of Russian imperialism admits of only one conclusion: that the empire must be dissolved and the independent national states of all peoples of the Soviet dominion — newly enslaved or of old — must be restored. Only then the neighbouring states of the so-called Soviet Union would be relieved from the incubus of a permanent threat and only then peace and safety from the inflated monster of the U.S.S.R., concealing in reality a Russian empire eager to conquer the world, would be guaranteed in all the world.

And only then all creative forces and sound national elements will be released which are indispensable for a true and total integration of Europe.

Dr. D. Balkanski

# West-East Tension in the Light of Psychology

By Dr. V. Yaniv

*From a lecture given under the above title at a conference of the German-Ukrainian psychologists — which we reported in our last number — we quote those passages which are of particular interest for our readers. (Ed.)*

It is one of the primary principles of scientific research that, in identifying the character of the peoples or spheres of civilization, we shun any valuation whatever. Different in character does not mean inferior in character. We must bear this in mind when examining the differences between East and West, unless we want to come to a false conclusion.

We should like at first to define our standpoint and to express our opinion in this way: It is the total of psychic qualities or, even better, the complex psychic structure of an individual or a people that is decisive for the classification into Eastern and Western types.

Without the peculiar qualities of the European psyche we should not have come to the European crisis. The tracing back to its origin and cause of this crisis enables us to find out the very problem of the nature of the Europeans.

The present dismal world situation grew — according to Jaspers — out of the Europe of the last centuries. Without knowing European mentality we cannot understand the present crisis and vice versa: this crisis which proceeded from the European soul exposes some features of European mentality.

But now a few words about this crisis which is the said result of the tendencies generally prevailing in Europe.

The statement seems reasonable that our era started from the advent of engineering. When engineering plays such a prominent role in our era; when engineering changed the face of the earth; when, furthermore, engineering has its origin and fertile soil in Europe or at least distinguishes Europe from Asia (and of course, from Africa); then we are entitled to presume that engineering is a primary phenomenon of European life, that is to say that the desire for engineering is one of the most outstanding European features and qualities.

This conclusion drawn, we may risk and attempt at deducing this desire from certain psychic or better, socio-psychic, properties. The intended logical deduction will be considerably facilitated by answering the question according to the biological significance of the desire mentioned.

As compared with the animals the human being is a weak creature. The instincts of man have degenerated, his physical strength is low, his capacity of sensation is extremely limited. In this respect man would be doomed to lead a poor life with nature being allmighty and merciless to him. This is the situation in relation to the individual. As to the species as a whole its poor power of propagation is striking. Yet nature has compensated human weakness by endowing man with reason as an assistance in his struggle against animals and climate. And man as "animal rationale", set engineering against the superior forces of nature. The advent of engineering was preceded by fear, which is still prevailing.

The flush of victory evoked by the successes of engineering, in common with the consciousness of human weakness, presumption in common with inferiority complex entailed a restless activity and advancing mechanisation. Thus it was engineering which, originated by the first instinct of self-preservation, fostered the confidence of man in his own strength, developed the aspiration after perfection, triumph, safety, and power.

So we have outlined the biological sense of the desire for engineering. It might be argued that men are still weak all around the globe and engineering and self-reliance was only developed in the western hemisphere. This may be opposed by the assertion that the non-European peoples are still nearer to nature with their first human instincts preserved and the original capacity of their organs of sense. That even the power of propagation was stronger with them. It might, in addition, be briefly mentioned that the living conditions in Europe are much severer.

The core of the psychic structure of the Europeans is their instinct of self-reliance. It hardly needs words to prove that the phenomenon of individualism rests on self-reliance. And there is full agreement in the fact that Europe is individualistic.

This West-East comparison on the basis of individualistic and collectivistic ideology confirms the former assumption on the whole that the central problem of the psychological structure of the Europeans was the instinct of self-reliance. The complementary but at the same time opposite, instinct is that of subordination (Vierkant).

This falls in with Massis' view when he asserts that "at the bottom of the difference in nature between East and West lies the difference of their ideas about man and his relation to the universe. Modern man has the desire to be himself; he has no wish to be absorbed by his environs; he cannot believe that human persona-

lity depends on nature. Dependence and, consequently, subordination, adaptation, bondage, community life do not correspond with the progressive nature.

And so we have pushed our way up to the most important comparison. Social-politically speaking, we find the contrast in social instincts: self-reliance and subordination. In society and civilization this contrast reveals itself in individualism and collectivism.

The consequences in a political respect: The desire of every individual for expansion must lead to the theory of equal chances, that is; to democracy, favouring competition and progress. The desire for subordination, on the other hand, forces acknowledgement of the existing order and the ruler "by divine right" and renders despotism possible. In a social respect: The ancient building up of the classes without any revolt against the partition of the castes and — the opposite — the progressive removal of the ranks and classes. In a religious respect: the development of the individual can only be founded on the belief in free will. The desire for subordination, however, forces permanent reconciliation with the supreme will, which leads to fatalism and pre-determinism.

The examples given will suffice to show the fathomless gulf between both these worlds. At the same time the central position of self-reliance in the West and subordination in the East can be felt. But the attention can still be drawn in another direction by remembering that self-reliance is unthinkable without activity and even dynamic power whereas subordination will always be found in connection with a certain passivity. Dynamic power requires clear differentiation of psychic forces and especially the development of the intellectual superstructure. In the case of passivity and its desire for rest, the psychic forces remain undifferentiated which, by the way, might be explained (functionally speaking) by the fact that in the East the instincts have remained alive. Therefore, the thoughts under despotism are pre-logical, emotional, directed to integration, and contemplative.

This lack of differentiation of the basic psychic forces in common with the well-known desire for rest give, no doubt, proof of an inner harmony which could be designated as "pre-stabilized" harmony as the European differentiatedness does not exclude harmony. European harmony, however, is a harmony of contrasts, of the continuous aspiration after manifold perfection at the same time — after the perfection of all spiritual forces. The European inner harmony is not a product of shifting and yielding before contradictions; it is a product of contention.

And we who have this spirit of contention in our blood and love it with all our hearts. We only must not despise others for standing aloof from our contending and having no sympathy with our great passion. These contrasts mentioned above, moreover, render it dangerous and unanswerable to press those peoples into one state structure whose mentality is different.

## A Tragic Memorial Day

The year 1933, was, for Ukraine, one of the saddest and hardest of this century. At that time, six million Ukrainians were exposed to death by starvation by the planned extermination-policy of the Moscow occupiers.

In memory of this tragedy, brought to pass twenty years ago, the Ukrainians living in the U.S.A. arranged in Buffalo, on May 31st., 1953, with the active participation of Hungarians and Croats, a great demonstration. Carrying national flags and transparencies bearing inscriptions such as: "Bolshevism, the author of famine and enslavement of the free nations", "U.P.A. has fought for 10 years against starvation", "We live the ideals of A.B.N.", "Communo-bolshevism — the new substitute for Russian imperialism", etc., an imposing procession wended its way to the monument to the victims of the American Civil War, on Lafayette Square.

## Nationalism in Siberia

### Press Campaign against Siberian Historians

The organ of the Soviet Government, "Izvestiya" published a lengthy article on April the 9th, on the state of historical writing in Siberia. After the statement that "the Siberian historians are slow in working upon the problems revealed by Josef V. Stalin's ingenious work", the paper writes: "The greatest mistakes have been made in the treatment of the history of the individual peoples in Siberia." This is followed by sharp attacks against the Yakutian historian, H. Bashikin who, in his book, "The History of Social Political Thought in Yakutia", instead of enlightening "rather defended the reactionary bourgeois-nationalistic ideology" like some of the writers before the revolutionary changes in Yakutia.

But more than that! Bashikin gave those writers the rank of "bearers for civilization" and advocated the interests of the Yakutes as well as a progressive nationalism and some antimarxistic theses.

"Political mistakes of a similar kind and bourgeois nationalistic travesties of the history of the Yakutian people have been made by other Yakutian historians, too".

Statements of striking inaccuracy are further made — still following "Izvestiya" — in the "History of the Buryato-Mongolian A.S.S.R.". The authors did not adhere to the principle of the patriarchal conditions which prevailed in the Buryato-Mongolian A.S.S.R. before the revolution; and they did not give any scientific analysis of the character of those conditions and of the forms of the class struggle. "The Marxist development in the history of the Buryato-Mongolian A.S.S.R. is missing."

"The history of the peoples of Siberia in respect of relations to the Russian population of Siberia; the historical conditions in the origin and development of the friendship between the Russian people and the non-Russian peoples in Siberia; should have received a more detailed treatment in many cases."

"Some of the treatises in the "Siberian Ethnographical Collection" and in the "Research Material on Siberian Archaeology" are written without deeper theoretical reasons.

After the enumeration of all mistakes and deviations of the Siberian historians the suspicion is expressed that the Siberians, like the Anglo-American capitalists, might prepare and promote the "plunder of Siberia".

Therefore it is necessary "in topical publications of the historians based on the material of the Siberian history, to enlighten the population about these plans of the foreign imperialists and about the bourgeois-nationalistic travesties in the history of individual peoples, especially that of Siberia."

Finally the paper gives instructions to the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences in the U.S.S.R. for further close supervision of all historical treatises on Siberia. O. Z.

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## ALBANIA

### RED REGIME PERSECUTES RELIGION

In Albania, as everywhere else, the communist rulers have devoted great energy to uprooting all the collective manifestations of the spiritual life from their slaves. There are three religions in Albania — Islam, Orthodox and Roman Catholicism.

The Roman Catholics in Albania number only some 124 000, or about 12% of the population, for the good reason that the National Committee for a Free Albania has at its disposal fully documented, up-to-date and hundred percent trustworthy information about the persecution of the Catholics.

To take the material losses first, here is a comparison between 1945 and 1953:

	1945	1953	Percentage
1. Churches and Chapels . . . . .	253	100	65%
2. Seminaries . . . . .	2	0	100%
3. Monasteries . . . . .	10	2	80%
4. Convents . . . . .	20	0	100%
5. Orphanages and Asylums . . . . .	15	0	100%
6. Church Schools . . . . .	16	0	100%
7. Charitable Institutions . . . . .	10	0	100%
8. Printing Presses . . . . .	2	0	100%
9. Religious Periodicals . . . . .	7	0	100%

Of the 93 priests who were in Albania in 1945, 10 are left. Of the remaining 83, 24 were murdered; 85 were imprisoned or deported; 10 died or disappeared; 11 were conscripted into the army; and 3 escaped abroad.

## BOHEMIA

### STRAHOV CONVENT SERVES THE COMMUNISTS

In the first half of May the red Prague despots opened the so-called memorial of national literature which was instituted in the Strahov convent in Prague. As they always intend to attribute the credit of the origin of all values that they had stolen from their real creators, preservers, and proprietors, to the Party, they did it also in the case of the famous Strahov convent. They had the cheek to assert that the monks of the Premonstratensian Order had no idea of the values stored in their convent library and that everything the working people had created for 800 years now the monks let go to ruin. As a matter of interest we offer our readers true quotations from a treatise of the deputy minister of education and enlightenment, Zdislav Burival, "New Treasure Chambers of Knowledge and Beauty", which was published in "Rude Pravo" of May 14, 1953:

"In the glorious days of May, on the anniversary of the liberation of Prague by the heroic Soviet army, in the building of the former Strahov convent the memorial of national literature was opened. A great act indeed, which gives new testimony of the excellent care we bestow upon the cultural expansion by our communist party and our government . . . .

Our working class and its scientists and artists in almost no time, knew how to restore one of the most magnificent jewels of our architecture in its dazzling splendour and to fill it with the most valuable treasures of our literature, after the bourgeois republic had shown itself unable even to remove the dust. In past times hardly anyone knew what treasures were kept there.

On the huge library, provided for in the Strahov convent; on one of the most precious and valuable libraries of our nation, dust accumulated in malevolent perseverance and the precious treasures of the literature went to ruin without let or hindrance.

In the last century already, some remains of roman architecture were discovered by archeological research. But not until our people's democratic Republic came about, did the govern-

ment and the party, appreciating everything noble in our past, support generously by means of funds, materials, and their whole apparatus, the inspired struggle of scientists, conservators, creative artists, workers, and engineers for the preservation of Strahov, so that this monument, from the time about 1150, so precious to the world and especially to our people, may be saved . . . ."

Entering the Strahov convent (the present "memorial") you will face a great table-board with quotations from Lenin, Stalin and Gottwald, which are to symbolize the mission of the place. We will only reproduce the confusing quotation from Stalin: "National culture under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a culture of socialistic content and national shape, aiming at educating the masses in the spirit of socialism and internationalism". (I. B.)

## COSSACKIA

### DISORGANIZATION IN ALL DOMAINS

In spite of the announcement of a 50% price cut for agricultural goods for April 1, 1953, this was carried out in the Cossack region for 25% only. With that a continuous lack of industrial products must be noted.

It has not been known until now that with the agricultural springtime cultivation in Stavropol and in the Don-district grave mistakes have been made. In April, the greatest part of the agricultural machines became useless because of bad technical mistakes.

The official newspaper of the Soviet government "Izvestiya" issued an article by its correspondent P. Nikitin on the bad state of work in the irrigated fields of the Don-regions.

In an article of the "Pravda", the Secretary of the District Committee of Orenburg, P. Kortshagin- subjected all organs of his districts to an annihilating criticism.

The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" reports that in several Komsomol organizations of the Cossackland many members have grossly neglected their duties.

The Secretary of the district of Stalingrad, Grishin, is highly discontented with the work in kolkhoses of his domain.

"Wolga", the newspaper of the Astrakhan district, complains that the fishermen have not been able to fulfill their quota.

## GEORGIA

### "OBJECTIVE" BOOK REVIEWS

In the Soviet Union only those works of foreign writers are translated which may serve as a proof of the decay of the "capitalistic" world.

In 1950, the novel of the American writer Howard Fast, "The Last Frontier", was published in the Georgian language, and recently his second novel "The Road To Freedom".

According to the Georgian Paper, "Komunisti", H. Fast is "an American author and talented publicist well-known to the Soviet reader, and belongs to those advanced writers of the "capitalistic" world who passionately support the struggle of the working class against their exploiters by word and deed . . ." and "courageously attack the refuge of world reaction — American imperialism".

The same paper quotes Mark Twain, who is said to have expressed his aversion to the word civilization because it was a lie and was miserable in its impudence, cruelty, meanness, and hypocrisy.

The paper goes on stressing that these words still apply to American civilization, literature, press, radio, and arts.

. . . "The rulers in the Dollar realm" — the paper goes on — "who frankly took the road of Fascism, try — for the realization of their malevolent intentions — to store ideologic reserves, to corrupt the working class, and make use of every possibility to deceive men and to poison their souls" . . . .

The paper ends up — "The latest novel of Fast's "The Road To Freedom" is of great political and public importance and unmasks the travestors of history and those who idealize the capitalistic past. The novel lays the poisoned roots of the present American imperialism open and evokes a deep-felt hatred against the American race theory" . . . .

## GERMANY

### "DEMOCRATIC" SENSE OF JUSTICE

In the advanced "democratic" jurisdiction of the Soviet Zone, consideration is given neither to the juvenile age of an accused nor to any other extenuating circumstances, in drawing up a sentence. Considerations of this kind seem to be deemed old fashioned in the G.D.R., where there are no more profiteering exploiters. The nature of this "democratic" sense of justice expresses itself clearly in a decision of the Supreme Court of the German Democratic Republic printed in "Neue Justiz" Nr. 7 of April 5, 1953. A punishment for terrorism inflicted on juveniles by a district court under Art. 6 of the constitution has been quashed in said decision as being too light. The reasons are:

"The sentence of imprisonment passed by the district court does not come up to the degree of the social dangerousness of the crimes. For amount of punishment which differs from the sentence purposed by the public prosecutor, the district court gives as reasons that the accused are still very young, that they have not been convicted previously, and that they were still lacking political maturity as they have not entered into the knowledge of social science as yet.

"This opinion cannot be justified. The fact that the youth of the German Democratic Republic has proved its political maturity in all spheres of social life by responsible cooperation in the establishment of our state, has entailed the reduction of majority to 18 years. It is not justifiable to recognize extenuating circumstances for reasons of lacking political maturity in the case of young people who have passed this age already . . ."

That no regard whatever is paid even to confession and penitence of the accused can be seen from another decision of the Supreme Court of the G.D.R. published in "Neue Justiz" No. 8, of April 20, 1953. The reasons are:

"A confession made in the true desire for assisting in clarifying and identifying a crime as well as the sincere penitence of an accused, constitute, it is true, the first step of reparation; These facts, however, occurred after the criminal act and must not be taken into account in the judgement on the criminal acts themselves, as for the amount of the imprisonment to be inflicted, the degree of the social dangerousness of the deed, the degree of the responsibility of the culprit, the intensity in committing the crime, his motives, and the possible or actual consequences of the act, are alone decisive . . . . The defendant T. did not only tolerate that B. remained in the possession of the pamphlets but even propagated some of them. It is without bearing that this propagation was only performed within the family.

Juveniles have to be sentenced like grown-up people, as they hold equal rights in the G.D.R. Extenuating circumstances are of no account — the dangerousness of the deed to society is the only scale of importance. Passing over a pamphlet to a dependant is punished by penal servitude — this is the fashion of the "democratic sense of justice" in the "German" and "Democratic" Republic by Muscovite right. Is this sense of justice? — No, this is the nonsense of party-jurisdiction.

### SOLDIERS AS BIRTHDAY PRESENT FOR WALTER ULBRICHT

"On the occasion of his 60th birthday, June 30, we will offer our thanks to our great friend, the Secretary General of our glorious party, the

Deputy Prime Minister Walter Ulbricht, for his indefatigable promotion of our fine organization."

With these words, the Central Council of the F.D.J. (Youth Organization of the S.E.D.) ordered a special action for the enrolment of volunteers for the military people's police. Until the eve of the birthday each unit has to enlist "at least one young comrade" at the appropriate district office. The enrolment of a "sufficient number" of officer aspirants for the military people's police, too, is described by the F.D.J. Central Council as a "self-evident duty" for the F.D.J. units.

(I.W.E.)



### BLACK MARKETEERS — SOVIET SOLDIERS

Indignant articles are continually appearing in the communist press of Hungary, directed against the ever-increasing black market. This press, however, omits to state that the worst black-market-teers are the Soviet soldiers returning home from Austria, against whom the native authorities cannot proceed. The largest black-market centre of Western Hungary is Győr (Raab), where soldiers coming from the West have the first opportunity to dispose of their western booty. A pair of nylon stockings costs 100—120 guilden. 1 kg. cocoa 100 to 150, a wristwatch 100—150, the cheapest camera 3,500—4,000 guilder. The last are then retailed, mostly in the state camera-shops, to the population.

In the face of this black-market-teering of the Soviet soldiers, who are treated as super-men in the satellite states, the Hungarian communist authorities almost powerless.



### THE NOBLEST OF ALL TASKS

The party organ of the Lithuanian Communist Party "Tiesa" (No. 13) came out with an article on the political education of youth. The paper writes: "It is the noblest task for a teacher to raise hatred against the enemies of the people and of democracy in the young. This is particularly important in a time when the American and English imperialists and their agents, thirsting for a new war, have enmeshed a number of nations in a net of military bases, when they continue the disastrous war in Korea, use bacteriological weapons, and send their agents and spies into the Soviet Union and people's democracies.

### CHEMISTRY SUPERCEDES RELIGION

According to a broadcast of April 4, the local authority of communist youth in Krettinga held an "anti-religious conference" with the main lecture: "The Church as an enemy of the Working Masses."

In order to combat the belief in miracles, which is obviously still alive among the population, a group of chemists showed the members of the conference several magic tricks which "proved that so-called miracles could be brought about by simple chemical means." (E)



### DEFLATION

On the occasion of the deflation, the communist Prime Minister V. Siroky made a speech in the Prague Parliament on May 30, 1953, saying: "After the liberation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic by the Soviet army our delivered territory was flooded with inflation-, protectorate-, and Slovak-crowns, that is to say, with paper money issued by the Nazi-occupants. The war economy of the Nazi occupants completely destroyed and depreciated our currency. The currency reform in 1945 has not overcome all the consequences of the Nazi economy and of the Second World War."

This miserable representative of Czecho-Slovakia has mixed two different things which actually do not belong together. Firstly, no Czecho-Slovakia has ever been delivered, as it ceased to exist on March 1939, but the Slovak Republik was enslaved and a new Czecho-Slovakia set up by the

Soviet army. Secondly, the "Nazi-occupants" issued only the protectorate-crowns for Bohemia. The Slovak crowns were not issued by German authorities but by the Slovak National Bank. The worthlessness of this money can be seen from the fact that all sorts of goods could be got for it during the war, even without ration cards. In spite of this alleged "worthless inflation money" Slovakia had better conditions of supply during the war than, for instance, Switzerland, which did not take part in the war at all. After the occupation of Slovakia by the Red Army the gold treasure of the Slovak National Bank was transported to Prague and put at the disposal of the Czecho-Slovak National Bank as its only gold reserve. The present currency reform (of June 1, 1953) is a deflatory measure of the red government in Prague, by which, only 8 years after the war, the ration card system was abolished and which is to evoke a purchasing power as existed in the Slovak Republic during the war.

### A NEW SHOW TRIAL?

In governmental circles in Prague the question is under consideration whether the long-expected show trial against Husak, Novmesky, and other former leading Slovak communists shall, at last, be arranged. The whole leadership of the Slovak communists were removed under the false pretence of being "bourgeois-nationalistic", as they aspired to the separation of Slovakia from the Czecho-Slovak state union and the proclamation of Slovakia as an independent communist republic. The leaders in Prague succeeded, then, in eliminating and arresting these people, as Stalin favoured the Czecho-Slovak state conception. But now the red rulers in Prague do not see clearly how the new despots in Moscow will consider the question, and so they are not quite sure whether for a condemnation and execution of these persons they might have to pay with their own heads afterwards.



### U.P.A. SOUNDS THE CHARGE

The latest news from Ukraine confirms that after Stalin's death in the early days of April the Ukrainian underground showed brisk activity against the Soviets. Especially actions of reconnaissance were carried out in several regions of Ukraine.

In many Ukrainian towns placards with Stalin's picture and announcements of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet government were destroyed and slogans of the U.P.A. pasted in their place, e. g. in Lviv, Stanislaviv, Kalush, and Snyatyn. In Lviv meetings were arranged, where speeches were held and national revolutionary songs were sung. At the same time a group of demonstrators damaged the building of the Soviet newspaper "Lvivska Pravda".

In the streets placards with Stalin's picture and several announcements of the mourning celebrations on the occasion of the death of the Soviet dictator were torn down.

Even the "Voice of America" broadcast reports on his activity.

### REASON-RUSSIFICATION MOSCOW GOVERNOR IN UKRAINE DISMISSED

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, at a recent plenary meeting relieved the Secretary L. G. Melnikov and appointed the second Secretary, A. I. Kyrychenko, to replace him, TASS, quoted by Moscow Radio reported from Kyiv on 12. 6. 1953.

"The plenary session discussed the question of deficiencies in the political work and in the leadership in the economic and cultural construction", the TASS message adds.

"It found the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as unsatisfactory in the Western regions of Ukraine.

The plenary session noted that the Bureau of the Central Committee and Comrade Melnikov, had admitted perversions of the Lenin-Stalin nationalities policy in their practical work.

This found practical expression in the promotion to leading party and Soviet work in the Western regions of Ukraine preferably of workers from other regions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, also in the actual adoption of the Russian language of tuition in Western Ukrainian institutions of higher learning.

The session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine adopted organisational decisions.

The session relieved of his post the first Secretary L. G. Melnikov and removed him from the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine as having failed to assure the leadership and having committed gross errors in the selection of cadres and in putting into effect the party's national policy.

The session appointed A. I. Kyrychenko as the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, having relieved him of his duties of second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

From Moscow Radio on 12. 6. 1953

### "INDIVIDUAL GARDENS" AS HELPERS IN NEED

The following note on individual vegetable gardens in Ukraine was published in the Moscow "Pravda" of May 20, 1953.

"Grounds for individual vegetable gardens have been parcelled out to more than 230,000 workers and employees in the Kyiv district. In Kyiv alone more than 15,000 families planted vegetable gardens in the course of this spring.

Individual vegetable gardens have been completed to a great extent in the industrial areas of Ukraine, in the Don-basin, in the Dnjepr-plane, in Charkiv, Lviv, and Odessa. In Dnjepropetrovsk and in the Saporoshic-district for instance, more than 400,000 workers and peasants planted orchards and potatoes.

Factory and local committees of the trade unions provide for conveyance and assist in the purchase of seeds, planting materials and a little agricultural equipment."

As the "kolkhose-town", so eagerly propagated in the beginning, proved to be a miscarriage last year, this overurge of the "individual vegetable gardens" seems to be an attempt at getting out of the scrape. It shall, on the one hand, help to overcome a lack in food supply which must be expected with this kolkhose misadministration, and on the other hand, envisaging the fluctuating conditions in the leadership in Moscow, it shall give the new Kremlin despot a free hand for future agricultural measures.

### PARACHUTISTS OVER UKRAINE?

The Moscow papers "Pravda" and "Izvestiya" reported news from A.P., U.P. and Reuter that, according to an announcement of the Soviet Ministry of Home Affairs, M.V.D., "four American agents" were sentenced to death and executed who had descended on Ukrainian territory in the night of April 25, 1953 from four-engined aeroplanes of unknown nationality. According to a Russian pronouncement the names of the said "agents" are: Alexander Wassilyevich Lakhno, Alexander Nikolayevich Makov, Sergej Sossinovich Gorbunov, and Dimitr Nikolayevich Remiga. They are said to have declared that they were trained in Bad Wiessee (Germany) for several terroristic actions under the command of Captain Holliday of the American Army. There were more training institutes of that kind in the American Zone in Germany, such as in Munich, Bad Wörishofen, Kaufbeuren, and Frankfurt. The training finished, they were equipped by the Americans with weapons, poison, wireless sets, maps, chiffré tables, money, and so on.

The four men executed had the order — according to the Moscow communiqué — to push through to Kyiv and Odessa, to forward news by wireless and to carry out terroristic actions.

The spokesman of the American State-Department, Lincoln Wight, denied this Soviet report.

## BOOK-REVIEWS

O. Honcharuk:

### If War Comes To-Morrow

THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (U.P.A.) THE STANDARD BEARER OF THE IDEAS OF LIBERATION AND FRIENDSHIP OF PEOPLES

Published by the Society of Veterans of Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Canada, Toronto, 1953, pp. 64.

This publication which is very copious in relation to its volume, is an English translation from "Samostiyist", an organ of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), published by the Ukrainian Underground Movement in the Soviet Ukraine. The timeliness of an English edition under the above title has been cogently confirmed by Yaroslav Stetsko in a brief introduction: "The subjugated peoples (in the U.S.S.R.) will become faithful allies of the West if it accepts their ideas and acknowledges their rightful claims. The insurgent armies are operating today without any help from the outside world. Given political, moral and technical assistance, they would open an extensive second front at the very beginning of war. Thus the conflict would be localized and prevented from assuming global dimensions. The purpose of our pamphlet is to show what ideological and political work has to be done in order to build up this second front".

This very end has been attained in the pamphlet to a great extent as the author without going too far into strategic and tactic details of the history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) gives only rough outline in so far as necessary for uninformed readers. He deals with the origin and the war activity proper, of the U.P.A. but he makes the description of the world of ideas of the Ukrainian fighters for freedom his main subject and renders it particularly plain "what part the Ukrainian resistance movement is going to play in the common struggle of all peoples enslaved by bolshevism". The complete conformity of the theoretical as well as practical national-political attitude of the U.P.A. with the principles of the Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is systematically explained and irrefutably confirmed by numerous passages quoted from appropriate pamphlets and appeals of the U.P.A. In connection with it, the brave and faithful military service of the non-Ukrainian people of the U.P.A. troops is fully appreciated: "Thus, the foundations for a true international friendship were laid and the common front of the enslaved nations came into being. It was based not only on the necessity to fight a common foe, but also on mutual respect, confidence, and the acknowledgement of the principle of self-determination".

According to the complexity and difficulty of the matter, exhaustive consideration has been given to the propaganda actions of the U.P.A. towards the Polish Underground Army and civil population as well as towards the Soviet red partisans and Red armists including the Russians proper; and it is proved by unobjectionable documents that even in this domain with which not very much hope was connected, the success was much greater than the emigrants had expected.

Even the social-political attitude of the U.P.A. fighters is described, though only briefly and with some restraint, as it is becoming for such a publication to avoid on principle any unnecessary dispute: "U.P.A. is fighting for the dictatorship of the clique of Stalin's henchmen, and for a progressive order in the Ukrainian state. In its opinion, all other nations should establish a just political and economic order which would correspond with the wishes and interests of the broadest masses of their citizens. . . . The U.P.A. fights for a Ukrainian State without the exploiters and the exploited, where all citizens will enjoy full civil rights and liberties, where nothing will be done to build up a machinery of oppression, and where all efforts will be directed towards social and economic advancement".

The translation as well as the get-up of the pamphlet furnished with numerous (mostly well reproduced) photos, corresponds with the level of the work. V. D.

Arnold Toynbee:

### The World and the West

Oxford University Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1952, pp. 100.

This is an interesting essay by the well-known English historian, Arnold Toynbee, based on a series of lectures broadcast by the B.B.C., on the spiritual relationship between the West and the rest of the world. Taking the historical development of civilization and ethno-psychology Toynbee tries to analyse the present ideological and political opposition between the nations of the Christian western civilization sphere on the one side and diverse non-western nations on the other. He deals, however, with only some of the great non-western nations with typical civilization spheres of their own.

The treatment of the attitude of diverse nations toward communism runs, like a red thread, through the whole of the essay. The answer to this question is of high significance, as this ideology, being so alien and hostile to the West, constitutes, perhaps, its only rival power in the world. We cannot see why Toynbee designates communism as "western heresy" and even "Christian heresy", referring to Marx and Engels for this, who, as we know, were no Christians.

Toynbee's essay deals with the following subjects: Russia and the West, Islam and the West, India and the West, The Far East and the West, The Psychology of Encounters, The World and the Greeks and Romans. He devotes no separate chapter to the Jews as he considers them to belong to the Western nations. The peoples of Georgia and Armenia with their old Christian civilization, however, are not mentioned by a single word.

The author shows in the chapter "Russia and the West" that the Russians had no part in the western history of civilization. He shows also clearly that the Russians were not in the way of forming a civilization of their own meanwhile as might have been expected in the case of such a numerous people. In several phases during the course of their history the Russians were exposed to spiritual, non-western influence. With Russian

civilization in view, the author deemed it a matter of no slight consequence that the Russians have not adopted the western form of Christianity and did not accept the western civilization till Peter I. And even he, which the author is right in stating as an important fact — did not want to introduce western civilization but only western technology. It was substantially the same with the Russian communist revolution, when western technology was to be harnessed, but western civilization was not desired. "Communism has already proved itself a more effective anti-western weapon in Russians hands than material weapons could ever be."

The chapter "Russia and the West" contains many an error and even some historical ignorance. From the fact that the author did not mention the numerous non-Russian peoples within the Russian Empire, we come to the conclusion that he mistakes all peoples of the present Russian empire for Russians. Toynbee says, for instance: "It was not till 1945 that Russia recaptured the last piece of these huge Russian territories that were taken from her by Western Powers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." (P. 5). In reality, Soviet Russia has occupied, and taken possession of, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories and the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania). Above all, Russia extended her sphere of influence, with the consent of its then western allies, over a number of States (such as Poland, Slovakia, Bohemia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania) which are completely under its control though not formally taken possession of. In 1945 Soviet Russia did not only gain the victory by means of western technology (as the author rightly states) but even by her direct assistance of its western allies. Thus the western nations saved the sworn enemy of their civilization from total annihilation. It is just this fact which constitutes the tragedy of our present situation and the acute danger not only for the west but for the whole of the non-communist world.

The chapter "Islam and the West" is an attempt at analysing the ideologic-political situation of the Islamic peoples, chiefly the Turks, Arabs and Islamic Indians, on the basis of the historical development of their civilization. The author correctly takes Islamic religion and nationalism for the primary spiritual factors. Yet, for incomprehensible reasons, he marks Islam also as "Christians heresy", a statement which is completely unfounded. The author is extremely critical of the Islamic nationalism—apparently because of his aversion to everything imperialistic, even to the imperialism of some western nations. We can, by no means, agree with him in this. In the Islamic peoples, too, religion and nationalism are the strongest barriers against communistic attempts of infiltration.

In other parts of his essay Toynbee deals with the historical development of the civilization of the countries in the Far East (India, China, Japan) and describes the spiritual and political situation of these civilized nations. In a separate chapter he turns to the ancient world of the Romans and Greeks and compares it with the spiritual situation and problems of the West to-day.

The essay, it is true, is topical and interesting, yet we regret to state that it is too full of errors and superficiality to be taken seriously. A famous historian like Toynbee could have done better. Dr. C. P.

Evald Uustalu:

### The History of Estonian People

Boreas Publishing Co., Ltd., pp. 266, London, 1952.

This concise summary of Estonian history, written by a noted indigenous historian, who is living at present as a political refugee in Sweden, is a good example of objectivity and clear scientific description. The tragic history of a people that held not a shade of state sovereignty until 1917 (as compared with Finland or even Latvia, for instance) and which became aware of its own national unity only when the country was suffering under harsh alien domination and had become a bone of contention for the Danes, the Swedes, the Knights of the Teutonic Order, the Polish-Lithuanians, and Russians—this history gains much in ethnic value by the heroic determination with which this people, in its war of independence (1918—1919), not only defeated the attack of the Soviet-Russian giant (a deed which is not much inferior to that of the Finns in 1939) but even gave their Latvian neighbours considerable assistance in their war of liberation against the Soviet-Russians, the Russian-Corps, and the German "Baltic Corps". The author points out, rightly, that this stupendous military achievement was unthinkable without the positive patriotic effect of the largescale and inexorably executed agrarian reform which the Estonian National Government found the courage to carry out in the earliest months of its activity, handing 58% of the total of the arable land over to the Estonian peasants; we are sufficiently aware of the fatal consequences of the agrarian reform neglected or imperfectly performed in many a state delivered from Russian dominion in 1917.

Fortunately enough, the author does not content himself with describing the history of the Estonian people in political, social, and economic respects, but gives also full consideration to its civilization, especially in reference to literature and national education. It is not by chance that, as early as in 1886, 98% of the Estonian recruits had learned to read and write, and that even much earlier, in the middle of the 18th century, the number of those who were able to read amounted from 50% to 75% of the total population. One Estonian patriot has formulated the proud proverb: "Nobody has ever taught the Estonian peasants how to read; they learned it by themselves. And so they also learned by themselves how to found, erect and defend, a vital national state."

In this work, even the pre-historic times of Estonia are adequately described. (Which is of particular importance for a people, the "historical" past of which began actually before 1200). The author, as an expert of more modern history, does not feel quite at home in this domain and give sometimes too much place to certain indefensible scientific hypotheses (which extremely flatter the Estonian national feelings) as, in particular, the supposition that Finnish-Ugrish peoples have been autochthonous in Estonia from 7000 B. C., being identical with the peoples of the palaeolithic Cromagnon-culture, and had spread in later times from west to east towards the Volga region, the Ural mountains, and Siberia. In reality, the Finnish-Ugrish migration took exactly the reverse direction and that 5 to 6 thousand years later —

as irrefutably proved by comparative philology). There are several mistaken formulations, too, in reference to Ukrainian pre-historic times (p. 25—26 the author claims at first "In the end, — that is in the 9th and 10th centuries, V. D. — the whole Russian ruling-class was of Scandinavian origin", but then: "during the eleventh century the Viking Dynasties in Russia lost their close contact with their former homeland" — which is a strong exaggeration in both cases) — but we will not take it amiss as such things happen at present even with much more competent experts. It is more regrettable that neither the text nor from the eight sketch-maps affixed to the book comes an clear picture of the ethnical frontier between the Estonians and the Latvians and its pre-historic and historic displacements to the north. And some less pleasant events of the recent history of the Estonian national State (such as the rash separate peace-treaty with Soviet-Russia — concluded on February 2nd, 1920, — the actual mishap of the "Baltic League", the political riots and plots between 1954 and 1958) are described by the author quite objectively, it is true, but so briefly, that any reader not familiar with the matter will remain a good deal in the dark.

All this is of little weight, however, as opposed to the splendid description of the liberation movement of the Estonian people; its heroic struggle against Soviet Russia in its war of independence in 1918—1919; its political, social, and cultural success under a consistently democratic national regime (though it was not entirely free from unpleasant concomitant phenomena of parliamentarism); its hardships under the first Soviet invasion in 1939—1941 and its brave and wise attitude during the Second World War, with the conclusion of which, having been so disastrous for Estonia, the description comes to an end. The topical political, anti-Soviet and anti-Russian value of the work needs no special emphasis. V. D.

### The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Science in the U.S.

Vol. II. No. 4 (67), Winter 1952.

Published by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences on the U.S. Inc., pp. 555—484.

The next publication to follow in the series of the American branch of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (U.V.A.N.) which nearly one year ago adopted for tactical reasons the above strange title begins with an English translation of the article of the ancestor of modern Ukrainian historical research, Mykhailo Hrushevsky (d. 1934), "The Traditional scheme of 'Russian' History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs", which was epoch-making and has become classic already in Ukrainian historical research. This article which was not published in English before (The autograph was published in 1904 in a Symposium of Slavic Studies by the Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the Russian language) was all the more recommendable for this opening as just this concise but weighty treatment was very well suited to explaining the principal difference in methods between the Russian official and the Ukrainian science of history to a reader who was but little or not at all familiar with the history of Eastern Europe and to bring the Ukrainian national standpoint home to him: namely, that the history of the Kyiv Rus-Ukraine was by no means the prelude to Russian (Muscovite) history but was closely connected with the national history of the Ukrainian people. The purely scientific, academic, and objective way of explanation of the great Ukrainian historian renders this article particularly attractive and convincing, so that it is specially suited as an introduction into the problems of Ukrainian history even for those national groups of the anti-Sovietic emigration who bear no very friendly feelings for the Ukrainians (such as Poles, Czechs, and even Russians).

The two treatments ensuing deal with more special questions of the Ukrainian history of civilization: the work of the senior of the history of Ukrainian law, Andriy Yakovliv, on "The Ukrainian Common-Law Procedure" (an unobjectionable collection of the total material known) and a work of the deserving historian, Alexander Ohloblyn, whose special subject is the history of the 18th century in Ukraine, on "The Ethical and Political Principles of 'Istoriya Rusov' (History of the People of Rus)" — i. e. on that anonymous "Ukrainian Titus Livy" — whose work, created between 1802 and 1805, exerted an enormous influence on the arrangement of the Ukrainian national autonomy and — as the author proves convincingly — footed in its ideas on the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 and probably on the French "Declaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen" of 1789. The thoroughly elaborated treatise with several tables, of the prominent Ukrainian geologist and geo-chemist, Nicholas Efremov, "An Innovation in the Understanding of Mendeleev's Periodic Law", proves that the scientific activity of the Academy of Ukrainian emigrants in the U.S.A. does not at all restrict itself to the science of letters.

The columns of book-review are copious and manifold, their contents, however, are too specialized to be dealt with here in detail. It shall, however, not be concealed that the review of Michael Luther on the partly quite deserved work by W. Gurian, "Bolshevism — An Introduction to Soviet Communism" (Notre Dame, Inc., 1952) has neither in its contents nor in its ideologic course, anything to do with Ukrainian national policy and even goes so far as to start the question: "Is the society, controlled by the totalitarian power machine described by Dr. Gurian, one solely of tensions, without any compensating strengths stemming either directly or indirectly from the policies of the state?" — which appears to come to an indirect justification of the Soviet system. Such things sound suspicious. V. D.

**ABN CORRESPONDENCE**  
Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

P.O. Box 70, Munich 53, Phone: 59 13 31 Germany.  
Published by the Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).  
Responsible: K. W. Orlekey.  
Account No. 10 707, Munich, Süddeutsche Bank  
Yearly Subscription \$ 2 or Shillings 12.  
Reproduction permitted if source (A.B.N.-Cor.) is given

# ABN CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. IV. No. 9/10. Sept./Oct. 1953

\* Published in English, French and German \*

Price: 1 s; 40 c

*Yaroslav Stetzko*

## There is Still Time . . .

Among the statesmen of the West, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has today more than one opponent. The western press, also, is not sparing in its sharp criticism of the part played by him in the armistice in Korea. In reality, however, Dulles' firm and uncompromising attitude towards those elements in his own country and in other western countries who are anxious for a compromise deserves every respect. The attitude, also, of the inflexible patriot, Syngman Rhee, arouses our deep sympathy and admiration.

From our standpoint of a historically-ruled uncompromising struggle against bolshevism, we have often in these columns expressed criticism of the American foreign policy. Yet we would be biased and unjust if we did not perceive, and assert, that, in the present critical period of the world-situation and in the confusion of illusionary hopes and willingness to compromise, it is the United States of America that is the chief pillar of this fight against tyranny which bolshevism has forced upon the Free World on global dimensions.

Thus it has been for us a good omen that, for example, in the Rosenberg atom-spying affair, President Eisenhower took a straight course, without allowing himself to be influenced by a campaign of countless protests from various quarters. It is still more encouraging for us that the leader of American foreign policy, Dulles, who is under the cross-fire of many attackers, pursues his judicious path unconfounded. If the Foreign Secretary of a Great Power ever merited acknowledgement and sympathy on account of his purposeful action against bolshevism that man is today, without a doubt, John Foster Dulles.

In thinking along these lines, we must not allow the fearless attitude and the unswerving fight of Senator McCarthy against communism to go unmentioned. And, again, it should not be overlooked that, despite the general lines of its policy, whose tone is set by a Dulles or a McCarthy, America is still attempt-

ing, obviously under pressure from certain circles and factors within the country and other European countries in general, to follow the path of a compromise with Moscow, and has not given up the idea of an agreement with the bolshevist conspirators in the Kremlin. The rise to much apprehension now is the favourable moment for a resolute treatment and the U.S.S.R., and this opportunity should be allowed to pass by.

What basis for an assertion? One must bear in mind what is happening here after Stalin's death, the shaken foundations by national revolutionary events in the German East, in Eastern Europe, in Slovakia and Hungary and the have confirmed our thesis that who form the These recent events, even in warfare is no success, and that "worker's and strike can be event, soldiers refuse to shoot clearly than at of the Soviet our thesis that possible to breathe all over its sphere.

This furnishes evidence that the western statesmen, the U.S.S.R. is in itself, a colossus with feet of clay. If the West takes up a dynamic political struggle against this monster, all the oppressed peoples will at once place themselves at its side. Recent happenings should thus be a turning-point of the western world's liberation policy towards these nations, who have been cheated of their independence, and their underground movements. It is possible that signs and portents of such a policy may be seen in the fact that the problem of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics as separate states has recently been discussed in the American Congress. Nevertheless, the armistice in Korea bears evidence to the fact that at present the timorous forces of the West still keep the upper hand, and that at the time of the U.S.S.R.'s greatest weakness.

Do people in the West believe that, if the situation were reserved, and the framework of the western powers were creaking, the Soviet Union would have agreed to a similar armistice? The peace in Korea has, at any rate, undermined the authority of the West in the eyes of the subjugated nations, and allows its irresoluteness to be seen anew.

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## Malenkov's Chance: Folly in the West

*W. - The hopes of the new premier in the Kremlin lie neither in the advertised hydrogen-bomb nor in the newly purged M.V.D. terror-apparatus. The balance of power in the "collective leadership", which was laboriously built up after Stalin's death and badly shaken by the downfall of Beria, could scarcely be maintained long by Malenkov, if there were not empty-headed people enough in the West ready to help him over the stile.*

*It is on this alone that Malenkov's hopes rest today and this alone that offers him the possibility of surmounting the acute crisis in the Soviet government. His first and "noblest" task will then be to ingratiate himself with his present well-wishers, exactly as Stalin did with Roosevelt and as communist bloodhounds everywhere have practised to satiety on all their accomplices of the "People's Front Governments".*

*Malenkov's last speech to the Supreme Soviet and the Kremlin's new note on the German question speak clearly to the fact that Moscow is today relying upon myopia in the West and intends to create disunity here, to nourish illusions and to paralyse all preparations for defence until the Kremlin has brought all its flock within the fold once more.*

*The way in which a great part of the Western Press and public opinion has reacted to this has given Malenkov every reason to hope that his game will yet succeed. There are still political circles in the West who will hold their breath at every utterance of a Kremlin despot and listen to his words as if they were pronouncements of the almighty Jove. Instead of telling the bolshevist oracles the plain truth, people in the West are very concerned about their deceitful speeches and make endless commentaries for weeks on end and honestly try to discover in every utterance of the Moscow tyrants, however hypocritical or absurd it may be, some "encouraging" signs of conciliation, compliance, love of peace and such-like other nonsense. It seems that liberty does not protect one from foolishness. The enslavement would be better facilitated indeed, only it would then be already too late.*

*It is high time that the West addressed Moscow in a way that would destroy all illusions in the Kremlin and face the bolshevist despots with a bitter inexorableness, which alone can make them tremble.*

*"There is no contestable point of world-politics that cannot be settled by negotiations", declares the sactimonious Malenkov. — Splendid, your Excellency! But not at the cost of the capitulation of the Free World and still less in return for Locarno-guarantees for your bloody reign of terror over the enslaved peoples — those of the U.S.S.R. itself, no less than of your newly-subjected vassal-states!*

*"There is no concrete reason for conflict between the Soviet Union and America", assures Malenkov. — True. Only that the Soviet Union has misused American assistance*

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during the war for the purpose of overpowering half of Europe, in order, today, to stretch out her talons over Red China and a subjugated Europe to menace the existence of the United States.

"The capitalist and socialist worlds can live peacefully side by side." — What a flattering remark for the Western World! That the wolf is prepared to live peaceably beside the flock of sheep is quite incredible. Whether it would be right or possible for the Western World to live confidently under the shadow of the vengeance of the bolshevist beast is a debatable point.

"The Soviet Union and the people's democratic camp is resolved to defend its vital interests in the international arena." — We are happy to take note of this declaration, Comrade Malenkov! But we warn you against trying to monopolise this resolution as the prerogative of tyranny and declare to you that the free world is at least equally resolved not only to defend its vital interests, but also to go on to bring about the final victory of liberty over tyranny.

"The United States no longer possesses the monopoly of the hydrogen-bomb" — threatens Malenkov. — Now slowly, tovarishch! You are in debt to the world for the length of time you may still claim the monopoly of genocide. Quo usque Catilina? . . .

"Renunciation of the North Atlantic Pact?" — That is a slip of the tongue, Comrade Malenkov. So long as you continue to press your "Eastern Bloc" into the service of the war-machine and the rollers of your Red Army stand ready to rumble across Europe, put every idea of renunciation of Western defence preparations right out of your head! Know, rather, that the whole free world, including Germany and Japan, is unshakably resolved, in concert with the enslaved peoples of your empire of force, to bring your perfidious plans to destruction.

"Acception of Communist China into the United Nations?" — Do you mean that seriously, Comrade Malenkov? Is the U.N. really to give Red China another reward for her war of aggression in Korea? Would it not be better for you to realise that the United Nations is for the purpose of protecting peace and freedom in the world. Whoever offends against that ideal, does not belong in the U.N., but should be expelled, even when the accident has enabled him to sit in this gremium of the civilised world and to sabotage the peace of the world by his vetoes.

"The re-militarization of Germany would mean a dangerous source of wars in Europe", warned Malenkov. — He seems to be suffering from severe loss of memory: it was only recently that none other than his master, Stalin, was extending his hand to Germany and attempting to inspire the German nation to "world-shaking deeds", which it was to perform shoulder to shoulder with the just as "chosen" Russian people. Moreover, in order to wean her from the West, Germany was promised her own national army and there was no delay in remilitarising even the Eastern Zone, although, it is true, on the pretext of incorporating it in the Eastern Bloc. Now, since the Federal Republic has clearly declared for the free world and even the people in the Eastern Zone have bared their fangs at the Soviet regimentation and threaten to upset it completely, Germany's rearmament has suddenly become a "dangerous source of wars"! Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi!

"Germany's rearmament would mean a fatal danger to France. — The Soviet Union wishes France well in her fight against German militarism — The Franco-Russian Pact of Friendship is, as far as the Soviet Union

is concerned, still valid today". — What touching neighbourly love! God protect the poor French from ever learning by experience how bitter Russian neighbourliness tastes!

"The liquidation of the Fascist adventure in the German Republic was a great victory for the cause of peace." — We must really envy your stupidity, Comrade Malenkov!

Malenkov is seeking to urge the West not to let this "first relaxation of tension of the world-situation to pass by unexploited". To whom do you want to sell these rotten goods, tovarishch Malenkov! Your bolshevist beast cannot deceive the free world, even if it pretends temporarily to be asleep.

Beria's downfall is said to be no sign of weakness, but a proof of the strength of the Soviet Union. Hocus pocus preparatus! Who are you trying to deceive, Comrade Malenkov — the outer world or yourself? It would be better to look to your own head. Perhaps you will have yet to lose it, in order to achieve "strength" in the wonderful Soviet Union.

And last but not least: The Soviet Union has a "strong desire" to be on good terms with all her neighbours". — We are ready to believe that — for the moment. How long, however, will this neighbourliness last? A song on that subject could be sung by all those nations who were recently courted so eagerly by the Soviet Union . . .

Malenkov is taking up the same attitude concerning the recent Soviet suggestions made in the note on the German question. This is a stupid threadbare manoeuvre aimed at influencing the imminent German elections. We hope that the German voters will not fall for this insidious manoeuvre.

Today more than ever is the following maxim one that should be followed by the West: not to act according to the wishes and suggestions of Moscow, but to do the exact opposite from what the tyrants in the Kremlin wish and seek to make popular in the West. Then would Malenkov's hopes and chances be destroyed, which are based solely on the folly, disunity and pusillanimity of the free world.

## There is Still Time . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

The fact that the aggression has been checked does not compensate for the fact that the whole United Nations was unable to do anything decisive against these peripheral aggressors in Korea, especially since the war was not being waged by the U.S.S.R. itself, but only by its vassals.

The peace in Korea has shown that the subjugated nations cannot count on the help of the great powers if they do not submit themselves unconditionally to their wishes. That, however, is a poor omen for the much-lauded equality of nations and their national sovereignty.

At any rate, it does not say much for the far-sightedness of the western politicians, when they permit a stabilisation of the U.S.S.R., just at the time when it is internally convulsed.

Prime Minister Churchill, in forming his Locarno project, possibly reckoned on the Kremlin despots feeling safest from "attacks" under conditions of relaxed tension and thus beginning mutually to annihilate each other. The British Prime Minister probably also reckoned on the mutual weakening in the Kremlin lasting for years, as was the case after the death of Lenin. Malenkov and Bulganin, however, despatched Beria in quick time and thus temporarily decreased the circle of claimants to the monocratic throne.

For the U.S.S.R., however, the mutual liquidation of claimants to power is not so important. Much more decisive are the national liberation-movements and their fight against those criminal wrestlers for power. This is displayed in the recent game which the Kremlin despots are playing with the various countries under bolshevist domination. Here and there, they are temporarily slackening the reins in order to check the hostility of the peoples and to avoid revolts. When, however, the crisis is past, the Kremlin will, as has been learned by experience, tighten the reins even more tightly.

Under pressure from the Ukrainian liberation movement and the ill-feeling of the population, Moscow saw itself compelled to grant a few concessions and reliefs with regard to production quotas, taxes, etc. All these allurements, however, were not able to mislead the population, and failed in their main object of weakening the Ukrainian liberation movement. On the contrary: after Stalin's

death, national resistance in Ukraine appeared more bold than ever.

The latest news from Ukraine is that the kolkhozes within the sphere of the activities of the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement are being guarded by special units of the M.V.D. "Strybky" ("Springers"), which measure aims at combatting the national underground movement.

The liberation movements in all the countries subjugated by bolshevism are steadily increasing. That this is still possible, despite measureless terrorism and 8 years after the end of the war, must not be under-estimated. Today, when bolshevism and the Soviet state is in such a critical state, it is a tragedy that there is no statesman in the West to oppose bolshevism with at least as much inexorability and resoluteness as Churchill displayed towards Hitler.

From a world-political standpoint, it is already high time, not for compromises and negotiations with the U.S.S.R., but to exploit the bolshevik period of weakness. Now is the time to take vigorous action against the bolshevist empire of force. The first step should be the West's wholehearted support of the liberation processes of all the subjugated nations. We are not war-mongers, but are only analysing the real position and drawing attention to the logical inferences. Active support of the national liberation movements would be an undertaking that promises for the West the greatest possible success with the least sacrifice.

On the other hand, the longer the West waits, the greater become the Kremlin's chances of stabilisation. It is good to see that, of late, the signs are multiplying of a penetrating knowledge of the true situation behind the Iron Curtain. Many a western newspaper is displaying full understanding of the significant part being played by our subjugated nations and their liberation struggle. Thus "Die Weltwoche" and other Swiss papers, whose sober tone are a pleasant surprise. May this be the manifestation of the beginning of the penetration of our ideas to the West, and of a more realistic attitude on the part of the latter.

For eight long years we have waited for the dawning of this understanding. Now it is to be desired that authoritative officials and

(Concluded on Page 4)

Manifestation of the Ukrainian Will for Freedom:

## Fourth Conference of Foreign Units of O.U.N.

At the end of June, 1953, the Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) was held in one of the Western capitals. Delegates from five European and two transatlantic countries took part. The Conference provided a survey of what has been hitherto achieved, and analysed the actual position of the Ukrainian liberation fight against the background of international political developments. The line of future activities was laid down and the leading bodies were elected: the Executive-Board, the Supreme Council of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. and the Supreme Control- and Judicial-Boards.

The Conference expressed full unity and solidarity with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) in the homeland, as well as with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), with the Underground Government — the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) — and with the Ukrainian people in its liberation fight for the restoration of the independent Ukrainian State.

In addition, the Conference received reports on the various aspects of the liberation fight of the Ukrainian nation and made many resolutions concerning it, as well as concerning co-operation with all the nations subjugated or menaced by bolshevism, and especially with the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

In order to do justice to our readers' understandable interest in the work of this conference, we are publishing the following extracts from its pronouncements, reports and resolutions.

### Extracts from the General Resolution

The Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. pays homage to the memory of those who died on the field of honour and those who were tortured to death in the cause of freedom for Ukraine; it admires the heroic struggle of the Ukrainians against bolshevist tyranny in their native country and honours the self-sacrifice and bravery of the members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and of all those unnamed persons fighting in the cause of freedom.

The Congress conveys its sincerest greetings to Colonel V. Koval, the acting chairman of the O.U.N., to all the leaders of the O.U.N. in Ukraine, to all friends and members of the O.U.N. and to all revolutionaries, to the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), to the soldiers and commanders, and to the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.); the Conference of the Foreign Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists wishes our indomitable insurgents strength and endurance so that they may continue to overcome all the hardships and difficulties in the war they are waging against a tyranny such as never before has existed in the world, and is utterly convinced that, by the mutual efforts of all our people, we shall achieve our aim . . .

The faith of the Ukrainian Underground Movement gives those of us who are in foreign countries and cut off from our native country strength and ensures the triumph of noble values and ideas throughout the whole world.

The members of the Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N., since they are one with the revolutionary O.U.N., in keeping with the aims of the Ukrainians fighting for their country, take upon themselves the duty of supporting the Ukrainian revolutionary war of liberation to an even greater extent than was hitherto the case in order to lighten the heavy burden of the revolutionary at home.

### Resolutions of the Conference on Foreign Policy

1) In accordance with the principle of a revolutionary struggle of liberation conducted by the Ukrainian people of its own strength, the O.U.N. realizes its liberation policy, independently of external forces and international political constellations, by relying on the activity and strength of its own liberation struggle. The O.U.N. regards external forces and the international political situation as variable factors which can only be of subsidiary significance as far as our fight for freedom is concerned.

2) The main objectives of our political activity abroad are as follows:

a) that our conception of the reconstruction of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, as opposed to all the conceptions directed against the welfare of Ukraine, in particular to the Moscow conception

*This is the highest proof of esteem on the part of the foreign units on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the O.U.N.*

The Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. exhorts all Ukrainians living in foreign countries to support the struggle of the Ukrainians at home to the utmost, to concentrate all their efforts on the measures undertaken for the benefit of the latter by the Western communities, and to combat bolshevism and its Fifth Column in the Western hemisphere by every possible means.

The Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. affirms its solidarity with the anti-bolshevist organizations of those countries in Europe and Asia which are either victims of bolshevism or are directly threatened by its terrorisation, and in particular with the nations of the A.B.N.

The Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. welcomes the attitude of the South Koreans in their refusal to accept a compromise and their unswerving resolve to wage a war which has as its objective an independent and unified Korea and will not be terminated by means of any half-measures as far as a truce is concerned.

The Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. stresses the significance of the revolt of the German working classes and the mass resistance of the German people against bolshevist tyranny in Eastern Germany as measures which strengthen its own Ukrainian anti-bolshevist front.

The Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. appeals to the Western political powers to take the present situation which has arisen in the U.S.S.R. as a result of the fight for freedom of the subjugated nations into account and to participate actively in the struggle which is being carried on against the bolshevist regime and thus prevent the bolsheviks from consolidating their forces.

of a "centralized and undivided" Russia, he recognized and accepted by the free countries;

b) that the other nations should recognize and respect the national fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people and should realize its potential significance for the future;

c) to gain allies for the struggle against Moscow.

3) The Conference approves of the course pursued so far and the foreign political activity of the executive of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. and confirms the foreign political resolutions passed at the Third Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. as still holding good.

The following supplementary measures, however, are stressed as being imperative:

a) the elaboration of our constructive plan to

further mutual relations on all sides in the future, in particular as regards the bloc of Black Sea countries, as one of the most vital factors in Ukrainian foreign policy;

b) the furtherance of our foreign political activity in the Far East and Near East and in particular in Turkey since good neighbourly relations with the latter are most essential for a future mutual understanding between the Ukrainian and the Turkish state.

Neutralist and pro-Moscow influence is in evidence in the Far East and Near East as well as in Southern Asia which is inhabited by half the free peoples of the world. These countries play an important part in the war against Bolshevism because of their human and economic potential as well as their geographical and political position. It is particularly important for the furtherance of our anti-bolshevist movement and policy that the idea of the downfall of the Russian empire be propagated and that these countries be made to realize the imminent danger of a Soviet aggression.

4) The Conference supports the A.B.N. as a centre of co-ordination for the various revolutionary organisations and at the same time is of the opinion that co-operation with these organizations should be intensified in view of the Ukrainians' fight for freedom at home.

We regard the A.B.N. as an organizational and political structure of the common front of the revolutionary liberation movements and organizations of the various nations. The most important factor is that they are agreed in their aims, namely the building up of independent national states, a common course to be pursued, a revolutionary struggle, waged without compromise, against Russian bolshevism, and political activity and forcefulness. The fact that not all the political forces of the various nations are represented in the structure and political activity of the A.B.N. is however of little significance.

5) The Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. recommends that, in connection with foreign political activity in all spheres, activity as regards the sphere of the trades unions be increased which will make it possible to fight communism on the front on which it is most vulnerable and to win over an element which, as far as the policy of every nation in the Western World is concerned, is most important for the Ukrainian work of liberation.

6) It is essential that co-operation with those institutions and prominent personalities of the Western World that regard our cause favorably be furthered and that their positions and influence be strengthened.

7) As regards the present significance of the Ukrainian work of liberation in relation to the international political situation the Fourth Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. stresses the following points in particular:

a) that the governments of the Western major powers still do not support the idea of a partition of the U.S.S.R. into independent national states either by a definite or by a practical and active policy;

b) The co-operation of certain Western politicians with persons who, a short time ago, collaborated with the bolsheviks, and with the "Quislings" of various nations and the fact that these same politicians have refused to have anything to do with genuine representatives of these nations is proof that they do not seek collaboration with political opponents but with agents.

8) The so-called psychological war which is at present being conducted by the Western powers and in particular by the U.S.A. against bolshevism is however only being conducted on the level of the limited and tactical objectives of Western policy and has not as its aim a serious incorporation of the aims of the fight for freedom of the nations that have been subjugated to Moscow tyranny.

9) The so-called Co-ordination Centre of the anti-Bolshevist Campaign (C.C.A.C.) and the organizing and supporting of the same by the

"American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism" is an activity which runs counter to the aims of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, inasmuch as the claims to sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation and of the other nations subjugated by Moscow are denied; and this activity may prove to be a negative influence in the anti-bolshevist struggle which would be to the advantage of bolshevism.

### Judgement of the World-situation

If the quintessence of the political progress of mankind lies in the fact that, the greater the progress, the more people and nations can enjoy the benefits of freedom, then the past decade is one of the most reactionary periods in the entire history of the world.

Russian tyranny has subjugated countless new nations, by turning to its own advantage the erroneous policy of the Western Powers which made this possible instead of aiding the nations subjugated by Moscow.

At present, as never before in the history of the world, the world is split up into two halves: the subjugated nations and peoples, and those threatened by the danger of servitude. More than a third of mankind is ruled by tyranny.

Under these circumstances the problem of the oppressed nations has become one of the most important of all world-wide problems.

#### Two Contradictory Processes

Under the surface of the conflict between the major powers a process has taken place in the non-communist countries of the world which has as its aim the attainment of independence by dependent nations and which has determined their transition to the status of independent states; simultaneously with this process of political emancipation in the non-communist countries of the world a contradictory process is also taking place, namely the process of enslaving more and more nations in those parts of the world ruled by bolshevism. And the past decade in the history of the world is characterized by the ceaseless fight for freedom of the many nations that have been subjugated by Moscow imperialism and communism.

The Western major powers accept the national liberation movements of those nations in Asia and Africa which were hitherto dependent on them, and in this way acknowledge the primary importance and value of the conception of national freedom in its relation to present world events.

The Conference of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N. therefore rejects and opposes all such endeavours which run counter to the aims of the Ukrainian people and are an obstacle to the progress of the world struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism. For this reason it approves of the attitude of the Executive Board of the Foreign Units of the O.U.N., in this respect and of the action taken by the same against the C.C.A.C.

On the strength of these obvious facts it is thus contradictory for the Western major powers to under-estimate the far stronger and, to judge from their results, far more extensive national liberation movements of the ancient and highly civilized nations in those parts of the world ruled by Bolshevism. And it is this fact which is the main cause of the present world crisis and of Moscow's daring in the face of the free countries.

#### Two Poles and their Dissimilarities

The concentration of the greatest economic, military and political forces has intensified the partition of the world into two halves. The hermetic isolation of 750 million people and the natural riches of their countries from the free countries of the world and the transformation of their man-power and their economic potential for the purposes of a terrible system of ruin and war, prompted by the most destructive of principles, has as its aim the creation of a crisis, the elimination of the Western block, namely the U.S.A. as the world rival of Moscow, and, once the whole world has been conquered, the setting up of a world union of Soviet socialist republics as the sole universal empire in which the Russian nation rules supreme. This always was and still is the irrevocable aim of Bolshevism.

In the Soviet block only the Russians are hostile in their attitude to the Western block, whereas countless millions of the people enslaved by them might under certain conditions become allies of the West.

The most effective and logical anti-bolshevist policy has recently been pursued by the U.S.A. inasmuch as its policy is objectively delaying the imminent danger of a further subjugation of the world to bolshevism. On the other hand, however, the present American principle of "united and indivisible", which runs counter to the liberation of the subjugated nations of Russia, is harmful to the progress of the anti-bolshevist national forces in the U.S.S.R. and impedes the attempts

to overthrow Russian imperialism, which remains a constant threat to the rest of the world.

The fact that the U.S.A. does not support the principle of a separation of Ukraine and other nations from Moscow nor the idea of national independent states, but at the same time, on the other hand, aids the process which has as its aim the attainment of independence in the non-communist countries of the world is indicative of a policy which furthers the partition of the world into two halves. For this reason the U.S.A. aims to persuade those nations of the non-communist world which are still dependent to pursue a pro-American policy, but at the same time aims to preserve the Russian empire as a second world power.

The policy that the communist regime be maintained in the satellite states on condition that the Moscow factors be removed (that is to say on condition that Moscow puts up with a special kind of Tito-ism in these states) and an equally significant diplomatic game as far as Germany is concerned have as their aim a provisional agreement on the strength of the partition of the world into two halves.

#### Conception of Division of World into Three Parts and Balance of Power

The efforts of Great Britain to secure for herself and for Western Europe the role of an independent mediator between the two greatest powers by means of a compromise with the U.S.S.R. at the expense of the nations subjugated by bolshevism would have the same results as the Munich Agreement, since bolshevism is not striving to attain peace but world domination. Any shifting of the scene of the conflict can only prove an advantage to bolshevism since it gives the latter a chance to slow down the national revolutionary process and continue to strengthen and increase its own war potential. Any partition of the world either into two or three parts gives bolshevism an opportunity to undermine and weaken the inner political structure of the Western powers and also shatters the confidence of the subjugated nations in the Western countries. It is precisely by politically supporting the fight for freedom of the nations subjugated by Moscow — contrary to the present American political principle of "united and indivisible" — that Great Britain and Western Europe could secure for themselves an active part in the final game between the West and the U.S.S.R. as well as in the future distribution of power.

#### Moscow's Strength and Weakness

1) In these days when the conception of the freedom of nations and of mankind has reached its highest level nations can only be subjugated either by deceiving them with lies or by enslaving them by means of totalitarian practices, namely by a system of collectivism without exception, a Soviet regime, and a general subjugation of the individual.

a) The bolshevist social and economic system is in the first place a form of national subjugation and a hitherto unheard-of economic oppression and exploitation of nations and individuals. The fact that certain circles in Western Europe approve of the collective economic system and other forms of the present system applied by the bolshevist regime must be regarded as a desire to maintain a well-tried system of exploitation in those countries which may possibly be liberated from bolshevism. Nazism, too, although it was anti-Marxist, did not radically destroy the communist collectivist economic system, but likewise resorted to it in order to enslave the individual and subjugate the nations.

b) Bolshevist ideology has no power of attraction; for this reason the bolsheviks camouflage their Russian imperialistic aims as regards the dependent nations of Asia and Africa with slogans of a national fight for freedom and a struggle against material need, — proof of the ineffectuality of communist, internationalist, and Russian "Messianic" ideologies.

c) New forces have made their appearance on the world stage with the birth of a new national consciousness and the ever-increasing endeavours on the part of the nations to assert themselves and safeguard their independence. The communities of the Western World — under pressure of scepticism, standardisation of all values, and disbelief — are not in agreement with the ideas

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## There is Still Time . . .

(Concluded from Page 2)

factors will make these ideals their own in order that they may be put into practice. It is time to put away entirely the idea of an indivisible Russian empire, such as is propagated, for example, under the standard of the "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism", and to make an end of the favouring of, and cooperation with, bolshevist collaborators from the satellite states. The true spokesmen of the national revolutionary liberation forces and the inexorable ideological opponents of bolshevism cannot be ignored without spoiling the unique chance which Moscow is today giving the West.

Ideals such as Harold E. Stassen put forward before the assumption of government by the Republicans and the views of John Foster Dulles on the nations of the Near East and Southern Asia should guide American policy in connection with our countries and their independence.

When matters have reached the stage where Soviet soldiers refuse to shoot into crowds of demonstrators, when thousands of people go on to the streets and oppose Soviet tanks with their bare hands, when the underground fight, even of the nations which have long been subjugated by Moscow, lifts its head once more, and when finally, in the Kremlin, the heads of Beria's followers are falling, the armistice in Korea can be regarded as nothing other than a blunder. The old Syngman Rhee

was in truth the only one to judge the world situation correctly. It was not the time for half-measures. It was, much more, the time for Russia to experience its Pearl Harbour . . .

The time demands that western commanders of the stature of General Patton place themselves protectively before the revolutionaries with a few lightning panzer-divisions. The moment presses for military support of our nations' underground fight, by a simultaneous advance on the central point, the Kremlin, where the tyrants are even now plotting against and killing each other. It would be also in order to broadcast among the subjugated peoples an ardent manifesto of freedom, proclaiming the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations and the restoration of their national and political independence. Millions of pamphlets on the enslaved countries, wireless messages announcing our ideals, an unconditional recognition of the fundamentals of freedom for nations and individuals, would today have succeeded in setting in motion the avalanche of the liberating revolution. By this, Moscow's despotic rule would be eliminated more quickly than one has ever dared to hope.

No armistice and no compromise with the Kremlin can bring peace on earth and free the world from fear, but only a resolute, offensive advance.

*It is still not too late.*

Moscow's Methods:**Massing as a Tool of Imperialism**

St. The U.S.S.R. is progressing steadily towards war and a decisive reckoning with the free world. This thesis has been our main theme for years, and we do not believe that it has fundamentally changed today in this respect. The whole Soviet economy is being organized with a view to inevitable war, which cannot be veiled by any kind of "breathing-space". The whole strategy of the Soviets is being adapted to their political war-plans, which are being forwarded in two ways: **aggression without and diversion within.**

The bankruptcy of world-revolutionary slogans even among the Soviet younger generation, which was not international nor even "Soviet-patriotic", but clung to its national consciousness, forced the Soviets to seize upon the slogan of a "fatherland-war" and to employ the catchwords of Suvorov and Kutuzov, yes, even of a Bohdan Khmel-nitzky! Nevertheless Moscow sets all its hopes, in truth, only on the chosen Russian people, on the Russian race-instinct and the Russian Messianism, which had to be made the support of a world-imperialism.

There is necessarily open contradiction between the well-known export-phrases about world-revolution, destined for western snobs and for millions of communists in France, Italy or China, and the naked aim of the Russians, which it ever holds before its eyes: the longed for domination of the whole world.

The socialisation of the economy in the whole Soviet sphere of domination is being carried out, totally and intensively, only for the purpose of weakening the individual in the dominated countries and to render more easy the enslavement of millions of people of alien nations. Collectivization in all its forms is most effective in bending and breaking the human will, and, in the interests of this aim, very catastrophic decrease in production is allowed for. Otherwise, without having used these proven methods, it would have been impossible for the Russians to keep the enslaved alien peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as almost half of Europe and Asia, under their knout. Faced with the alternative of a sinking of the standard of living on the one hand and a slackening of forced labour and limitation of freedom on the other, Russia will be compelled to decide, again and again, for collectivization, socialization, nationalization, etc., and to keep to them, if she does not want to surrender her rule of force.

Only thus can it be understood why countries with rich, even surplus, agriculture, such as Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Eastern Germany, the Baltic countries, etc. are today suffering from lack of bread and are not even safe from famine, although until recently they were in the position abundantly to supply the densely-populated and large industrial countries of West with foodstuffs. The distress of these countries, which allegedly has to be endured in the interests of the "construction of socialism", is in reality nothing more than a deliberate economic and intellectual strangulation of their peoples, in order to turn them into slaves, with no wills of their own, in the service of Russia and in the interests of Russian imperialism. Another explanation of their distress, it is true, is the systematic exhaustion of their agriculture to serve the needs of Russia and the aims of the Soviet-Russian economy, which is directed towards war.

Collectivization and socialization thus signify for Moscow today, not only a kind of social-economic category of exploitation, but, from the beginning and above all, a means of national oppression as a modern form of imperialism.

Totalitarianism reveals itself as the tool of imperialistic aims. The golden days of chivalry war are at an end. In the present mercantile world there are no more knights.

The knights are hanged and betrayed, as, for example, Mikhailovich was delivered up to the knife of Tito, or as Bor Komorovsky's agreed Warsaw revolt was allowed to bleed to death, and as the heroic U.P.A. commander, Chuprynka, was abandoned, alone and without support, to the hirelings of the M.V.D.

The West has fallen into Moscow's trap and has begun to confuse honour and chivalry with fascism, by including, according to the bolshevist recipe, everything in this term that is not slavish, and opposes the bolshevist idea of massing. It has therefore come to the point when every patriot who supports inflexibly his national idea and is not a spineless toady is branded by the West as a fascist. Countless accessories of the bolsheviks, on the other hand, who have until only recently been serving Moscow and have helped the Kremlin, are today regarded as real democrats and are allowed to be partners with the West in the crusade against the bolshevist tyranny.

To come back to our main thesis, we may at all times maintain that totalitarianism and massing, as the modern instruments of imperialism, are strived at everywhere that a nation aims at ruling over alien peoples. We hope that the time may never come when the western world will try to retain the kolkhoze-system in the East, as Hitler did in

*E. Sh. Bulaq Bashi:*

**The Country Which Never Thinks of Capitulation**

*One of a series of articles by the well-known Turkestanian politician, publicist and member of the "National Turkestanian Unity Committee", who is familiar, as no other, with the peculiar problems of his native land. — Ed.*

**Turkistan in the Revolution 1917**

In the eyes of the nations ruled by Russia, the words "Russia" and "Russian" embody the conception of an imperialistic country and people. In like manner, the words "Communist Party" and "Soviet Government" are understood by the nations which were overthrown by Soviet Russia, and are still languishing under her domination, as signifying cruelty, robbery and plunder, terrorism, outlawry, deception, famine and murder. It is true that the Communists came forward with the slogan "Equality and liberty for the peoples" when establishing their political power, but from that day forward, when they had the power in their hands, they continued the same imperialistic and colonising policy as had been pursued by Tsarist Russia. Indeed, they realised and are still realising it in an intensified and many times more evil way.

The non-Russian peoples, who, until the revolution of 1917, had continually struggled for their liberty and independence against the oppression of Tsarist Russia, were originally well-disposed towards the revolution directed against the imperialist Tsarist regime of Russia. It even appears that, in some cases, inspired by hopes of liberty, they supported the revolution by attacking the local Tsarist officials. These hopes were not that a different Russian government-system would arise in the place of Tsarist Russia; but that they would get a national, independent state free from oppression, and attain their national independence.

On this account, after they had been disillusioned about bolshevism, the anti-Russian fight of the non-Russian nations took on a more severe form. This showed itself especially clearly in the the freedom-movement of the Turkestanian nation, which, in the half-century of its occupation, had constantly resisted Muscovy.

**Bolsheviks out-bid Kerensky Party**

At that time, when all the parties in Russia wanted the Revolution to succeed for their own purposes, each of them came forward with false

Ukraine or in Byelorussia, in order to expand the German "Lebensraum" to Voronizw-Kursk, and under the pretext that otherwise it would not be possible to maintain agricultural production at the required level. That would only mean that the new "liberators" wish to prepare a new subjugation of our countries and peoples.

Collectivism, communism, proletarian world-revolution — all these catchwords are only hashish for the nations to whom they are scattered, in a masterly and perdidious fashions, by the Russians. There are people and nations who become highly excited before the mirage of these slogans which promise them social release, the abolition of colonial slavery and a new life in freedom and justice. But after they have overthrown the colonial statute or the capitalistic social order under the banner of Moscow and then set to work to realise their ideals by the application of the much-promising systems of collectivization, nationalization, total denial of individual human desires and religion, these nations come in reality into a still crueller slavery. Then are they gripped by despair, like a traveller in the desert who has pursued the mirage of an oasis and, instead of finding water, is destroyed by sand-storm and the glare of the sun. When they recover from their pipe-dream, it is already too late.

The nations subjugated by bolshevism have long been immune to that kind of narcosis and are thus fighting today unerringly against the Soviet-Russian occupiers, who possess, besides force, no other means of keeping them in subjection.

slogans and promises, in order to gain the sympathies of the oppressed nations.

In the first periods of the Communist insurrection there were in Turkistan, as in other territories, two kinds of Russian forces. Each of them attempted, in one way or another, to attract the Turkestanians on to their side in the fight against the Tsarist regime. One of these parties was the Russian-communist and the other was the organizations belonging to the Kerensky party. None of the Turkestanians, who were fighting for their national liberty, belonged to these parties; they were fighting for their own cause. It was, therefore, important and necessary for both these Russian groups to obtain the support and goodwill of the Turkestanians, so that they could obtain the mastery in Turkistan. Now it should have been the task of the Turkestanian patriots to exploit the struggle between these Russian parties by uniting in a strong front and creating a broad national movement to demand national autonomy and to proclaim independence. As a consequence, however, of a series of strategical mistakes, they could not join together in a united front quickly enough; some national leaders even believed the lying promises of the Russians and fell for their tactics. The one Russian group acted as if it were lending an ear to the demands of the nationalists, and promised autonomy, and the other announced that they would acknowledge the right to independence. These latter were the bolsheviks. Even at that time, it was not difficult to see that the promises and assurances of these parties, which might have been the basis of treaties, were empty humbug, and would never be carried out. There were still enough patriots in the fatherland who were taking the standard of national independence firmly into their hands and were still fighting against Turkistan's receiving a Russian government — regardless of what colour or system — and coming anew under Russian supervision and jurisdiction.

For the Turkestanian nation, the communist ideology is a completely alien philosophy. Since

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# After Beria's End

By Spectator

The announcement of the elimination of one of the apparently mightiest men of the U.S.S.R., Beria, marks the culmination of a wide-reaching purge of the M.V.D. apparatus and the slaughtering of thousands of Beria's "personal confidantes" in the M.V.D. system. The M.V.D. system in the U.S.S.R. is a state within a state and has at its disposal all the powers of one; this "state" is quite independent and comes under scarcely any control; possesses its own army, the M.V.D. Units, its own industry and economy, which is manned by the almost 20 million strong slave-army in the concentration camps.

Among the accusations which were made against Beria is that he had attempted — supported by the M.V.D. apparatus — to seize the power in the Party and to snatch the reins of government. How far this accusation corresponds to the truth has, at the moment, not the slightest importance.

It suggests, however, that the purged M.V.D. apparatus, infiltrated by Malenkov's followers, will perform the same functions to the same degree (or, at least, should, if Malenkov has anything to do with it) as it did in Beria's day, with the single difference that it was formerly a tool of Stalin's, and is now Malenkov's instrument.

The internal conflict in the upper ranks of the Kremlin for the acquisition of the "Stalinistic inheritance" has now claimed its first victim. From the sentence in Pravda's commentary on Beria's liquidation: "Collective leadership is the most important fundamental of our Party", it may clearly be seen how hard the gentlemen in the Kremlin are trying to conceal this struggle with the "abolition of the cult of personality" and the "introduction of collective leadership" that was advocated by Marx.

Malenkov maliciously surprised his opponent with "a few loyal comrades" (as a result of Beria's carelessness) somewhere in a "dark corner", perhaps even on his way to one of the meetings of the Council of Ministers or of the Presidium of the Party.

It looks as if Malenkov, with his brother-in-law, Khrushchev, the first Secretary of the Communist Party, had, by Beria's arrest and the control of the M.V.D., got the entire Party and the security organizations of the U.S.S.R. under their control.

The leading article in "Pravda" which deals with the general lines of the policy which Beria is supposed to have betrayed runs as follows:

"It is the sacred duty of the Party to cement the friendship of the nations of the U.S.S.R., as well as to strengthen our multi-national socialist State, the training of our Soviet peoples in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and the decisive, uncompromising fight against all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism."

Thus the necessity is underlined in the first place of the complete consolidation of the Russian empire. This task, and the general lines of the policy, best express the aims of Russian imperialism and its immediate supporter, the army. By the subordination of the M.V.D. apparatus to the Party, Malenkov is making a bow in the direction of the Soviet Army. At the same time, however, he is weakening the position of the Army-leaders, especially of his rival, the "civilian general" Bulganin.

The form of the political propaganda in the U.S.S.R. has changed since the fall of Beria. Now one hears only of the measures which are likely to promote the strengthening and consolidation of the Russian Empire. There is nowhere any mention of measures which would serve to "raise living-standards and improve the position of the workers" and of which so much was heard after Stalin's death. This proves that Stalin's general lines in the internal politics of the U.S.S.R. are to be confirmed.

The "collective leaders" of the U.S.S.R. were forced, after Stalin's death, to admit a so-called "liberalization of internal conditions". Under the pressure of the opposition of the newly-conquered states and the Soviet Zone of Germany to the rigorous "Sovietising and Socialization", liberalising measures have apparently been introduced there.

Although these gestures have achieved no visible relaxation of tension, they have yet created an

atmosphere of unfounded hopes. The direct results of this liberalization in Ukraine has been, as may be seen from the Moscow Press, open sabotage of work in the kolkhozes. The revolts in the Soviet Zone of Germany on June 17th have led to such a far-reaching "liberalization" that the intimidated marionettes of Moscow, quite losing their heads, have, acting on instructions from Moscow through Semyonov, called upon all "kulaks" (farmers) who have fled to the West to return, promising them the return of their farms and their political rights.

The appeal of Kruglov, a specialist in the organization and administration of concentration camps and therefore one of the executive, has caused the conviction that the policy will in fact be continued, and under the slogan of "No slackening!"

The reintroduction of such a political course under the conditions at present prevailing in the newly-conquered states is like pouring oil upon the fire of unrest and insurrection. The usual Kremlin methods of one party big-shot eliminating another by means of a pistol applied to the

back of the neck have, in themselves, a far-reaching political importance. They have a very negative effect upon conditions in the Kremlin itself but, for the masses oppressed and terrorised by the M.V.D., they are an incitement to revolt. In the free world, meanwhile, they deprive those who are enthusiastic for Moscow of all hopes and illusions. As was reported from Italy, the news of Beria's arrest caused greater concern and disappointment among the communists there than all the efforts of their opponents.

The liquidation of Beria is, and remains, a fact which, no matter whether such surprises are repeated or not, is able seriously to threaten the position of the Kremlin within the U.S.S.R., as well as in the free world. This event is also of little less importance for political developments in China and the whole of Asia. The present-day U.S.S.R., whether or not it continues with this policy of promoting and confirming "liberalization" and "introduction of strict justice", all of which is only intended as a manoeuvre, runs the risk of this manoeuvre being taken seriously by the subjugated nations.

At present, the "cordon sanitaire" which, until the Second World War, had always helped the U.S.S.R. to settle internal unrest, has been transformed into a gigantic territory which nourishes and feeds the internal unrest and is forming a potential that is capable of breaking-up the U.S.S.R. from within.

## The Country Which Never . . .

(Continued from Page 5)

the bolshevik delusion is the inexorable foe of Islam, as of all other religions, and the Turkestanians belong to Islam, they regard this ideology as something quite foreign to them, because Russian communism is diametrically opposed to the Turkestanian national character, the national feeling of morality, to the national economy and the customs and conventions of Turkistan. For these reasons, despite its half-century of constant colonial oppression by Tsarist Russia, the nation never had one representative among the ranks of the Russian communists fighting against the Tsarist regime, even in those periods when it had to struggle alone, with its own resources, and under difficult conditions, against this violation.

Among the Turkestanian people there is no division into classes and consequently no class-warfare either. According to the teaching of the communists themselves, the communist ideal stands and falls on the question of the class warfare which, in capitalist countries, is carried on by the organized workers, i. e. the proletarian class, against the bourgeoisie. Since time immemorial, the Turkestanian nation has lived on the principle of social justice, so that there exists in it no economic or political conditions for the rise of communist tendencies. The fight which the nation has been carrying on for many years is much more a war solely against alien oppression, and its basis is the striving for national liberty and political independence. For this reason the Russian communists and Moscow dictators look, even today, with fear and distrust towards Turkistan. They may well do so, for the Turkestanian nation has still not capitulated.)

The fact that the theories of Marxism and Leninism can find no intellectual breeding-ground in Turkestanian conditions has been, at various times, guaranteed by the Russians communists themselves.

The American journalist, L. Hopson, who has travelled in Turkistan in Soviet times and got to know it, says in an article that was published in the "Paris Midi" (Feb. 14th, 1930) under the title of "The Soviets have surrounded Turkistan with a red wall": Turkistan is in Central Asia; it was conquered by the Russians at the end of the last century. The people of this country have never taken the Russian yoke upon them voluntarily; now, however, it is not dominated simply by Russians, but by Russian bolshevism, which is destroying the national traditions and thus strengthening the hatred against the Russians daily. "When one comes from Moscow to Central Asia one wonders at the atmosphere of war that lies over the country" . . . "Everywhere are soldiers. Even the railway station of Tashkent is full of military. In the streets and everywhere are soldiers. Fearing attack from the native population, the soldiers go, not singly, but in groups" . . . "All the soldiers have come from the provinces of Russia" . . . "The Turkestanians have not yet bowed their heads under the communist yoke."

The Russian communist Golosov expressed the view that, in the East, life and progress had taken a different path; therefore it was impossible to apply in the East the theory created by Marx and the theories of Marxism-Leninism in general. The penetration of bolshevism into Turkistan was uncompromisingly opposed by the structure and character of the native economic, political, cultural and religious life in every respect. But brute force had one again subjugated the country.

### Stalin's Mockery and Malice

The communist ideology was forcibly introduced into Turkistan from without. When alien invaders are so very odious to the natives of the country, it is not because of their external appearance, but because their methods, their system and their ideals which are so repugnant to them. Therefore it came about that the Russian communists, who had established their rule in Turkistan by means of armed force, came up against the resistance of the Turkestanian people. In the preliminary stages, this resistance showed itself, not as an active, armed resistance on the part of the nation, but expressed itself in the making of political demands.

The first congress of the native workers and farmers, which took place on Dec. 26th, 1917, in the town of Fergana, decided to send a telegram to the Soviet government in St. Petersburg which ran as follows: "We request the Soviet Government to relieve the Soviet commissars in Tashkent, as they are supported by elements alien to Turkistan, namely the Russian soldiers from the central government of Russia. The Kokand Government must be acknowledged as the legal one. Otherwise, the Turkestanian peasants and workers will feel themselves obliged to take the necessary steps themselves."

This telegram was sent off on Dec. 27th, 1917. On Jan. 5th, 1918, Stalin answered in the name of the Soviet Government, without any examination of the situation, in the following telegram:

"The councils (Soviets) are autonomous as concerns their internal affairs. The Turkestanian workers, therefore, do not need to apply to St. Petersburg with a request for the dispersal of the Tashkent Soviet commissars, but should drive them out by force, if the Turkestanian peasants and workers have such force at their disposal. Stalin, People's Commissar for National Affairs."

The Turkestanians did not possess enough weapons, as they had been taken over by the Russians. It was impossible for them to drive out the Russian commissars in their own strength. Stalin knew that very well. The Russian armed forces, which had brandished their swords over the native

# The Black Sea in the Strategy of the Future

By Col. M. S. Magnetesko

When we contemplate the prospect of a conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the West, we may confidently assert that the communist armies will find themselves in an awkward situation in the north and south, where they will have two unprotected flanks — the Arctic area and the Black Sea.

The Black Sea should not be thought of as a special base from which the operations of the armies would be conducted, but as the centre of the complex of fronts which the U.S.S.R. would form against Turkey and the countries of the Near East.

When one considers the countries on the Black Sea from the East and from the West, one should not separate from it the other tracts of water (the areas of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, also the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf) which would be similarly implicated.

On more careful consideration, one may state that, from the viewpoint of the West, the Black Sea is a water-territory which is driven like a wedge far to the north into the territories of the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states. From here the industrial centres of the U.S.S.R. can be reached by the shortest route and, by a preponderance of air-power, also those of the Urals and, behind them, Moscow could be annihilated.

It was on this account that, at the end of World War II, the bolsheviks quickly began to build new fortifications along the whole coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and to restore the old, which had been destroyed by the Germans on the one hand and the bolsheviks themselves on the other.

This great segment from the west coasts of Bulgaria, Rumania, Ukraine, and the Caucasian countries, on until the most southerly port, Batum, is now an uninterrupted fortification like the Atlantic coastline on the verge of the sea itself and in the depth of the continent, where there are strong defence-works. Those points of support are being constructed on the territory of the satellite states and the subjugated nations of the U.S.S.R. and they will thus be the first to bear the burden of the war. Their villages and towns will fall victim to annihilation from the air.

During the war, the strategic and operative reserves of the Supreme Command of the future fronts was being concentrated on Ukrainian soil.

The entire economic potential of Ukraine will have to be at the disposal of the armies.

Because the chief theatres of warlike operations must be in the direction of lands with a Mohammedan population, the bolsheviks will, by means of suitable propaganda, recall all the historic disputes with the Mohammedan world. After World War II the bolsheviks conquered two-thirds of the Black Sea coast, with the exception of the southern coast, over which they are, however, striving to gain complete mastery. The attempts of Tsarist Russia and the U.S.S.R. to get hold of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles have as yet been unsuccessful. Eventually, no one will be able to operate undisturbed in the Black Sea unless he holds the approaches.

population, and the Russian farmers and workers, had remained quite intact, and had come under the supervision of the new Russian commissars. The latter named themselves the "Soviet of the worker- and soldier-deputies". The Russian October Revolution had played no great role at all in Turkistan and in the life of the nation. How should a communist revolution come into question in a nation which contained not one single communist. The only sign in Turkistan of the Russian revolution was a passing wind, caused by the taking over of the positions of the Tsarist officials by Russian communists. With the military forces of the Russian Government which before the Revolution of 1917 overthrew, under the leadership of Martins, Faulbaum, Kuropatkin, Ivanov, Luskain etc., the Turkestanian nation and robbed it of its riches, was established in Turkistan the dictatorship of the proletariat or, more exactly, the dictatorship of the Russian communists.

## Main Areas of Deployment in the East

The Second World War led, on account of the inadequate policy of the western states, to the coasts of Rumanian and Bulgaria being seized by the bolsheviks. It is clear that whoever possesses the west coast of the Black Sea also controls the navigation of the Danube. Here the U.S.S.R. has an unlimited political and strategical influence, as well as the opportunity for the economic exploitation of these countries. From here, the U.S.S.R. will probably carry out its plans of attacking Turkey and other countries.

The bolsheviks know well that in the future they have to expect war with the great sea-powers (U.S.A. and England). They also know that almost

## Diplomatic Representatives of the U.S.A. for Ukraine and Byelorussia?

A sub-committee of the American House of Representatives has passed a resolution that diplomatic relations should be taken up with Ukraine and Byelorussia and that diplomatic representatives should be sent to both states. The resolution came into being within the framework of the so-called liberation-policy which the U.S.A. is pursuing, and will be passed on to the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.

The fact of this bid for friendship had already been made public by the radio and the press-agencies. What, if any, practical political effects it will have, only the future can show. In any case, this resolution can be registered as a pleasant advance in the direction of occasioning the American Government to place itself behind the will for liberty of the still subjugated states and of giving expression to this on a diplomatic level. It would at last mean the fulfilment of that which U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, have often programmatically announced in their speeches.

all the operations of strategic importance which were carried out by the U.S.A. and England during the Second World War were executed either on the ocean or from the ocean, primarily by the forces of America. These have gained great experience in the military sea-operations in Korea and now have at their disposal unlimited possibilities in this sphere. All this has forced the bolsheviks, in fortifying the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, to think, not only of the mainland, but also of the sea-forces, particularly the submarines, which they are rapidly building with the help of mobilised German experts. In addition, the bolsheviks built, at the end of World War II, the Volga-Don Canal, which now possesses great importance, as it connects the more remote centres of the U.S.S.R. with the Black Sea. This water-highway will make it possible to transport the submarines (from the Sormov works in Gorki) and the great diesel engines for them (Kolomna works in Moscow). Furthermore it should be noted that the munitions from the Ural factories can be brought on to this route along the rivers Kama and Bila without crowding the railways.

Ukrainian territory from the mouth of the Danube to the Caucasus is crossed by great rivers, that will also be very important in wartime. All these rivers, with the exception of the Kuban, favour operations from south to north.

It suffices to point out that, in the presence of well thought-out operational plans for the occupation of the most important points — the ports in the estuaries and the estuary areas — opportunities would occur for the formation of bridge-heads from which warlike operations could be further developed in a northerly direction. Whoever dominates the southerly areas on the Black Sea is a fatal menace to the whole Russian strategy.

One should also bear in mind the other Moscow-subjugated countries, such as North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and Cosackia, which, in some way, have connection with the Black Sea, and are able, together with Ukraine, to contribute to the final victory over the U.S.S.R. if only the subjugated peoples are given a convincing guarantee of their independence.

## The Possible Locations of Operations in the Black Sea

The formation of the Soviet Black Sea front will, in our opinion, make possible operations against the hypothetical enemies of the U.S.S.R., namely Turkey, Iran, Greece, Yugoslavia and the countries of the Near East. The lines of action may be:

- 1) That of the Black Sea proper;
- 2) The Caucasian;
- 3) The Balkan;
- 4) The Central Asian.

## The Black Sea Line

To this will belong, not only Ukraine, but also Bulgaria and Rumania. Operations will be directed against Turkish territory. The main action of the armies of the U.S.S.R. will be carried out from the West coast of the Black Sea, i. e. from Rumania and Bulgaria. Besides that, the Black Sea fleet will operate from the northern supporting-points of Ukraine against the northern parts of Turkey. With these actions will be combined those of the continental army, which will move from the direction of the Caucasus to the town of Trapezunt, from the west coast of Bulgaria towards Istanbul, and further through the Bosphorus to the ports of Sile and Sinop. This line of action will make it necessary for the U.S.S.R. to gain the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, as well as the northern ports of Turkey. The establishment of the U.S.S.R. armies on Turkish territory, after the occupation of the capital, Ankara, and the west coast of Asia Minor, will give the U.S.S.R. the chance of having its Black Sea submarine fleet operate, not only in the Aegean, against the Greek and allied forces, but also in the Mediterranean against the fleets and supporting-points of England and the U.S.A. The main forces of the Black Sea line will be the armies of the military areas of Odessa and a part of Kyiv and Kharkiv, the armies attached to the Black Sea fleet, and the Bulgarian army.

## The Caucasian Line

The forming of the Caucasian line is occasioned by the necessity for the U.S.S.R. to seize the oil-wells in Iran and the lands of the Near East and to conduct military operations against Turkey from an easterly direction. The invasion of Iran and the countries of the Near East (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Egypt) will offer the opportunity of occupying the oil-wells, for the provision of the motorised armies and the aeroplanes, attacking Turkey through Syria, and seizing the oil-line from Lebanon which goes from Iraq to the port of Tripoli and is the chief source of supply for the American and English fleets in the Mediterranean.

Passing through Transjordan, Israel and the eastern part of Egypt, the armies of the U.S.S.R. can occupy Port Said and Suez, which are the key to the Indian Ocean. We must also mention the English and American supporting-point on the island of Cyprus, which is very important and which the U.S.S.R. will do everything in its means to get into its hands. Military operations against Turkey from this direction will be carried out, mainly along the southern coast of the Black Sea, against the nearer ports. The eastern districts of Turkey as far as the border of Iraq will probably be held, on account of their mountainous nature, in a stationary war. The execution of these operations in the shortest possible time will presumably be the chief duty of the U.S.S.R. armies concerned. The armies used in this opera-

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## The Problems of our Liberation-Struggle

# Cadre of the Liberating Revolution

By Col. O. W. Kryzhanovsky

*We have received a Cossackian contribution, on the problem of the military forces of the national revolution, which we are publishing here as a discursive article. — Ed.*

The carrying-out of the national liberating revolution undoubtedly demands its own fighting forces. Necessary to successful organisation is a correct estimation of the peculiarities and possibilities in connection with the time and place of the first uprising. In recent years, these peculiarities have been standardised and remain without any special alteration for the next few years. The population of the U.S.S.R. may be divided into the following five distinct groups:

- 1) Native population;
- 2) People who have remained in the Soviet Army;
- 3) Prisoners in the concentration camps;
- 4) "Bytovyky" prisoners;
- 5) "Special-migrants".

Each of these groups has its own peculiarities which distinguish it clearly from the others. In order to show the political value of these groups, we will make a short analysis of their inherent differences:

1) The native population has, as a result of incessant oppression on the part of the government, no longer a hundred per cent. reliability for the purpose of revolution. There is much reason to suppose that only 50—60% of the native constituents have not lost their usefulness for participating in a national liberation action.

This revolutionary part is to play a important role in the liberating-revolution, if we wish to employ the national forces properly.

2) The second part of the national population, which remains in the ranks of the Russian Army, will also take an active part in the liberating-revolution. For the incorporation of them in the ranks of the revolutionary fighting forces, it is necessary for the battle to be already in progress. There is no doubt that the cruel discipline in the Russian Army in the first phase of an armed conflict, would prevent the possibility of a mass-desertion of the national elements on to the side of the liberating-revolution. The first important revolutionary-military successes, however, would be certain to weaken the effect of the discipline and to lead to a coming-over to the side of the liberating army.

3) The political prisoners in the concentration camps are hardly useful material for using in the national liberating-revolution. They are to some extent people from the intellectual classes who have behaved loyally towards the Russian authorities. Their "crime" is only their intelligence. The genuine and active national revolutionaries do not go into the concentration camps, but are summarily executed.

4) The "Bytovyky" prisoners have been sentenced for "venial offences" which are of neither a "criminal" or "political" nature. They are not to be found in the concentration camps, but in I.T.K. (Ispravitelno-Trudoviyi Koloniji = Reformatory Labour Colonies). They represent no politically important element.

5) "Special-evacuees and Special-migrants" comprise considerable groups of the population from non-Russian countries within the Russian empire who, on the pretext of combatting the "kurkules", have had their property confiscated, been torn away from their environment, and deported to Siberia, to the north, to beyond the Urals and to the Far East. They live the life of slave-workers behind the barbed-wire under incredible living-conditions. Their situation is, without question, worse than that of the concentration-camp prisoners. The latter can count upon some kind of care in respect of clothing and medicaments, which are denied to the "special-migrants".

The concentration-camp prisoners are sentenced for a certain period, after which they may regain their liberty. The "special-migrants", however, are condemned for life.

Every concentration-camp inmate possesses the right of appeal against his sentence. The "special-

migrants" have no such right. The real aim of the compulsory migration is not the combatting of the "kurkules", but the fight against the national consciousness of the subjugated nations, especially those representatives of this feeling who are in economically better positions.

As has been shown by the practice of the last 20 years, the Underground cadre, etc. has consisted of people from the special-migrant contingents. Some of them fled to the Underground to escape deportation, others succeeded, after

## Here and There

### A Psychological Comparison

By Aino Torm

It almost seems as if real intellectual freedom were to be found, even if overlaid by bolshevist lumber, among the subjugated peoples of the East. Here, personal and material security, independence, and freedom of religion are lost, but one stands on the firm ground of reality, while the human being in the West has been so lulled to sleep by a feeling of temporal personal and material security that he, despite the many experiences of the past, lets parties, groups and election campaigners make him into a hypnotized rabbit. That is, if he does not go so far as to view reality through spectacles whose colour has been determined by Moscow. The peoples of the East cannot understand how one can set the values, that they have lost, so lightly at stake, — the opportunity for nation and individual for development of the personality, in contrast to massing, the precious inheritance of freedom of belief and the opportunity of fighting for these inestimable treasures. They have just as little comprehension of the egoistic blindness of sectarian groups as they have of the senile manifestation of neutral defeatism and the other blossoms from the Moscow tree which the east wind has blown over.

People whose liberty has been forcibly confined to liberty of thought learn very quickly to read the thoughts of their fellow-men as in a mirror. Thus, the peoples of the East can no longer be deceived. They read in the "eternally only demanding" the inability to achieve results, in political neutrality a cowardly fear of responsibility, and in the proclaimers of "socialist mass-welfare" they recognise the enemies of personality, disguise themselves how they may, — they are the same forces, in manifold disguise, that have led them themselves to destruction. It sounds so paradoxical that the fear that these destructive forces will be able to complete their work in Europe is greater behind the Iron Curtain than in the free world, which continues to dance itself into unconsciousness on the edge of the volcano, and forgets that it is, after all, Moscow that is playing the tune.

Behind the Iron Curtain only one enemy is known — the Soviet-Russian oppressors and their helpers and abettors, in whatever shape they may appear. Still more: through this common suffering has been overcome the hatred of erstwhile foes. Germans returning home and refugees tell not infrequently of good understanding with the subjugated peoples and of the common struggle against Moscow in the ranks of the partisans.

In the face of this unanimity of the common front against the bolshevist tyranny behind the Iron Curtain, the dissensions, lack of unity, national egoism, and deluded readiness to compromise of many people and nations in the free world is a cause for shame!

surmounting many difficulties, in escaping from the special migration area.

This influx, viewed politically, is the most valuable and the most capable of resistance.

From this we may draw the following conclusions:

1) The formation of a revolutionary fighting-force must at first be carried out with the help of the specially trained commando-cadre. The cadre of the native underground movement is to serve as material for this formation.

2) Later, after a certain, but not too long, period has elapsed, the anti-Russian classes of the native population are to be incorporated as well in the revolutionary fighting-forces. Before that, however, the numerous Russian officials and the illegal M.V.D. troops are to be liquidated, with the assistance of the native revolutionary forces.

3) Only then, but not before the successful commencement of the armed warlike struggle, will the influx of nationals from the Russian Army follow, at first in a passive, and then in an active, form.

4) Simultaneously with the beginning of the warlike struggle will begin the influx of contingents of special-migrants in the areas of revolutionary action. In this case, it would be necessary to make early preparations by sending out the special commando cadre.

It is important to mention that the Western organizations which have been formed, and that only in recent years, to combat slave-labour have trusted exclusively Russian emigrés with the working-out of these problems. As a result, the activities of these organizations have been planned by the Russians in a way which is most favourable to their aims. The apparatus of these organizations deals only with the concentration camps, without any mention of that Russian invention, the special-migration. In 1950, there were 15 to 18 million prisoners in the concentration camps and no less than 25 million special-migrants. Why is it not recognised that these 25 million are being held as slaves and why does no-one hear about them? Obviously only because, in regard to this form of warfare against the national consciousness of the subjugated non-Russian nations, all Russians, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, are fundamentally quite united.

## The Black Sea . . .

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tion will be mainly from the North-Caucasian and Transcaucasian areas and a part from the Volga area.

### Balkan Line

Military operations on the Balkan line will, according to Soviet plans, be carried out on Greek and Yugoslavian territory. The taking of this line will be caused by the necessity for the U.S.S.R. to occupy the Balkan Peninsula, which would procure for it a key position on the Aegean Sea. The combination of this strategy with the Black Sea and Caucasian lines would help the U.S.S.R. to conquer Suez in a shorter time. Moreover, it would allow the U.S.S.R. to operate in the Adriatic Sea and to menace Italy with occupation. The forces employed would be from the military areas of Carpathia and Kyiv, and the armies of Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania.

### Central Asian Line

This strategy is necessary for the U.S.S.R. to bring Iran under its influence and to gain the mastery of the Persian Gulf from an easterly direction, also to subdue Afghanistan and Pakistan, thus occupying the supporting-points on the Arabian Sea and finally isolating India. The formations used would be from the Central Asian military area and from a few parts of China.

In the foregoing, a few short observations have been made on the importance which the Black Sea area, and especially the territory of Ukraine and the other countries oppressed by the U.S.S.R., would have in a future war. We can only recommend that, in the event of a counter-attack on the part of the Western Powers the political circles of the West should take these oppressed nations and their national aims into account and find a common basis of understanding with their representatives in order, in time of war, to have firm allies against the Russian tyranny.

O. Z. Bark, D.Sc.

# Uranium Ore in the U.S.S.R.

Besides the deposits of uranium in Saxony and Bohemia, about which the West is better informed, the U.S.S.R. has at its disposal a number of other sources of supply of this raw material which is today so important for the atom-industry. Thus, it possesses uranium mines in the North which were discovered and exploited much earlier than those in Canada. These Soviet finds are not only in the sub-polar districts, but extend far up into the Arctic Circle. The most important of them are: in the eastern part of the Timan Mts. along the tributaries of the Pechora and Vychegda Rivers and in the Northern Urals, the lower course of the Lena, with an industrial centre on the Bay of Tiksi, and in the neighbourhood of the River Kolyma. Moreover, in the last few years, the extension of a number of old and almost exhausted gold-mines in Central and Eastern Siberia (Yenisei-Taiga and the surroundings of the Aldan) has been undertaken, for the purpose of finding and extracting uranium ore.

The general yield of the uranium-mines in the U.S.S.R. is naturally not known, yet there is some information to be had; for example, before the Second World War, more than 20 gr. of radium was obtained in the Timan mining-district alone.

One should also take into consideration certain areas in Transcaucasia, particularly Southern Armenia, where smaller uranium-mines are being worked.

During recent years, the presence of yet another considerable deposit of uranium in the U.S.S.R. has been confirmed which, like in Australia, lies in a waterless desert; that desert is called the Kara Kum. At the present time, the mines there are being worked at a feverish speed, and uranium has even begun to be obtained, although up till now in limited quantities, on account of the lack of water.

It is this very circumstance that, besides other valuable minerals, including coal, naphtha, gold, lead, sulphur, etc., uranium ore has been found in the Kara Kum that constituted one of the most important reasons for beginning the construction of the Turkmenian Canal (1,100 km long) in the summer of last year. The waters of the Amu-Darya, which have hitherto flowed into the Lake of Aral, will, at the town of Takhia-Tash, be diverted through a new canal into the Caspian Sea.

The Turkmenian Canal and its future three great power-stations (Takhia-Tash among them) is not intended primarily to serve the needs of the development of agriculture and market-gardening, as the Soviet Press sometimes maintains, but to promote the creation of a mighty industrial district in the Kara Kum. This canal, and the new railway and autobahn which follow its banks, will connect the new industrial district with those of the Donau Basin, Moscow and Central Russia. Meanwhile, the railway from Chardzhou-Kungrad has recently been completed, and will be extended as far as Makat, near Guryev, on the north coast of the Caspian Sea. This track will form a second line of approach from Ukraine and Central Russia to Turkestan. The common aim of these measures is to expedite the general industrialization and, at the same time, the Russification of Turkestan with great strides, by turning the country into a huge base for attack against Iran, Afghanistan, Persia and India.

The Turkmenian Canal has therefore to provide the future industry in the Kara Kum with water and electricity (and it is there that the production of uranium ore will play an important part) and will double the energy-balance of the Turkmenian Soviet Republic.

In Turkistan there are a number of larger or smaller uranium-mines, of which should be mentioned two that were well-known before the Second World War: Tuya-Muyun and Taboshar.

Tuya-Muyun has deposits of uranovadium (called tuyamuyunite). It lies in the Fergana district of the Kirghiz Republic, in the foothills of the Afai Mts., 60 km from the railway station of Fedchenko. Another uranium mine is at Taboshar, south of Tashkent (about half-way between Tashkent and Leninabad) in the Tadzhik Soviet Republik.

The above-named mines are certainly much

poorer in uranium than those of St. Joachimstal in the Bohemian mining-area, those in the Belgian Congo, or in Utah and Colorado in U.S.A. The fact, however, that specialists have just managed to use almost all the uranium ore (U-238) and not only some of it (U-235), as before) for the production of atomic energy considerably increases the industrial value of these Soviet uranium-mines.

Where, then, is the centre of the Soviet atom-industry?

Before we answer this question, we wish to consider another very important mining-district in the U.S.S.R. It is the Altai. As late as the twenties, the main population there consisted of Oiroti (also called Oirati), a Turkish tribe of the Altai, which at that time belonged, almost entirely, to the Oiroi Autonomous Area. Soon, however, the Russians began to drive out the native population so ruthlessly that, in a short time, they constituted only a small minority in their own territory. After this was done, Moscow promptly deprived the Oiroti of their autonomous area (in the thirties), which was changed into "Altaiand" and thus to a part of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republik (R.S.F.S.R.).

Now what caused the Kremlin to steal this magnificent land (the Altai is rightly called the "Siberian Switzerland") from its proper inhabitants.

The reason was that the Altai is the richest district for mixed ores in the U.S.S.R.? Chief among them are such important minerals as lead, zinc, copper with silver content, gold, wolfram, asbestos, precious stones and coal. Soviet geologists rightly name the Altai a "mineralogical paradise" containing "inexhaustible wealth".

The Altai lies in the corner where Western Siberia, Eastern Kazakhstan, China and Inner Mongolia (the Mongolian People's Republic) meet. Almost all the mines are in the south-western and western districts, which belong administratively to East Kazakhstan, with the centre of administration at the town of Usty-Kamenogorsk. Valuable minerals were almost unknown in the Central Altai before the Second World War.

There has been a mining industry in the south-west Altai for 200 years. At the beginning of the thirties there were about 750 different mines there, of which about 20% had not yet been closely examined. It must be emphasised that, at that

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## Side-Lights

### Mousetraps for the U.N.?

For its reception into the U.N. the U.S.S.R. had only its alliance with the Western Powers in the Second World War to thank. The former co-operation has for many years been transformed by the Soviets into its opposite, an obstinate hostility, which makes it obvious that the bolsheviks never feel more at ease than in the role of violent monomaniac criminals. The civilised world would thus have been completely justified in demanding the withdrawal of the Muscovite veto-machine from their Organization — the United Nations.

Still less can be considered the reception of Red China, who, from the beginning of the Korean War, has opposed the United Nations with an armed hand, supporting aggression and predatory attacks upon peaceable people.

In addition: China has today organised herself, according to the decision of her "Council of the Central Government" of November 15th, 1952, in six "Administrative Committees": North-East, East, South Central, South-West, North-West and North China.

How now, if the communists of China, following the example of their masters in the Kremlin, grant these "Administrative Committees" the status of autonomies (even if they exist only on paper) and claim for them, as well as for China as a whole, places and voting-rights in the U.N.? Historical and national precedents for a threadbare defence of such manoeuvres would be found. That would result, on employing the Soviet sleight-of-hand trick, the increase of at least 7 votes for the bolshevik bloc. Threatening developments in Indo-China, Burma, etc. have allowed voting conditions to arise which could checkmate the U.N. in all its resolutions.

### Dilemma of Red China

Risky also is England's decision to export "non-strategic" goods worth £ 4 million to China and the intention of the "British Council for World Trade" to grant in the course of the coming week licences for further exports to the same amount.

This decision can only mean playing with fire: "Non-strategic goods" is today a very vague term.

In January, 1953, the Chinese Cabinet decided to reduce the reconstruction programme by 30% on account of shortage of raw materials. The inadequate supply of consumer articles has influenced the attitude and feelings of the peasants thoroughly negatively. The lack of raw materials has, by endangering its centre of gravity, caused

the planned economy to totter. British supplies, be they of never such a harmless nature, would get the Red Chinese economy out of these straits and give the opportunity of building-up economic reserves and thus, indirectly, of reviving the heavy, or rather armaments, industry.

Finally, one must consider Lenin's ideal of the conquest of Europe by way of Asia and the words spoken by the former Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Esiang, to the Englishman, Sir Robert Hart, in his capacity of organiser of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service at the beginning of the sixties: You are all too anxious to get us on and to drive us on to a new path. But you will all regret it. For, when we are once so far, we will go even further — further than you think or desire!

Mercantile interests should therefore give place to national and world-political requirements. For Western policy today is a fight for humanity!

### The Cat is out of the Bag

At the end of last June, there was held in Warsaw, under the chairmanship of the deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, Pushkin, a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Eastern Bloc States. According to information from Soviet officials in East Berlin, the following announcement was made in this assembly: "The violence of Czechoslovakia's and Poland's opposition to the "new policy" in the German East Zone makes it unthinkable that these states will ever be allowed to leave the Soviet sphere of influence".

Walter Ulbricht, as a faithful servant of his masters, hastens to add:

"In the question of re-uniting, it is not sufficient to speak about the unity of Germany in general. The point in question is unity on a democratic basis (as he understands it. — Ed.), but not a unity under the dictatorship of the American and West German business and banking gentlemen.

Well, growled, lion!

The plans of the S.E.D. to betray and sell Western Germany to bolshevism could not have been more shamelessly revealed! Thus we have the opposition to secret and free elections under international control. The S.E.D. fraud is also to celebrate a joyful revival in our districts! The German voter would do well to remember this on his way to the ballot.

What we have known for a long time, Mr. Ulbricht has now surprisingly babbled out of school, thus doing the financiers of his party in Moscow a marked disservice.

The Romans used to say in similar cases: "Si tacuisses, philosophus mansisses!" In English: "If you had kept quiet, you would still be a philosopher!"

Gunter Helmprecht

*Science in the U.S.S.R. (V)***Anthropology and Ethnic Psychology**

By Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn

Anthropology and ethnic psychology (or "ethnopsychology, called in Germany "Völkerpsychologie") have different methods of research and actually different objects of research as well, in so far as that anthropology deals — or, rather, should deal — exclusively with man as a natural creature, while ethnic psychology presupposes an ethnical and systematic classification of mankind, and thus also a certain minimum level of culture. That both these aspects very often overlap is, of course, self-evident. The deciding factor in determining the luckless fate that befell these two sciences in the Soviet Union is that they aim at exploring and ascertaining, *without prejudice*, the natural-biological and, on the other hand, the ethnic-cultural classification and differentiation of the races of mankind, and thus come into conflict with the fundamentals of Marxism, which, although it does not expressly deny the differentiation of the races just described, yet logically denies that it has any cultural-historical importance in order to secure a clear field for its proclaimed class-differences (and for the class-warfare arising from them, as the only actual factor in the history of mankind). When one now considers how ruthlessly Soviet-bolshevism proceeds against everything in which it thinks it detects any trace of a "fanning of national-and-race-hatred" (i. e., really whatsoever seems to be fundamentally alien to Russiandom), it is a wonder that, of the above-mentioned sciences, anthropology at least has been able to continue to some extent to exist in the Soviet Union.

It is certainly not a normal existence, but merely a vegetative one. In the twenties, when national progress in all cultural spheres in the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union was temporarily tolerated by the Soviets, anthropology also flourished to some degree. (Especially in Transcaucasia and Ukraine were great things achieved, and Ukrainian anthropologists in Byelorussia, in the Crimea, and in the Cossack district Kuban also carried out valuable anthropological calculations.) At the beginning of the thirties, however, anthropology was banned: all the professorial chairs and anthropological scientific journals were abolished (such as the meritorious Kyiv magazine, "Antropolohiya"), almost all specialists were more or less severely repressed; in Kharkiv, for example, the only anthropologist who remained unscathed was Prof. L. Nikolayev, and only he because he had been very cautious in the twenties, heading most of his treatises with the stereotyped formula: "National and social differences with regard to (such and such) psychical peculiarities in (such and such) groups of people." In this way his conclusions regularly ensured an "decided preponderance" for those "social" (mostly completely irrelevant) divergencies over the "national" ones. But even he had to change his subject, and finally, in 1941, he published a treatise on "A Survey of the Manufacture of Standardised Footwear!"

In Russia proper (Muscovy) this liquidation process was slower and milder, because the Soviets, out of considerations of prestige, were not willing simply to throw overboard the well-known in the West Russian anthropological school, which was represented, as early as the end of the 19th century, by such prominent experts as D. Anutshin or A. Ivanovsky, nor had they any reason to fear that Russian research-workers would assert, in the course of their studies, anything particularly detrimental to Muscovite Russiandom. The study of races was, it is true, proscribed in Moscow also in the course of the thirties. This was in direct connection with the political activation and the corresponding abuse of race-study in Nazi Germany. Now anthropology certainly does not consist of race-study alone, but without race-study there can be no scientific anthropology. It never occurs even to a fanatical Marxist simply to deny the existence of the difference races of mankind: and thus there still remains a Soviet, collectively written, textbook on anthropology, which was published in Moscow in the middle thirties and is in all essentials a kind of race-study, only that everything problematical and dubious in the dis-

tribution of the races of modern mankind is pushed intentionally into the foreground, and the race-idea itself is treated as a mere conditional auxiliary idea, as a kind of "work hypothesis" without which one cannot yet manage in modern anthropology, but which also admits of no exact definition. The process of race-formation and decay, moreover, is said to be a dialectic one, and one which "continuously negates itself" and is in a ceaseless state of ferment; therefore it is stated to be inadmissible to talk of already perfected race-formations, as every race-formation contains the seeds of its own dissolution.

It is naturally very strongly emphasized that all the races of mankind are fundamentally "equal" (which, it is true, does not follow from the theory of the common origin of mankind as clearly and simply as Soviet anthropology tries to pretend), and that accordingly the representatives of the various races are also equal, naturally under the proviso of equal living- and social conditions, as well as equal educational methods, which cannot, admittedly, be tried out in practice. Therefore everything is going round in the paradoxical vicious circle, that one is to regard the representatives of the different races as equal, so that they may be enabled to become equal.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that there occur here and there very bad, yet purely politically-conditioned slips, such as the absurd assertion, which was spread everywhere just before the Second World War, that Japanese pilots were *biologically* incapable of flying above a certain height.

A science which is compelled to frustrate its own fundamental ideas and research-objectives in this manner and is not allowed to replace them by anything positive, and continues to exist only for the purpose of launching polemics against the

Nazi race-theory, can naturally only vegetate. It is true that there is one sphere in which anthropology is still indispensable as an auxiliary science: that is the anthropometrical and, especially, craniological measuring of prehistoric and early-historic human bones, without which neither pre-history nor archaeology are nowadays justified in making any assertion; and since it is these very two last-mentioned sciences which have recently received from the Soviets the "task of honour" of rendering credible an alleged chronological priority of the Eastern Slavs, i. e. particularly the hypothetical ancestors of the present Russians, in all possible territories of the Soviet-Russian empire, they are also, to a greater extent, inducing anthropology to co-operate. How scientifically and objectively the anthropometrical measurements are being carried out is at present impossible to ascertain.

It has gone much worse, however, under the Soviets with that indispensable complement of anthropology, the humanitarian science of ethnic psychology. This was tolerated, even in Russia proper, only as long as was the case with the "idealistic", i. e. not markedly Marxist, philosophy — until about the middle of the twenties. For the Moscow school of ethnic psychology, which was founded shortly before the Revolution by Gustav Shpet, was, in its methods, orientated towards Husserl's phenomenology (in great contrast to the formerly prevalent psychologicistic = positivistic school of Wilhelm Wundt's), and could exist in connection with that only as long as there were a few colleges and private publishers in Soviet Russia that were in fact uncontrolled by Party or Government. It was therefore unable to bring out more than a few interesting essays on the philosophy of history, such as Shpet's "Introduction to Ethopsychology", 1924, and in the late twenties was completely extirpated. It was not replaced, as the only "ethnic-psychological" material that has been allowed to be published in Soviet-Russia for decades is highly primitive and fantastic glorifications of the "extraordinarily gifted" mentality of the "great Russian nation", and for that one requires no science, nor even pseudo-science, but only duly "line-faithful" publicists.

**Soviet Schedule for War 1955**

*On May 13th and 14th of this year, the former Slovak officer, Colonel Bukar (a pseudonym) made, before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the American House of Representatives, important depositions concerning conditions behind the Iron Curtain, as well as the secret plans of the Soviet politicians. After the war, he had attended a course at the Soviet military academy in Frunze and has been in touch with the resistance-movement in Slovakia. He gave the following information about the staff of the military academy in Frunze:*

"Mr. Kunzig. Who were the teachers and professors in this military academy?"

Colonel Bukar. The teachers were professors and officers from the Soviet Union. So far as the nationalities are concerned, within the Soviet Union Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and Kirgiz. The nationalities of Soviet Russia were represented in the teachers of this academy.

Mr. Kunzig. Would you say that top generals acted as teachers?"

Colonel Bukar. The commander of the academy was General-Colonel Cibizov, twice decorated by Stalin as a hero of the Soviet Union. The deputy commander of the academy was General Suscomlin. This General Suscomlin was responsible for the scientific teaching in the military affairs. The other officials were composed of generals, colonels, and lieutenant colonels. Besides the military ranks they held they also had civilian ranks, such as professors, lecturers, and doctors of military science.

Mr. Kunzig. And all the professors were Russian, or of Russian nationality?"

Colonel Bukar. Just an explanation on my part, gentlemen: We don't have, as the English language has, the words for differences between nationalities, as a member of a people and as a member of a state; therefore, when I say in answer to the question Mr. Kunzig asked as to whether they were Russians — they were not Russians as members of the Russian people, but as members of the Soviet Union — as citizens of the Soviet

Union — to differentiate it from the several peoples or groups inside Russia. In addition, I positively state that about 30 officers from Spain were engaged as educators, or as professors in this military academy since 1937."

Colonel Bukar divulged the valuable information that the Soviets have prepared the outbreak of the third world war for 1955.

On the effects in Slovakia of the Western transmitters "Radio Free Europe" and the "Voice of America", Colonel Bukar made the following comment:

"I state that the Radio of Free Europe, according to my information gotten from Slovakia until November 1952, is not being listened to. It is to be regretted that the speeches of American statesmen and politicians are not being transmitted by the radio in their fullness. The Voice of America and the Radio of Free Europe curtail the speeches of American statesmen according to their needs. The Slovak nation has no need to be led politically. They are enemies, strong enemies, sworn enemies of communism. They are adherents of western culture, and they ask that the speeches of the statesmen should be broadcast in their completeness."

Colonel Bukar asked the above-mentioned committee of Congress to "free all nations from the dictatorship of the proletariat" and, for the Slovak nation, the possibility of living "within the framework of an independent and free Slovak Republic".

## Uranium Ore in the U.S.S.R.

(Continued from Page 9)

time, the standard of mining in the U.S.S.R. was still very low. At that time the production of mixed metal ores in the Ridder district of the Altai alone was estimated to be  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million tons. (Ridder-ore contains 13.6% tin, 7.9% lead, 0.73% copper, 0.0017% gold, 0.012% silver). In making this estimate, only that which lay almost at the surface and could be obtained with the naked hands had been counted. Also, the official statistics concerning this production were far lower than actuality. Nowadays, they should be multiplied by at least a hundred! It must also be mentioned that there are still other important mines in the Altai, although with somewhat different ores. Such are the mines in Zyryanovsk, Irtyshsk, Ubinsk, Zolotushinsk, Smeyinogorsk, Loktyvsk, Charyshsk, and many others.

Even before the Second World War it was not opportune to talk about the uranium ore in the Altai, since the owners do not like to talk about that kind of thing, but mainly because at that time it was not known how to use the entire supply. Now the position has completely changed.

Thanks to the feverish and constant researches that have been conducted in the post-war period,

that hitherto quite other industrial districts in Siberia have been thought to be more important, but that "distinction" has not been merited. This is explained by the fact that, in the mountains not far from Ridder, lies the centre of the Soviet atom-industry, which needs a great deal of current. In Southern Altai all these conditions are fulfilled.

Firstly, there is the native uranium ore. Secondly, the district is in a central position in respect to other uranium deposits, with which it is very well connected by the Turkistanian-Siberian railway and also with the Northern Urals by ship along the Irtysh and Ob (in as far as the Irtysh will be navigable in its upper course after the building of the hydro-power-station). Thirdly, this centre of the atom-industry is almost in the centre of the country and surrounded by a Russian population. Hitherto all that has been lacking has been a sufficient quantity of current.

Soviet atom-explosions have hitherto been detected in the East-Kazakhian area, in a near-by desert to which the atom-bombs from the Southern Altai have been sent. On the other hand, if a centre of the atom-industry were to be founded

quantity. Besides that, the whole district of Tannu-Tuva, which is shut in by high mountain-walls on all sides, has only one practicable exit to the North, and the danger exists of the Soviet Union's one day bolting it. It could soon be completely annihilated by an enemy in an airborne attack, even though it is in such deep caverns. It is therefore difficult to decide the meaning of the rumours about Tannu-Tuva: the construction of a new reserve centre of the atom-industry, or one of the usual Soviet bluffs, intended to conceal the true state of affairs? Mining of uranium ore in the valleys of Tannu-Tuva is quite possible.

To sum up, it may thus be maintained that the Kremlin nowadays possesses a sufficient amount of the raw-material necessary for the construction of atom-bombs. All the same, it has not yet overtaken the West in respect of quantity and quality. Also the lack of a sufficient amount of electro-energy is at the moment a hindrance. Yet the men in the Kremlin are, as we see, taking drastic steps to overcome these obstacles. There is no doubt that the direction of the atom-industry in the U.S.S.R. is at the moment in the hands of L. Kaganovich, who aims at turning out Soviet atom-bombs by the hundred.

Meanwhile the Soviet experts, headed by the President of the Soviet Academy of Science, A. N. Nesmeyanov and the scholar, R. L. Kapitza, are working feverishly, not only to solve the basic problems of bomb-construction, but also to manufacture them in quantity.

And, at the same time, the Kremlin wants to conceal all this with a propagandistic smoke-screen called "peace-offensive" and thus counts, in the first place, on the average people in the West.

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### Symptoms of Insecurity?

The official Soviet press-agency, "Tass", published on July 18th, 1953, the usual report on the combined plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Aserhajian and the municipal committee of the C.P. of Baku. Extracts from the report follow:

"The plenary meeting was a testimony to the unbreakable unity and solidarity which is at the bottom of the principles of the communists of Aserhajian and the meaning of their deep devotion to the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

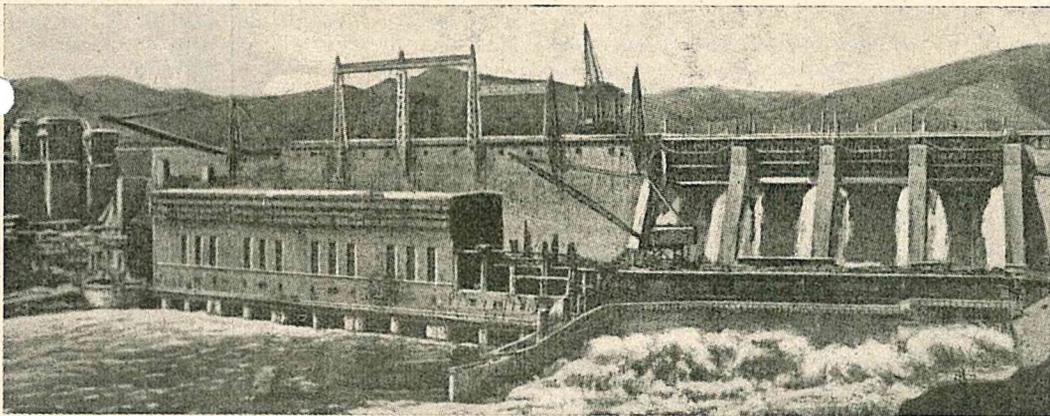
Like the speaker (M. T. Yakubov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Aserhajian — Ed.), all those who took part in the discussions emphasised the great importance for the Party and the whole Soviet people which was inherent in the resolutions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., and unmasked the treacherous activities of the revolting provocateur and agent of international imperialism, Beria. The business of the plenary meeting concluded with the resolution to propagate criticism and self-criticism with the aim of clearing-up the fundamental deficiencies in the work of the Party and the Soviet organs in Aserhajian.

The former Secretary of the C.C. of the C.P. of Aserhajian, M. D. Bagirov, who had been responsible for serious violations of the party-principles and had adulterated the orthodox methods of his superiors by clumsy administration . . . had personally decided the most important questions . . .

The plenary meeting excluded Comrade Bagirov from the office of the C.C. of the C.P. of Aserhajian and demanded his removal from the post of chairman of the cabinet of the Aserhajianian S.S.R."

Despite all "unbreakable unity and solidarity", these "fundamental deficiencies" and "serious violations of party-principles" are continually on the increase in the bolshevik camp, and the prophecies and banishments of the "old comrades" are everywhere becoming abundant.

The demand for "self-criticism", however, which is gradually becoming boring, not only helps in the preparation of show-trials, by means of which inconvenient rivals may be got rid of in the death-cells by the sufficiently well-known "confessions" and self-accusations, but is throughout a significant omen of the internal perplexity and insecurity which is beginning to become an integral constituent of the present-day U.S.S.R.



Hydro-Power-Station at Usty-Kamenogorsk

the Kremlin has succeeded in discovering large uranium deposits in the Altai, in the Ridder district and in the neighborhood of Zyryanovsk. Ridder lies about 100 km. north-east of the town of Usty-Kamenogorsk. In the year 1937 the railway which specially led there, a militarised one, was finished. At that time the whole territory of South-west Altai was ruthlessly purged of all "unreliable and doubtful" elements in the population, even when it was only a Kazakhian shepherd, an illiterate.

In the new "Great Soviet Encyclopaedia", Ridder is missing on the map of the Altai. Yet this year the construction of the hydro-power-station of Usty-Kamenogorsk (described in the Soviet Press as the "Siberian Dnieper hydro-power-station") has been finished, which is primarily for the benefit of this very Ridder! Certain Soviet newspaper have involuntarily let something out about these power-stations by remarking shortly that "among the numerous projects of our country, the hydro-power-station of Usty-Kamenogorsk takes a special place".

From now on the smelting of strategically important metals will be more than quadrupled in the ore district of the Altai. The starting-up of the hydro-power-station of Usty-Kamenogorsk is increasing the production of electro-energy in Eastern Kazakhstan by 250%.

In addition, work has begun on the construction of a large new hydro-power-station at Bukhtarma which is destined to provide the mines of Zyryanovsk — east of Ridder, at the mouth of the River Bukhtarma in Irtysh — with current. Until this station is ready, this district will receive current from Usty-Kamenogorsk, which, for the purpose of intensification, will be included in the continuous electro-energy ring of the thermo-power-stations of the Kuznetzk Basin and the Altai. (A thermo-power-station generates warmth through hot-water-pipes, supplying a whole district, Ed.)

Two great reservoirs, built almost in a line, on the Irtysh and Bukhtarma, give one to think

anywhere in the western part of the Sayanian Mts., it would be very convenient to test the atom-bombs made there in the Mongolian Desert, through which an indispensable net of motor-roads was built as long ago as the middle thirties.

Moreover, the industry in Altai is guarded by tanks of local production, which are manufactured by the Altai tank-factory. This circumstance is not coincidental. It means that, in the event of war, the atom-industry of Altai would enjoy complete independence in every respect, since it would otherwise be more convenient to construct tank-factories somewhere in the Kuznetzk Basin, nearer the coal and steel. (Also, the most modern Soviet war-planes are manufactured in Siberia, in the Novosibirsk district.)

The history of this tank-factory is briefly as follows: Its official name is the "Altai tank-factory" (called also "Kalinin-factory"). It is situated in the town of Rubtsovsk. In the autumn of 1941 the machinery of the tractor-factory in Kharkiv (Ukraine) was evacuated, after which was begun the building of a new factory at Rubtsovsk. By January, 1944, the machinery had been set in motion and the first thousand tanks had been manufactured. By the end of the war, the Altai tank-factory had turned out many thousands of tanks and, before the completion of the post-war Five Year Plan, had already constructed far more tractors and tanks than its metropolis, the Kharkiv tank and tractor factory, had done before the war. The Altai tank and tractor works is now one of the greatest concerns of its kind in the U.S.S.R., supplying all the necessary equipment to the entire mining industry in the area.

For some time, rumours have been circulating in the West concerning the existence of a great Soviet atom-industry in subterranean caverns in the western part of the Sayanian Mts., which are the north-eastern extension of the Altai Mts. Although these rumours are accompanied by a series of not improbable-sounding details, it must be remembered that there is there neither large deposits of uranium nor current in the required

## Fourth Conference of Foreign Units of O.U.N.

(Continued from Page 4)

which prompt these endeavours. For this reason the Western World is not capable of taking the offensive as far as ideas are concerned in order to combat bolshevist propaganda tactics, which adapt themselves to the above-mentioned processes and endeavours.

d) Civil wars and armed offensives constitute Moscow's aggression against the free world. The principle of guerrilla warfare has determined bolshevist strategy in Asia. Political offensives, demoralization, internal conflicts, the furthering of antagonism within any one nation, social chaos, armed clashes and peripheral wars are the fundamental factors of the third world war which bolshevism is beginning to wage. The temporary cessation of some peripheral war or other in no way changes the fundamental attitude of bolshevism, namely to conquer all the free countries in the world, for this attitude is based on the very essence of bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

2) The 19th Party Rally of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has clearly defined its instructions as regards Moscow and World Communism in the immediate future. Bolshevism makes no attempt to conceal its intentions and methods.

a) The 19th Party Rally of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has proved how treacherous the suggestion is that a peaceful agreement between the "capitalist" and "communist" countries might be possible, for it has adopted the false and crafty theory maintained by Stalin that there is more likelihood of a conflict occurring within the Western block than between bolshevism and the Western World, and has thus set about furthering a process of disintegration on the united front of those countries which are free. This process on the one hand is being conducted within the free countries themselves, and on the other hand is noticeable in the attitude of estrangement on the part of the nations subjugated by Moscow towards the West and in the mobilization of the coloured races against the West.

b) As far as its strategy to conquer the world is concerned Moscow adheres steadfastly to Lenin's theory, namely one step backwards, two steps forwards. This theory was applied after the epoch of military communism and later on also in connection with the Berlin blockade, etc., and now it is once again being repeated in the same way in conjunction with the present world conflagrations.

c) Regardless of any temporary truces Moscow, in keeping with the theories of Lenin and the Moscow Tsars, will not desist from its intention to conquer Asia and thus subjugate Europe and the entire world completely.

3) a) The national liberation movements of the Ukrainians and of numerous other nations are disintegrating the U.S.S.R. internally, a fact which not even the bolsheviks can conceal, for, at the 19th Party Rally of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they stressed as the main point of interest the "friendship of the nations" as an express condition for "the strength of the U.S.S.R." Thus the foreign policy pursued by the U.S.S.R. is not merely determined by some international constellation or other, but is necessitated in the first place by the internal pressure of the subjugated nations.

The Moscow Empire will continue to remain an idol with feet of clay. Its strength is based on the weakness of the Western powers and on the erroneous attitude of the latter to the national fight for freedom of the nations which have been subjugated by Moscow. Moscow is well aware of the fact that its own weakness lies in the problem of the nations it has subjugated and in the possibility of their collaboration, as opponents with equal rights, with the free countries of the world. And it is not the duty of the freedom-loving peoples of the world to assuage Moscow's fears in this respect but rather to increase them.

b) Neither the bolshevist regime nor the realm of the Russian Empire can ever become democratized for this would mean their downfall. The realm of Greater Russia and democracy are two ideologies that are incompatible. To quote Witte, "The Russian Empire can only be preserved by despotism".

c) The conflict between the Russians and the nations that have been subjugated in the U.S.S.R.

has now reached a state of tension hitherto unheard of. The basis for the bolshevist regime is the Russian nation and the policy of the Kremlin depends on this fact. The purpose of the intensification of Russian influence, the glorification of all that is Russian, above all the glorification of the Tsarist past, is to mobilize all Russians for the defence of the empire.

### The Kremlin's Final Game in Strategy

Stalin's death presented a long-awaited opportunity to find a new scape-goat for the crimes committed by bolshevism both at home and abroad.

a) The Kremlin is stalling for time in order to deal with the situation at home effectively. In

### "Communique" and our Commentary

*Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens, President of the "American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism", made, on July 9th, 1953, the following announcement to the press:*

"The recent accession of several important Russian and non-Russian organizations to the field of activity of the Coordinating Center has opened up for the first time in thirty-seven years the prospect of a broad and powerful common front of emigrés against Communist tyranny and imperialism. At the moment the twenty-odd democratic groups of various national origins which represent the great majority (? — Ed.) of middle-of-the-road political refugees from Soviet terror have formed two wings centering around conflicting programs. The American Committee cannot believe that in the face of the growing crisis in which the Soviet regime has fallen since the death of Stalin, the leaders of the major-Bolshevist emigré groups will fail to find a common platform on which to rally all the sound elements to wage the decisive battle for the liberation of their homelands."

We have already often dealt with the activities of the "American Committee" and want to emphasize repeatedly that it is starting from false premises. The conception of so-called "non-predetermination" in the problem of the liberation-fight of the nations in the U.S.S.R. is sufficiently illuminating. It signifies clearly and unequivocally that our nations are being regarded by the "American Committee" as "peoples of Russia". These nations, such as the Georgians, Ukrainians, Turkestanians, and others, have been since earliest times the possessors of a rich culture, national and political tradition. As long as a thousand years ago they had their political independence, which they lost through the brutal Russian aggression, but without giving up the struggle for its recovery. This is proved by the numerous revolts on the part of the nations in question and the proclamations of restoration of national independence which were made in recent history (1918—1923). For these reasons they consider the demand that, after liberation from bolshevism, they should decide by plebiscite whether they wish to be independent or remain in the Russian prison of nations, as a gross insult to their national pride.

It is incomprehensible why the American Committee wishes to give the impression that they consider our nations as peoples of less value, to which one may grant independence only with all possible reservations.

*And once more: we have no sort of interest in exchanging the bolshevik prison for a Russian dungeon of a different colour, but demand with all emphasis, our absolute and unlimited freedom. That is our basic demand, from which we are under no circumstances prepared to deviate!*

"cleansing" the ranks of the supreme rulers of Russia, allegedly in order to right the wrongs which have been committed and thus lay the blame for the past on Stalin, the bolsheviks are introducing certain changes in order to use this opportunity to ascertain those rebellious elements which have recently come into evidence and will later on be exterminated, and in order to create political illusions for the Western World.

b) Bolshevist Moscow is endeavouring to bring the national liberation process, which is steadily increasing in strength, to a halt by promises of peace. As a result the Western powers, by signifying their willingness to guarantee the status quo, are beginning to desist from a liberation policy in favour of the nations subjugated by Moscow. And this fact is being utilized by Soviet propaganda as much as possible in order to demobilize the nations subjugated by the Soviets, not only by convincing these nations of the peaceful intentions of the Soviets but also by destroying all their hopes of help in their fight for freedom.

c) The purpose of the promises of peace on the part of the Kremlin is to instil in the nations subjugated by Moscow a feeling of distrust towards the Western Powers, inasmuch as these promises aim to show the subjugated nations that they are after all only an object for bargaining for the West and also aim to disintegrate the Western World by making use of the conflict of interests among the Western major powers in order to win over some of them to the side of the Kremlin and thus prevent the re-arming of those anti-bolshevist nations, such as Germany and Japan, which were defeated in the last war.

d) The friendly game which the Kremlin is playing with Turkey and Japan has the same aims, namely to spread confusion, to slow down the speed of defense programmes, to disintegrate political unions, and then, when a favourable opportunity presents itself, to attack the disintegrated and unarmed countries, which at present are still free, and to subjugate them by disposing of one opponent after the other.

### The Korean War

1) Moscow decides to make a truce in Korea:

a) in order to bring this armed conflict to a temporary standstill since it is giving rise to a feeling of insecurity on the part of the nations subjugated by Moscow as far as the relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are concerned and in order to foster the hopes of the nations fighting for freedom in their lone struggle, namely that this conflict may lead to a final passage at arms between the free countries of the world and bolshevism;

b) a truce on the strength of the status quo despite the fact that the man-power of the U.S.A. and the U.N. has been put into action against North Korea; further the non-attainment of the aims of a war of liberation, that is to say a united and independent Korea, and finally degrading truce terms as far as the prisoners-of-war are concerned, coupled with the fact that certain countries in the West will still continue to sell their raw materials to Red China, etc. — all these factors undermine the authority of the Western World in the face of the Asiatic nations.

The resistance of free Korea to the truce indicates that the anti-Bolshevist forces in Asia are unwilling to accept any compromise whatsoever.

2) Peripheral wars are in the interests of Moscow provided the latter can get other people to wage them for it and provided it suffers no losses itself. In fact it derives advantages from such wars, whereas the Western Powers on the other hand are obliged to fight their wars on their own. In view of the inadequate support given to the national forces in Asia and in view of the erroneous policy of the West it is futile for the U.S.A. to hope that the national forces in Asia will succeed in defeating bolshevism and imperialism in Asia, for Russian communism, which claims to support the national aims and endeavours of the peoples of Asia, has a much stronger position. If the world aims to free itself from the constant oppression and fear of an aggression and desires to safeguard a permanent peace, then the final battle with Moscow must be fought on the latter's own soil and against its own forces.

(To be continued.)

# "Freedom" of Religion Behind the Iron Curtain

By Rev. Semen Izhyk

The Catholics of *Lithuania* were the first ones who suffered the Soviet terror and persecution. The Bishops of Lithuania were the first martyrs of occupied countries.

Most Rev. Teofilus Matulionis, Bishop of Kaisiadorys. In 1946 was arrested for the third time and deported to Siberia. Bishop Matulionis suffered the Soviet tortures again and died as a Martyr for the Faith.

Most Rev. Dr. Mecislovas Reinys, Archbishop of Vilnius. He did not sign a false declaration about the freedom of religion in Lithuania occupied by the Soviets. He was separated from his faithful and deported.

Most Rev. Vincentas Borisevicius, Bishop of Telsiai. In February of 1946, he was arrested by the Soviet Communists and condemned to death.

Most Rev. Pranciskus Ramanauskas, Auxiliary Bishop of Telsiai. One morning in December in 1946, the Red Police surrounded the Cathedral and arrested the Bishop as he was leaving after Mass. He was treated like a murderer.

Deportation in *Estonia*. President of Estonia, Konstantin Pats in the year 1940 was arrested and deported to U.S.S.R. Commander-in-Chief of Estonian Army, General Sir John Laidoner, was arrested and deported to the U.S.S.R. (Orthodox priests, Lutheran and Catholic clergymen.) The church of Estonia is now ruled by the plenipotentiary trustee for ecclesiastical affairs of the communist party.

In one year of Soviet occupation of *Latvia* (June 17, 1940 to June 22, 1941) N.K.V.D. deported to Siberia 27, arrested 5 and killed 9 ministers. During the second occupation in 1945 the religious life is brought to almost a standstill. More activity is allowed in big cities, but in the country churches are closed or used as warehouses or propaganda halls and religious congregations are dissolved. Few ministers still active in cities have to work for their living in factories or elsewhere, for they are not allowed to receive any money from the people. Only persons with special permission from a government branch can attend church services. The services can be held only in the very early morning hours, and the distance between two churches must be at least seven miles. Only specially censored hymns can be sung during these services. No printing of religious books is allowed. Anyone wanting a minister to participate at a christening or confirmation, has to pay 1200 rubles into a special anti-religious fund, but for a wedding the amount is 1500 rubles. It is prohibited to volunteer for a church vocation, because "it slackens the workers in their important work for the state".

In *Bohemia* Archbishop Beran, under house arrest since June 1949, was prevented from performing his duties until March 1951, at which time he was expelled from Prague, fined a large sum and his office declared vacant. A communist-sponsored "National Catholic Church" under Joseph Plojhar, an unfrocked priest, is virtually eliminating the true Catholic Church by intimidating the loyal Catholic priests and denouncing them as tools of the Vatican and American imperialists.

In *Slovakia* the anti-Catholic policy of the Communists is closely connected with the persecution of the Slovak bishops, clergymen and intelligentsia, accused of supporting the Slovak underground resistance movement directed against the communist domination. The Slovak Catholic bishops Vojtassak, Buzalka and Barnas are in prison and all the other bishops under house arrest.

Similar drastic measures have been taken against the Catholic Church in *Hungary*. After breaking the Concordat between the Vatican and Hungary the Communists moved against the Catholic Church at full speed: the arrest and mock trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, the mock trial of Archbishop Grosz, the "nationalization" of the Church by subordinating all Church affairs to the new State Bureau of Religious Affairs, the reduction of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops both in number and in influence. Since the rupture of the Concordat, the Hungarian Church has been gradually isolated from the rest of the world, while hundreds of Catholic priests, and many bishops have been tried for

being "spies" either in the service of the Vatican or "imperialist America".

In *Rumania*, where the number of Roman Catholics is only about 1,600,000, the Catholic Church has been persecuted ruthlessly since the establishment of the communist regime. A pro-communist "Catholic Action Committee", headed by Archbishop Agotha, has intimidated priests, forcing them to sign the Moscow-inspired Stockholm Peace Appeal, and has denounced the Vatican as an "instrument of American warmongers." On July 19, 1948, the Concordat between the Vatican and Rumania was unilaterally severed. Later on the Papal Nuncio in Bucharest, Bishop Gerard Patrick O'Hara of Savannah, Georgia, was falsely implicated in a staged trial of Rumanian citizens and promptly expelled from the country.

In *Albania* the Catholic Church has been systematically suppressed by the regime of Hoxha. All Catholic schools have been closed, Catholic orders suppressed, all printing shops confiscated, and many priests thrown in prison for alleged spying for the Vatican and the United States.

When one takes into consideration that in this process of suppression and persecution over 40,000,000 Catholics in the satellite countries are involved, for centuries loyal to the Apostolic See, then it is clear that communism is a mortal enemy to Catholicism as such. Other churches, particularly Protestant and Lutheran, have met the same fate.

*Ukraine*, a nation of 45 million people fell under the Communist Russian rule 33 years ago, after long years of heart-breaking struggle.

Thirty-three years ago no one realized that today's fate of Ukraine will be tomorrow's fate of other nations in Eastern and Central Europe. In spite of terror, deportations and, mass murder, the Communists did not and will not succeed in crushing the freedom-loving spirit of Ukrainians.

The Soviet Russian government by its occupation of Ukraine tries to destroy all liberty of thought, speech and action. In addition all culture, art and education is subjected to strict censorship and guided under the ideology of Russian Communist world revolution. It strictly forbids the founding of organizations of fellowship to give advice on education, art, religion or economics.

Religious institutions and monasteries containing data on the integral life history of Ukraine are destroyed by the Communists and the buildings themselves are turned into theatres and stores.

In every Ukrainian family during the 30 years of persecution at least one or two persons fell victim to the sacrifice of "terror". The greatest

## Stamps Symbolise Freedom

The *Slovak Liberation Committee* has just issued a series of stamps of the Slovak Republic, in 5 values. The design of this series symbolise the Slovak nation's fight for liberty and independence against the two-fold tyranny.

The idea of the stamps originated from the Rev. Rudolf Dilong, Vice-president of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee, and a famous national poet. It was put into action by Karol Oravsky, member of the Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Committee.

This series of stamps of the Slovak Republic was published in order to show that the Slovak Republic still legally exists. In this way, there should be made known to the free world, the resoluteness of the Slovak nation to ensure worthy living-conditions, on a democratic basis, in a republic peculiar to the Slovak people, and to achieve an equal position in the family of free nations.

\* \* \*

The *Croatian Resistance Movement* has also issued a series of stamps in 6 different values.

This series of stamps, which the Croatian emigrés use in their correspondence, are also to symbolise the continued existence of the Croatian State and to demonstrate the Croatian nation's claim to an independent and free Croatia.

part of the intelligentsia was destroyed. The Soviets continued their ruthless persecution of Ukraine. They now switched over to religious persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

After the World War I the Communists ruthlessly destroyed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine.

Here are the names of those martyrs:

Archbishops: George Savchenko, George Mychnovsky, Stephen Orlyk, Joachim Kalnyshevsky, Peter Tarnavsky, Alexander Chervinsky, Constantine Krotevych, Theodosy Ariyiv, Constantine Malunkevych, Osip Oksiuk, W. Dachivnyk-Dachivsky, Peter Rmetaniv.

Bishops: Gregory Storonenko, Jacob Shulayevsky, Vladimir Michnovsky, Mark Hrushevsky, Conon Bey, Wasyl Pshenichny, Anton Bronovsky, Maxim Zadvirniak, Mykola Karabinevich, Vladimir Samborsky, Ivan Pavlovsky, O. Vzovenesky.

Upon occupying Western Ukraine (under Polish rule until World War II), Moscow immediately began her atrocious liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which counted four millions for faithful followers. This Church was strictly opposed to Moscow's irreligious policy. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky — the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and a man with a patrician spirit — died mysteriously. Somewhat later it was disclosed that he had been poisoned. The Communists then published a booklet in which they tried desperately to dishonor that great man and his religious and humanitarian work. Then followed arrests and deportations of the whole Episcopate, because it refused to serve the Stalinist patriarchate of Moscow, instituted to spread propaganda and spy abroad.

Following are the names of the martyrs for Christian Truth and defenders of their people: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy. Bishops: Hryhori Khomyshyn, Josaphat Kotsylovsky, Nykyta Budka, Mykola Charnetsky, Ivan Liatyshkevsky, Hryhori Lakota, Theodore Romzha, Goydych Bishops' Assistants: Petro Verhun, Augustyn Voloshyn, Dr. Vasil Hopko.

According to the latest information Bishops H. Khomyshyn, J. Kotsylovsky, H. Lakota and T. Romzha have already perished in Siberia.

After this outrage against the Church in the Western Ukraine, the Communists organized there, under police pressure, a Church "Council" which "voluntarily" announced the union of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Patriarchal Church. When the clergy (those still in freedom) protested against this decision, they met with the inevitable reprisals — mass arrests and deportations. Arrested also was the author of the protest, Abbot Clement Sheptytsky, of the Studit Order, and brother of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. All monasteries were closed and the monks were arrested and exiled to Siberia and Central Asia.

From Rome in the latest edition of the White Book (account of the religious persecution in Ukraine) the following is the most recent statistic of the persecutions of the Ukrainian Catholics in Europe. 5 dioceses were liquidated; 10 bishops deported; 2950 secular priests were arrested; 520 monks were arrested; more than 1000 Sisters were persecuted; 3040 parishes were liquidated; 4400 churches were closed or taken over by the orthodox; 195 monasteries were closed; all religious schools were closed; Catholic press and organizations were demolished; 5 million faithful suffer religious persecution.

The *Byelorussian* Greek-Orthodox Church with its head Metropolitan Melkhiessedek and 10 archbishops and bishops were killed. The most beautiful ancient Churches of Byelorussia as St. Peter's and Paul's Cathedral in Myensk, St. Joseph Cathedral in Mogilev, St. Mary's Cathedral in Vitebsk, Roman-Catholic Cathedral in Sluck were destroyed with dynamite and hundreds of the churches were changed to stores.

Bolshevik terror seeks to exterminate every religious community: Christians, Moslems, Jews and others, all know of the barbarous destruction of the brave Caucasian Moslems, the suppression

(Concluded on Page 15)

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## BYELORUSSIA

### UNPRODUCTIVE INSTITUTE

The Moscow "Pravda" of June 16th, 1953, published an article sharply criticising the Byelorussian Institute of Veterinary Science. Part of the article ran:

"The Institute is staffed by three regular members of the Academy, nine scientific members of the first rank, 20 scientific members of the second rank, and laboratory assistants . . . In the three years since it was organised, the Institute has edited no guiding lines for the national economy of the republic worth mentioning.

There is in the Institute neither mature principled criticism nor any kind of struggle of opinion. The director of the Institute, Comrade Hovelad, is very backward scientifically as regards cultural problems.

The Institute of Veterinary Science of the Academy of Science in the Byelorussian S.S.R. is not abreast of the times. The majority of the scientific workers in the Institute proffer no new theories that could be described as a help for the workers and the socialistic agriculture . . ."



## COSSACKIA

### "BATTLE" FOR BREAD . . .

The mistakes which were made at harvest-time last year have made their appearance again. Several kolkhozes have accepted the task of finishing the harvesting in from 10—15 days. This has now already increased to 20—25 days or longer, and part of the grain has still not been gathered, thereby causing great losses. How great they are is proved by the case of the Lenin kolkhoze in Tishoretkaya, where the harvest per hectare (c. 2,5 acres) dropped to 34cwt. on the 15th day, to 24 on the 30th day, and to 16—20 cwt. on the 40th.

But how have these delays arisen? In the first place, most of the tractors and combines had been badly overhauled. The repair-shops had hurried to reach their target, and so arose the inadequate repairs. In the first few days, the combines cleared about 2—22 hectares; during the ceaseless work by day and night defects arose and the tractors and combines got out of order. The average performance decreased to 15, 10 and even 6 hectares.

The Soviet authorities ordered out all their forces to finish the harvesting. Propagandists and agitators were set to work in the fields.

In fulfilling their quota, several kolkhozes left the straw in the fields, where it was spoilt.

The Soviet press describes the harvesting in Cossackia as the most important "battle" of the Soviet government to secure the needed bread for the U.S.S.R.



## CROATIA

### CHURCH PERSECUTION WITH NEW METHODS

The persecution of the Catholic Church by the Belgrade Tito-communist regime is in full swing. One may say that directly after that regime has turned, naturally only externally, to the West, the oppression of the Catholic confession has set in even more violently. The police promotion of Catholic ecclesiastical associations is very active. In Slovenia, a rather large number of clergy is said to have bowed to this police pressure, since the state grants assistance to priests only when they have joined such associations. In the "People's Republic Bosnia-Herzegovina" similar organizations are said to have been created. It is not clear how many priests have joined them, since there also exists a strong opposition. All the bishops of the Catholic Church have openly condemned these terrorist measures of the communist police.

Characteristic of the policy of the Belgrade communist government is a further step, which has been taken in Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Ministry for Internal Affairs has published a decree that the episcopal ordinaries in Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are no longer to be acknowledged as the representatives of the Church, but of the new police organizations. In the "People's Republic Croatia", (these "People's Republics" are nothing but police-states with the central direction in Belgrade) such measures have not yet been taken, it is true, but even there have these organizations been forced upon the population by the police. In clerical circles, these measures are regarded as a step towards the formation of a national-Catholic church. By means of such machinations, similar to those in "Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, the ecclesiastical power is passing over to the police-organizations and finally to the "Party".

That the communist dictatorship is meeting with strong resistance, especially in Croatia, is quite clear. The Croatian primate, Cardinal Stepinac, is a hard nut for the alien Communist occupiers to crack. Since his health has greatly suffered on account of the torments and privations he has had to endure in prisons since 1946, the Belgrade Government is trying to get rid of him on various pretexts. They want to place him in a foreign sanatorium, but the Cardinal is sure that they would not allow him to return. He even hesitates to leave his native place of internment for a municipal hospital since he knows that something unpleasant would be thrust upon him.

In spite of all persecution, the Croatian nation is today clinging more firmly to their faith than ever before in their long history!

Dr. S. B.



## GERMANY

### CONCENTRATION-CAMPS FOR PEOPLE'S POLICE

As is now known, there has been established in the neighbourhood of Pasewalt, West Pomerania, a concentration camp for officers and men of the People's Police who were stationed in the area Torgelov-Ueckermünde. In one compound, which consists of 12 barracks, surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence, more than 500 People's Police are interned who refused to take part in the measures which were ordered during the June Insurrection.

### ZEISS EMPLOYEES STRIKE AGAIN

It has just been learned that, in the afternoon of June 23rd, all the employees of the Carl Zeiss works in Jena began a sit-down strike which was continued on June 24th. The cessation of work resulted as a protest against the arrest of nearly 900 workers by members of the Ministry of State Security. Delegates of the employees have declared to the management that the strike will be continued until their imprisoned colleagues return.

The Carl Zeiss work is still occupied by strong units of the People's Police. In front of the works, as well in the yards inside the buildings, Soviet panzers are going up and down.

### BALANCE of JUNE 17th

In the former R.A.D. barracks on the Lake of Ostorf in Schwerin are at the moment about 2,000 people, who were arrested at the conclusion of the unrest of June 17th and 18th in Grabov, Hagenov, Ludwigslust and Wismar. The camp is surrounded by barbed-wire fences and watch-towers manned by People's Police.

As rations, the prisoners receive 500 grammes of bread, 10 grammes of fat and half a litre of warm soup a day. Officials of the Soviet Zone Security Service are conducting cross-examinations, by day and night, in continuous shifts.

### JUVENILES IMPRISONED FOR INDEFINITE TIME

In the reformatory of Braunsdorf, near Freiberg, Saxony, there are now confined 100 boys

and 100 girls from 14 to 18 years of age. There are 300 juveniles in the reformatory of Fort Königstein on the Elbe. This is known from the reports of released prisoners. In many cases, the courts have sentenced them to confinement for "an indefinite period". About half of those interned were arrested after the national congress of the F.D.J. in 1950 and after the World Youth Festival because they brought political literature back with them from West Berlin in the Soviet Zone.

The inmates of the reformatories must work for 8 hours a day. As payment they receive 1 mark a week, with which they can buy H.O. goods. (I.W.E.)



## LATVIA

### THE ROBOT-APPARATUS FAILS TO FUNCTION

The official Moscow Soviet newspaper, "Izvestiya", reported on June 28th, 1953, a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia as follows:

"The plenary meeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of Latvia condemned the methods of a laissez-faire administration and the violation of Soviet laws in their application by party and Soviet organs. Instead of an energetic expansion of proletarian mass-work among the population making itself noticeable, the plenary session sharply criticised the grievous defects in the ideological and political training of the communists, the broad masses of workers and the Latvian intelligentsi.

Great blunders were also discovered in the management of the building-up of kolkhozes, after the Cabinet of the Latvian S.S.R. had not taken the required measures to strengthen the kolkhoze system, organisationally and economically, in the republic. Furthermore, the plenary meeting proposed practical resolutions for the thorough elimination of the mistakes that had been made and of the underlying defects."



## LITHUANIA

### "THE NATIONAL LINE"

The Moscow newspaper "Pravda" of June 18th, 1953, writes, in a report on the plenary meeting of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Lithuania:

"The plenary meeting confirmed the fact that serious errors and deficiencies exist in the work of the C.C. of the C.P. of Lithuania and in the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian S.S.R. They are mostly to be found in connection with the many perversions in the introduction of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy of our party, and especially in the weakness in forming a Lithuanian national cadre, as well as in the leading party, political and economic work.

The plenary session also discovered many great mistakes and omissions in the business of the organisational and economic strengthening of the kolkhoze system. It resolved unconditionally to eliminate these errors and to approve concrete measures for the rectification of the political work in the republic, for logical carrying-out of the Leninist-Stalinist national line, as well as for improvement of the development, preparation and energetic education of the national Lithuanian cadre in cooperation with the leading party, political and economic organs . . ."



## SLOVAKIA

### BLOODY DEMONSTRATIONS

In June of this year there occurred in Bratislava, Kosice, Zilina, and other places bloody demonstrations against Communism and the Czechoslovak State. Thousands of Slovak workers demonstrated against economic exploitation, political terrorism and lack of food. These mass-outbreaks of dissatisfaction could be suppressed only by special police-measures and military interference. In Bratislava, a state of emergency was proclaimed. In Kosice, where the demonstrators hoisted the flags of the Slovak Republic and the U.S.A. in public, the traffic was at a standstill for three days.

Similar unrest occurred also in Zilina and other places. The Slovak workers in the labour-pool in

Moravska Ostrava demonstrated against insufficient rations and limitations of personal freedom. 17 demonstrating Slovaks were killed there.

#### ANTI-COMMUNIST COMMUNISTS . . .

At the Congress of the C. P. of Slovakia in Bratislava, in June of this year, there spoke the President of the Prague Government, V. Siroky. In his speech, he attempted to justify the plunder of the people's savings by the so-called currency reform (deflation). He also endeavoured to find ground for the incorporation of the C. P. of Slovakia in the C. P. of the C.S.R. Special attention was devoted to the anti-communist sentiment and even to that among the Party-members. The Minister of Police, K. Bacilek, described "the agents of the hostile emigration" as initiators of the unrest in Slovakia. He threatened to liquidate them all without mercy.

Help who may! — For every stupidity of the bolshevist marionettes, the "agents of the hostile emigration" and "western imperialism" are allegedly to blame. As to that, they might as well make them responsible for the changes of the weather and the sun-spots. Even the constant silence of the Martians and the dryness of the moon-calves might be traced back to the same authors . . .

#### ACADEMY OF COMMUNIST "SCIENCES"

The communists have recently founded in the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava, a so-called "Slovakian Academy of Science". The purpose of this institute is to propagate, under the cloak of science, the communist ideology, the Soviet system, and the achievements of Russian scientists. There can be no question of genuine scientific activity, because, without freedom of research and publication, there can exist no science in the real sense of the word, but, at the most, a pseudo-science as a means to an end.

#### FEAR OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

There has lately occurred in the communist press and on the radio a great deal of insult and slander against the anti-communist emigration. Special targets of this are the Slovak Liberation Committee and its president, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky. On July 15th of this year, "Pravda", the organ of the C. P. of Slovakia, which appears in Bratislava, published, for example, violent attacks against the patriotically-minded emigrés.

In this is displayed the bad conscience of the present communist despots, who fear the national-revolutionary forces and their growing influence in the country.



## TURKISTAN

#### "SCARCITY" OR PREFERENCE?

Moscow is dissatisfied with the scientific work of the Uzbek S.S.R. The official Soviet paper, "Izvestiya", of June 4th, 1953, enumerated all the defects of the Academy. The attacks were directed in the first place against the scientists of the Historical and Archeological Institute, whose two-volume work on the "History of the peoples of Uzbekistan" was censured as follows:

"Under-estimation of the progressive significance of Uzbekistan's annexation to Russia, illustration of the incidence of a bourgeois objective, and often openly nationalistic, attitude, concealment of class-warfare, hushing-up of the reactionary meaning of Islam, over-great hesitancy in the exposure of Panturkism and Pan Slavism, and some idealisation of the feudal social order. A few extracts illustrate strikingly the judgement of revolutionary national liberation-movements, feudal nationalistic revolts, and the instigation by the Moslem clergy and agents in imperialistic lands; at the end comes an incomplete list of the mistakes which have been made by the authors and editors of the published volumes of the "History of the peoples of Uzbekistan".

The Institute of Etymology and Literature has published no important work on Uzbek etymology and scholars of the Institute of Oriental Studies are busying themselves with dusty matter from the superannuated Arabian manuscripts, instead of with the real problems of Soviet oriental knowledge.

The Institute of Economics has distorted the Leninist-Stalinist theory and has not elaborated it in compiling the problems of the development of the productive resources of the Ferghanian Basin. (*The Ferghanian Basin is the most fertile district of Uzbekistan, but in the course of the Soviet Russian mismanagement has degenerated with unbelievable rapidity into swamp and bog.* — *Editor's note.*) The managers of the Institute of Agriculture have devoted very little attention to cotton-growing . . . The only agricultural work prepared for printing by the Institute is, according to the judgement of the Principal of the Academy of Science, completely unscientific.

Altogether, the publication of scientific works by the Academy of Science in the Uzbek S.S.R. is in a very bad way.

The Cabinet of the Uzbek S.S.R. consented to the sheme of work of the Academy after a delay of 6—7 months.

"In the interests of the people and state" the official party paper, the Moscow "Izvestiya", demands "a decided improvement in the activity of the Academy of Science in the Uzbek S.S.R."

The fact that the Uzbek scientists are not hurrying themselves in contributing, by means of their knowledge, to the intensive exploitation of their fatherland by the occupiers and in working in the interests of the Russian and Soviet state is in the interests of the national Turkistan.

Thus: scarcity or preference? O. Z.



#### O.U.N. IN THE FRONT LINE

The Kyiv official party newspaper, "Radyanska Ukraina" published, on June 26th, 1953, a longish critique of the brochure by Y. Smolych, "Enemies of Mankind and their Hirelings" in which we read, inter alia:

"And there they are . . ., hought for pieces of silver. With terrible hate, with tridents (Ukrainian national weapon — Ed.) and mauser-pistols, they are again beginning their fearful activities. In the law processes which were instituted against these handits, in Lviv, Drohobych, Stryi, Chortkiv, there was clearly revealed the servile rôle of the O.U.N. members, who are old agents of the imperialists, those foes of mankind. These damned "liberation-fighters" are proceeding with their murdering, larsion, provocation and espionage and such-like black crimes. These bourgeois nationalists had been, as the scum of humanity, sentenced to liquidation. So long as only a remnant of these loathsome handits have weapons in their hands, we must be on our guard! . . ."

By means, of such kind of "reports", the Soviet occupiers are trying, in vain, to distort and disparage the armed liberation-struggle in Ukraine. In reality, however, publications of this kind only serve to confess and give confirmation of the fact that the men and women of the O.U.N., who are feared by Moscow, as inciters of the Ukrainian national revolution, are, in spite of all bestial terrorism, still at work with an unbroken fighting spirit in all parts of Ukraine.

#### ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT

On July 1st., 1953, a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was held. *Kalchenko*, Vice-Premier of the Council of Minister of the Ukrainian S.S.R. spoke on the "preparation and execution of the spring and harvest work in connection with the demands of agricultural production" and *Korotchenko*, Premier of the Ukrainian S.S.R., made a speech on the subject of "increase of production, improvement of quality for consumers, and the improvement of relations between producers and the working buyers."

The plenary meeting criticised the Ministries of Agriculture and General Distribution for their inadequate direction of operation M.T.S. (Machine

#### Apology

We regret that in our issue of March/April, 1953, in the review of the Countess of Listowel's book "CRUSADER IN THE SECRET WAR", "she was referred to by our reviewer as a Hungarian Jewess by birth". We regret this first because it is untrue and secondly because the statement read as though we had an anti-semitic bias which is not true either. We wish to tender our apologies to Lady Listowel. Book-Reviews Editor

and Tractor Stations — Ed.), insufficient preparation of the material-technical basis for the gathering in of the new harvest . . .

The Ministries of Light Industry and Foodstuff Production were also sharply censured, as well as the local fuel industry, the industrial co-operative societies, etc., because the Ministries had not given sufficient attention to the distribution of the various wares.

#### REFLECTED IN THEIR OWN MIRROR

The official Soviet newspaper, "Izvestiya", of July 7th, 1953, criticised the Kyiv paper, "Pravda Ukrainy", for displaying so little interest in the local councils of the Ukrainian S.S.R.:

"One cannot say that the "Pravda Ukrainy" knew nothing about the various defects and mistakes this sphere. On May 28th, 1953, this paper wrote in its leader, under the heading of "Improved official Soviet apparatus", the following: ". . . Not functioning satisfactorily, for example, is the executive committee of the district council of Ternopil . . . The executive council is including no educational work in its apparatus. . . Significant symptoms of these errors, which are characteristic of the Ternopil district council, are making themselves apparent in the executive committees of Pottava and Sumy, as well as in the work of the executive committee of the district councils of Transcarpathia, Zaporozhe and Kamietz-Podilsky . . ."

"The rural and district newspaper of the Republic cannot stand aloof from commenting on the work of the Soviets", writes the "Izvestiya".

#### A SIGNIFICANT "PROGRAMME"

On July 7th, 1953, the C.C. of the C.P. of Ukraine put into force an 18-point programme which aims at an immediate improvement of the population's standard of living and other considerable ameliorations. These measures come under the motto: "Increased production, better quality of consumer goods and improvement of the relationship between employes and the population".

The Kyiv newspaper, "Pravda Ukrainy", of July 8th, 1953, published the following points of the new programme:

"1) The opening in all Ukrainian towns and villages of new stores, new work- and repair-shops for clothing, shoes, furniture, clocks and other utility goods;

2) The evolution of new clothing models, new shoes, toys, sports articles, household goods and furniture;

3) Elimination of all defects in the public transports and canal system, in all public baths, laundries and hairdressing salons;

4) Improved service in all restaurants and cafés, and improvement of the food provided and enlargement of the choice."

This programme, more than anything else, betrays the inadequate and undignified living-conditions to which the Ukrainian nation has been condemned by the Soviet-Russian regime, and contradicts completely all phrases concerning "well-being" and "happy life" in the Soviet paradise. For the rest, this programme is intended to display the future to the population in a rosy light and to mollify as much as possible the explosive temper of the nation.

#### "Freedom" of Religion . . .

(Concluded from Page 13)

of the Turkistan Moslems, and last but not least, the campaign against the Jews.

In *Turkistan* the Mohamedan religion was persecuted. Some of their holy temples (Moshei) were destroyed and some were turned into night clubs, theatres and garages. Their holy places such as Shachdurdance, Oshi, Avlis-Aha, where thousands of their faithful made yearly pilgrimages, were made into summer resorts. Their minister, as Mufti, Ulam, Muli were killed or were sent to concentration camps.

It is clear then that every religious man must struggle against Bolshevist atheism, that he must warn others of his creed of its dangers, and tell them of the guile with which the Bolsheviks approach religious questions. A gigantic struggle between God and Moscow is growing out of this campaign, which has its genesis in the totalitarian appetites of the Soviet State. "God's Underground" is active wherever the Soviet fist dominates, and the study of history suggests that "God's Underground" will be victorious.

## BOOK - REVIEWS

Adam B. Ulam:

### Titoism and the Cominform

Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952; 244 p.

This book, extremely abundant in information and documentation, by the meritorious American sociologist, may justly be estimated as a principal work on the so-called "Titoism". It appears, also, to be the only one in the wealth of literature about the Yugoslavian dictator and his state that, on the one hand, deals with the internal and external history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia before and during the War thoroughly and with a rare objectivity (it is in this very field that both antagonists — the Titoists as well as the adherents of the Cominform — surpass themselves in the crassest falsifications of history and concealments) and, on the other hand, considers the national problem in Yugoslavia with considerable moderation and in a quite unbiased manner. The author emphasises most strongly that even when the "United Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" was formed (at the end of 1918), the national problem had been under-estimated with the lack of understanding for that kind of question that was characteristic of the 19th century: "Here, as in many other things, the idealists and liberals of the 19th century forgot to take into account the essential problem of political power. There was no reason, it seemed, why the fraternal nations of the Balkans — Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia — could not live together in peace and democracy. The things which united them, their language (Croats and Serbs have a common language) which is not dissimilar to the Slovenian) and the logic of their Union from the historical and economic point of view, were taken to mean more than the accident of history which caused the Serbs to be Greek Orthodox in their religion while claiming the Croats and Slovenes for Catholicism. History has shaped out of the same material very different national psychologies and viewpoints, but to the liberal spirit of the 19th century such differences were quite secondary."

General Mihailovich's lack of success had also, in the author's opinion, to a great extent national causes: "He was a Serb, and he led a purely Serbian movement. While the Yugoslav government-in-exile contained Slovene and Croat ministers, it proved impossible to create within the country a correspondingly broad Yugoslav movement under Mihailovich." The author admits, incidentally, that "on military grounds, the Allies decision to supply Tito and the Partisans (instead of Mihailovich's "Chetniks" — V. D.) was wellfounded. What was inexcusable, and in some quarters intentionally misleading, was the effort to present the Partisans as anything but a Communist-led and a Communist-controlled movement. But that was, of course, a part of a much vaster and more tragic story of illusion and self-deception."

Naturally the Serb-Croatian national conflict continues to exist in Yugoslavia today, although it is now a "federation of six states" and although, according to the author's probably somewhat exaggerated statement, "national equality, always with the limitations peculiar to a totalitarian state, exists in Yugoslavia." Yet he unconditionally admits that "the dilemma of conflicting nationalisms within one state has never been susceptible of an easy solution. The tradition of Croat grievances and the memory of the massacres of Serbs by the Ustashe in wartime Croatia still hang over Yugoslavia. There are indications that many Serbs, including some Serbian Communists, have not reconciled themselves to the new Yugoslavia, where their privileged position is gone. The tradition of separatism is not entirely dead among the Croats". The author even believes that "to the Cominform Yugoslavia's national troubles are a weapon of great potential effectiveness" although "this time the Cominform is faced by a group of rulers who understand only too well the strategy of Moscow, and who are alert to the danger."

In his general judgement of the "Titoism" of the whole Tito regime, the author shows himself very reserved and rather inclined to a well-founded pessimism: "... is Yugoslavia today still a Communist, or even a Stalinist, country, insofar as her internal policies and the mentality of her leaders are concerned? To this question one must give a barely qualified yes... The leaders of Yugoslavia have retained their Communism and in fact consider themselves the true guardians of the creed prostituted by the masters of the Kremlin... There is every indication that the men around Tito are still inspired by their creed but that the danger has now, at last, forced them to supplement Marxism with genuine nationalism. The Yugoslav Communists will never become liberals. They will never abandon the essence of the police state. But, given time, their regime may lose some of the totalitarian features of the Communist state. It may become a state in which people who are not connected with politics, while not free, may breathe more freely. It is foolish to expect more even under the most favorable circumstances". — The further course of events in the last eighteen months has completely confirmed this prognosis of December, 1951.

The author also entertains no hope of a speedy and politically effective increase of "Titoism" in the satellite states; he sarcastically mentions that, "to some in the West, Titoism has become a weapon of self-destruction obligingly forged by Communism to spare the West the unpleasant task of studying and developing a policy toward the Soviet Union and her satellites." In reality, however, "the conditions which assured its success in Yugoslavia are not automatically reproducible in every country that has come under Communist domination". The main difference — as the author convincingly proves by means of a detailed analysis of the "Titoism" (or that which one is accustomed to style thus) in Poland, Hungary

\*) A really doubtful formulation from the linguistic standpoint, although the old dialect-frontiers actually did not correspond with the Serb-Croatian ethnic frontier; Slovenian, on the other hand, is a quite separate south Slav language. — V. D.

and Bulgaria — is primarily that the "national Communists", who "wanted to emulate Tito in their own countries, had first to seize control of their Parties and governments before they could even think of standing up against the U.S.S.R." On the other hand, however, the "Titoistic" tendencies among the Communist Parties of the satellite states are natural and positively ineradicable, since they are a natural consequence of the Kremlin's imperialistic, though carried out under international-Communist slogans, policy towards the satellite states.

The question that is so interesting for present-day conditions — whether, in certain circumstances, an approach is possible between Belgrade and Moscow? — is not discussed at all (it was, in Stalin's life-time, not concrete enough); yet everything in his presentation seems to indicate that he would assent to this. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was from 1937 to 1941 — therefore since Tito was Leader — "even more than before 1937, fully subservient to the Soviet Union... There seems to be very little doubt that had the Russians employed diplomacy instead of attempts at compulsion and subversion, Tito's Yugoslavia would still be the most faithful ally of the Soviet Union." There are no fundamental divergencies at all between the dictators of Belgrade and Moscow, the fight will be fought for political power, and can therefore end in a compromise. V. D.

### A Very Well Organized, But One-Sided, Anti-Communist Enlightenment and Propaganda Action

#### Background Books

The Batchworth Press, Ltd., London.

This series of anti-Communist polemics, each of 40 to 60 pages, which has been published, under the name of "Background Books", since the year 1951, and whose number already approaches thirty, may well be estimated, generally speaking, as a really meritorious and thoroughly practical enterprise for the combatting of Communism in the realm of the Anglo-Saxon democratic world: every booklet deals only with one of the problems which are important for present world-politics, but treats it really thoroughly, with true British objectivity and precision. The authors do not impose their views upon the reader, but let him form his own judgement on the ground of proved and significant facts, which is the way of the Anglo-Saxon mentality.

And it is agreed that the positive actual political worth of the single publications is very varied, according to whether the subject in question has any close connection with national problems or not. Where connection of this kind is absent — as, say, in Victor Feather's writing: "How Do the Communists Work?", 1953, the analysis and presentation can be described only as exemplary; for the tactics of the communist agitators among the British workers and in their trades union organisations, which are exhaustively and competently dealt with by the author, have nothing, whatever to do with national problems, and the authors' assertions hold good for at least all the English-speaking countries (and also the application of differing methods in the Latin countries can in no way be traced back to national or even racial variations, but to a quite different scale of political values on the part of the communist parties). Here, therefore, the indifference to national questions which characterizes the whole series has not been able to impair, to any noticeable degree, the political value of the writing.

It is another matter with the copious writing of Cicely and Christopher Mayhew: "What is Titoism?", 1951. Although the brochure treats quite exhaustively of the national-Communist regime in present-day Yugoslavia and says much that is striking and penetrating concerning its relations with the anti-Russian elements in the Communist Parties of the satellites, the fact remains that the terms "national" and "political" are for both authors entirely synonymous: whatever exists in Yugoslavia must belong to the "Yugoslav nation"! It is thus natural that the national tension in Yugoslavia between the Croats and the Slovenes on one hand, and the Serbs on the other, is wilfully ignored. It is true that this tension can nowadays, under Tito's dictatorial totalitarianism, be only latent; that it, however, not only still exists, but is also to be estimated as effective, follows, as an example, from Tito's present well-known efforts to bring under revision the famous judicial murder in Salonika, 1917, of which the notable Great-Serbian conspirator, Apis-Dimitriyevich, was the victim. This he is doing in order to have the Great-Serbian dynasty of Karageorgiyevich thoroughly compromised. In which matter, one must consider that this dynasty possesses a certain following exclusively among the Serbian part of the Yugoslavian population.

Much worse is the case, naturally, with those publications in the above-mentioned series that deal with prognostics on the Soviet-Communist regime in the U.S.S.R. A really shocking example of that is afforded by the brochure, "Why Communism Must Fail", 1951, whose six notable authors have put together literally everything possible in order to render credible a speedy collapse of the Soviet-Russian state — only not if its imperialistic, Russian national, character! When the famous philosopher, Bertrand Russel, finds a reason for the short-livedness of the Soviet Union in the fact that "a dictatorship inevitably begets corruption", the economist Francis Watson, on the other hand, in the fact, rather, that slave-labour is fundamentally unprofitable, and the scientist C. D. Darlington in that totalitarian Communism admits of no free development of science (moreover, each of the remaining authors, W. N. Ewer, Victor Feather, and L. B. Schapiro, has his own opinion on why Soviet-Russian imperialism, even without a third world war, should collapse of its own weakness), these part-arguments might appear more or less penetrating or, on the contrary, more or less naive. On the main point, however, the subjugation of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R., they are naturally silent, and thus contribute much more confusion and misunderstanding to the sphere of anti-Soviet political propaganda than benefit.

And so it actually stands with all the brochures of the "Background Books" Series: when the authors consider a problem that has only a loose connection with East-European national problems, or even none at all, their presentation is to be estimated as objective and competent; as soon, however, as national problems intrude,

they are wilfully ignored, and a clear understanding of the connections in question is rendered impossible. With one, it may be admitted, interesting exception: when military problems come in question, the "national-taboo" is to a certain extent broken through. So, for example, in the very illuminating writing "Does Stalin Mean War?" by Lieut.-General Sir Francis Tucker (1952), where, among other general anti-Russian "activitists" among the Soviet and satellite states, the Ukrainian national problem is dealt with, from a purely British standpoint, but yet conscientiously and unbiasedly. The author arrives at the correct conclusion that, "if the war is taken into her own country through satellite territory or Ukraine, the Soviet regime may well collapse under the strain". It may sound rather astonishing and, for the English reader, even humiliating that British generals manifest more sense for a real national policy than the British politicians, probably for the simple reason that British generals are not party-politicians and do not need to bother about purely party-political slogans (such as the "unimpeachability" of the Russian empire or the alleged centuries-long friendship between the British and Russian nation). In any case, one may, with a certain feeling of relief, stress the fact that at least the military constituent of the British "experts" oppose no Moscow-ophile prejudice to a real understanding for the national problem in the Soviet Union; how long it will be before the "civilian" experts in British foreign policy follow their military colleagues is unfortunately a matter for them themselves to decide. V. D.

Constantin Kandelaki:

### The Georgian Question Before the Free World (Acts-Documents-Evidence)

Translated from the French. Paris, 1953, 220 p.

This work, written by the former Minister of Economics and Finance of the Georgian Democratic Republic, constitutes what is, in essentials, a quite detailed history, supplied with numerous quotations, of the external relations of the independent Georgian State (1918-21) and the relationships which were concluded later — after the Soviet-Russian invasion and forcible seizure of Georgia in February-March 1921 — by the exiled Georgian government, in order to uphold their rights and the right to liberty of the Georgian nation before the forum of European public opinion. The author's presentation is clear and concise, his documentation is complete, and the most important records, such as the Georgian-Soviet-Russian Treaty of May 7th, 1920, the "Recognition of Georgian Independence by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers" of January 20th, 1921, and the text of the Georgian Constitution are quoted in extenso, so that one may indeed hope that the book will achieve its propagandistic aims within the above-mentioned framework. It is, however, regrettable that the author has limited himself almost exclusively to the formal international-law side of the problem (the chapter "Georgia — Summary Outline" is very short and, especially in the historical part, rather scanty), so that his own presentation often suggests to an attentive reader questions which in the book itself remained unanswered.

The violent breach of faith which the Soviets committed against the Georgian national state, is as clear as day; not so, on the other hand, are the actual political circumstances which made it possible for the Soviets to overthrow, within five weeks, a quite well-ordered national state that had been leading a peaceful existence for as long as three years (and that in the Transcaucasian countryside, which has been difficult for every invader). That the Georgian nation was not lacking in courage and eagerness for combat is sufficiently proved by the heroic Georgian rebellion of August, 1924, which was put down so cruelly by the Soviets.

The independence of Transcaucasia, which was proclaimed on February 10th, 1918, collapsed under Turkish pressure and because of disputes between the Armenians and Azerbaijanians, which Georgia sought in vain to settle. The difficulties with which Georgia had to contend are also illustrated by the fact that, in 1918, the country was attacked by Armenia and, under the coercion of England, the Georgian border districts had to be surrendered as a neutral zone. A Soviet-Russian attack in the summer of 1920 was repelled. It was only on account of the fact that a renewed attack by Soviet troops in February 1921, was supported by a Turkish invasion in the rear that the overpowering of the Georgian nation succeeded. As a consequence of this, the Georgians were forced to cede the areas of Kars, Ardagan and Artwin, and Armenian territory as well as handed over to the Turks. Thus the weakening of Georgia, effected in this crafty manner, led of necessity to the following results. In 1922, Karl Radek declared in Berlin that they needed the Caucasus and its petroleum. And, in 1925, Tshitsherin said that Lloyd George had told Comrade Krasin that the English had no interest in the Caucasus and regarded it as being in the Russian sphere of influence.

Moreover, a close co-operation with the other three Caucasian national states was for Georgia highly desirable for both internal and national-political reasons, and for that reason Georgia has also strived for an amalgamation of a confederative Transcaucasian Republic.

This kind of very important and pregnant question ought not to have been allowed to be ignored in a book on the Georgian nation's just fight for liberty; are they not extremely instructive for the present fight of all the nations subjugated by Moscow against the Soviet-Russian occupiers? M. H. B.

**ABN CORRESPONDENCE**  
Antibolshevik Bureau of Nations

P.O. Box 70, Munich 33, Phone: 59 13 51 Germany.  
 Published by the Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

Responsible: K. W. Orlecky.

Account No. 10 707, Munich, Süddeutsche Bank

Yearly Subscription \$ 2 or Shillings 12.

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# A.B.N. CORRESPONDENCE

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Vol. IV. No. 11/12. Nov./Dec. 1953

\* Published in English, French and German \*

Price: 1s; 40 c

Yaroslav Stetzko

## 10 Years A.B.N.

The Secret Light of the Underground — Inspiration and Warning to the World — What We are Fighting for — The Revolution which the Times Demand — The World-Political Problem

In the late autumn of the year 1953, in the middle of the Second World War, there arose in Ukraine, out of the ruins a spiritual light. Armed representatives from 13 subjugated nations met together on the night of Nov. 21st—22nd in the forest of Zhytomir, for a general conference of underground movements and revolutionary alliances and to declare common war upon Bolshevism and Nazism. It was characteristic that immediately afterwards there was a fight between these champions of freedom, under a Georgian major, and the Gestapo. That memorable conference's resolution on a common struggle and brotherhood between the nations was at once put to the test. It is also characteristic that the initiator of this first conference, General *Taras Chuprynka*, was killed 7 years later while commanding the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in a battle against M.V.D.-units near Lviv in Ukraine. During these seven years he had directed a most bitter underground struggle.

During the war years this underground struggle was waged on two fronts. At that time two imperialisms were in collision, Russian Bolshevism, and German Nazism. The subjugated nations, inspired with the ideal of national and individual liberty, had to oppose them both. They were fighting for national liberation, social justice and true democracy. Even then the device of these fighters was "*Liberty for Nations — Liberty for Individuals!*" They appealed to the world with the cry: "*Liberty-loving peoples of the world, unite in the struggle against tyranny!*"

The representatives of the subjugated nations in the East united in the A.B.N. also proclaimed their solidarity with the war-aims of the West — in a common co-ordinated fight against tyranny and totalitarian dicta-

torship of every kind. At the same time, however, they warned the democracies of the dangers of making common cause with Bolshevism, which, as World Enemy No. 1, puts Nazism far in the shade.

The Western World, at that time still an ally of Moscow, disregarded our warning. It spoke only of "unconditional surrender", which, in its ultimate effect, was to mean capitulation to bolshevism. It could not see the wood for the trees. What we said then, however, has been fulfilled. Bolshevism already presents a deadly threat to the entire world. Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, were the milestones of this fatal progress. Subjugated

fighters for liberty, a warning light streams out into the free world. It leads us on to the construction of a new world, which can be founded only upon those high principles for which our peoples have long fought against fearful odds.

For centuries, two conceptions have opposed each other in the East — the ideal of national and personal liberty, of the non-Russian peoples, and the Russian despotic system of imperialism. The idea of equality of rights for all nations and their right to liberty and independence had always to be defended against Russian conquest.

The solidarity of the subjugated nations and the conception of a united fight against tyranny, which have found their expression since 1943 in the A.B.N., had their beginnings in the great coalition planned by the Ukrainian Hetman, Orlyk, in the 18th century which has been sung by Taras Shevchenko in his epic poem, "Caucasus", and also in the initiative of President Hrushevsky, who, in the year 1917, convened a general conference of the subjugated peoples in Kyiv, and also in the combined committee of representatives of 7 subjugated nations, which, in the year 1941, on the initiative of the Ukrainian revolutionaries, published in five languages the journal, "*Our Front*", and circulated it in the U.S.S.R.

Experience has shown that the sense and urge for justice is more deeply rooted in a subjugated nation and is more strongly in evidence than with the nations of the Free World. The loathing of injustice and inequality is more intense and more explosive there than here. A prisoner longs even more for liberty than for bread. In this very fact lies the key to the understanding of the enslaved peoples.

This should be the pivot of Western policy towards our nations. Today, when, in view of the critical atmosphere in the Soviet sphere of domination, the hopes of the subjugated peoples in the East have sharply risen, it is all the more necessary that the West should understand the temperament of our people. The Kremlin should not be given the chance of convincing our people that they have been deserted by the West and are only used as currency in shady bartering with Moscow. For should the hope of these nations, that the Free World is prepared to stand by them in the desperate struggle for freedom, be extinguished, the game in the East would be decided in favour of Moscow and the effect upon the world situation would be incalculable.

In this conflict of two philosophies, the victory of the West, as the champion of liberty,

Rostyslav Voloshyn-Pavlenko  
Member of O.U.N.-Presidium

Chairman of the 1st Conference of the subjugated peoples, co-founder of the A.B.N.

Fell in fight against bolshevist Troops in Ukraine 1946



territories are now more extensive. The enslaved countries of the Soviet Union have been joined by the so-called "satellites". Today they extend so far that the whole world is divided into two parts. It consists only of nations already enslaved and those threatened with enslavement.

For ten years the A.B.N. has warned against every concession to bolshevism. From the cellars of the underground, from chapels in the catacombs, from the graves of fallen

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can only be attained on the basis of a total rejection of tyranny. It allows neither compromise nor partial solutions. Success requires unconditional acknowledgement of the high ethical value of liberty, equality, national independence, social justice and religion to which our nations have long dedicated themselves in their fight against Russian-bolshevist despotism. In this revolutionary age, one must be unconditionally loyal to this modern ideal. Should the West, however, turn its back upon the fulfilment of these aims of our struggle, in favour of the expedient and futile purposes of a short-term policy or of egoistic self-interest, this would be tantamount to the abandonment of ethical principles in politics and would make smooth the way of bolshevist nihilism, and allow the world to drift to certain ruin.

The power of the herd instinct is on the increase in our times. The difficulty of building a just international and social order is one that gives rise to a dangerous growth of scepticism. Mankind thirsts after a clear ideal, in which are to be found values and precepts which seem capable of guaranteeing to the individual as well as the nation, a secure and dignified existence. Military means alone are not enough to overcome the bolshevist world-peril of today. That can be achieved only by the sacred code of a spiritual revolution which must form the foundation of our faith in a new and better future.

Reactionary ideas must have no place in the conception of the West, least of all plans for preserving structures and systems which have been the very cause of the rise of bolshevism in the past. The worst of these evil institutions is the Muscovite Empire, which could only be held together by means of a despotic system of government and thus was bound to become the breeding-ground of bolshevism.

Bolshevism's destructive influence was from the first directed against national and personal liberty, social justice and faith in God. For the renewal of our world, consequently, the West must not confirm anew this destructive influence in the East, but rather must it adhere to the basic principles of freedom and humanity.

Bolshevism has not merely preserved the despotism of Russian imperialism but has in fact renewed and consolidated it. Therefore the revolution of our times has to make the dissolution of this despotic empire and the restoration of the overthrown national states its first objective. Bolshevism has carried Russian domination as far as Berlin and Vienna, and has conquered Asia for Russia. Therefore the revolution must primarily re-establish liberty here and must restore national independence to all the enslaved peoples.

The A.B.N. is waging war *against* communist despotism and dictatorship in every form, against the exploitation of men by the state or their fellow-men, against godlessness, against imperialism; *for* spiritual and religious rebirth, for national independence, for private ownership of land and property, for the development of native industries, for free competition and individual initiative within the framework of social justice, for the promotion of ethical values, for national traditions, for free development of the creative powers of all nations through the abolition of artificially imposed state systems based on force.

On the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the A.B.N., these simple watchwords must be repeated, for they do not seem to be sufficiently appreciated by many people and

nations in the West who live in freedom and well-being and enjoy a worthy human existence which our peoples still vainly long for while it is taken for granted in the West.

Today more than ever we persist in our conception of the indivisibility of freedom. The world stands at the crossroads: either our ideas will make an end, once and for all, of the Russian despotism and lust for world-conquest, or there will remain this disastrous opposition between the Free World and the miscreants of the Russian bolshevist tyranny. Then the world cannot escape the disaster that is sure to come sooner or later.

During these 10 long years of our struggle, in the enslaved homeland at the point of the gun and in the free West with pen in hand, undiverted by the blandishments of Moscow or the temptations of compromise we have uttered our warnings. Today, at the beginning of the second decade of the A.B.N., we again preface our activities with a warning to the West against making any kind of ideological, political or tactical compromise with Russian imperialism.

Two worlds are in the throes of a mortal struggle. One of them must inevitably go under, if the other is to survive.

## R E S O L U T I O N S

### Adopted by the First Conference of the Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia Which took Place in Ukraine on Nov. 21st and 22nd 1943

#### The Political Situation

1. The present war between German National Socialism and Russian Bolshevism is a typical imperialistic and aggressive war, waged for the mastery of the world, for a new distribution of the earth's wealth, for new sources of raw materials and new markets, and finally for manpower which entails the enslavement and exploitation of man.

2. Both warring imperialisms deny the right of a nation to political and cultural development within a national state, bringing political, social and cultural slavery to the conquered peoples in the form of the Nazi "New Europe" or the bolshevik "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics".

3. These anti-social and criminal aims are cloaked by false slogans of social equality, deliverance of workers from the capitalist yoke, etc.

4. Bolshevism, with complete bankruptcy of ideas, seeks support by reviving reactionary catchwords of Slavophilism and traditional Russian jingoism.

5. This imperialistic war inevitably leads the two warring powers to economic and military ruin by increasing and bringing to the fore internal contradictions inherent in the systems. This, naturally, favours the growth of revolutionary liberation movements amongst the enslaved nations. In recent times there has been a marked growth of this sort of activity. This is the guarantee of victory for the revolutions and of a new and brighter future. The enslaved nations will have to put a stop to the absurd mutual slaughter, by their national revolutions and thus achieve peace and order in the world. The latter, based on the recognition of political rights of each nation, will ensure cultural and economic development to all countries. The system of free national states will guarantee complete freedom to the individual, who, until now, has been oppressed and exploited by foreign imperialists.

To achieve victory for national revolutions, a single common front of the nations aspiring to freedom is necessary. The conference, therefore, resolves that a Central Committee, composed of representatives of nations in Eastern Europe and Soviet-dominated Asia, be organized immediately to co-ordinate the revolutionary activities of separate nations. Its task should be the adoption of a general plan and common tactics to be employed in the struggle for liberty against the common enemy. At a signal from this committee simultaneous uprisings should take place in all subjugated countries in accordance with the pre-arranged plan.

#### Special Decisions

1. The First Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the heroic struggle of the nations of Western and Central Europe against the Nazi imperialists and proclaims its complete solidarity with them.

2. The conference deems it necessary to acquaint the nations of Western and Central Europe with the struggle, and aims for which it is waged, of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet-controlled Asia.

The conference appeals that everything possible be done to prevent the transportation of non-German formations in the German Army to Germany or to the fronts . . . (omitted for security reasons). Soldiers serving in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) of non-Ukrainian origin should be gathered into specially organized national formations . . . (omitted for security reasons). It calls for the strengthening of people's self-defence against the terror unleashed by the retreating German armies and civil administration.

Signed on behalf  
of the Resolutions Committee:

- (1) Gurielli, Professor (Georgian)
- (2) Gogia, Major (Georgian)
- (3) Fisul, Lieutenant (Azerbaijanian)
- (4) Shimrat, Teacher (Turkestanian)
- (5) Stecenko, Professor (Ukrainian)
- (6) Khodzhayev, Agriculturist (Ukrainian)
- (7) Oserska, Engineer (Ukrainian)

Signed on behalf  
of National Delegations:

- (1) Armenia — Antrant
- (2) Azerbaijan — Fisul
- (3) Bashkiria — Kagarman
- (4) Byelorussia — Druzny
- (5) Cherkesia — Dzहित
- (6) Chuvasia — Skvorazov
- (7) Georgia — Gogia
- (8) Kabardinia — Baksan
- (9) Ossetia — Aram
- (10) Tartaria — Tukay
- (11) Turkistan — Dczhkman (Kazakh)
- (12) Turkistan — Shimrat (Uzbek)
- (13) Ukraine — Stecenko

#### A Warning Voice in Council of Europe

At the last consultative meeting of the Council of Europe in September of this year, there spoke, as delegate of Holland, the socialist Goedhart. He uttered a warning against buying the liberation of Austria and the German Soviet Zone with the eternal enslavement of the East-European nations. A security-pact between the West and the Soviet Union would be accompanied by the danger of leaving the peoples behind the Iron Curtain in the lurch.

At last a voice inspired with a European sense of responsibility and feeling of humanity! — But whether it will prevail upon the responsible men of the free world?

## The Russian Tactics:

# “Two Steps Forward - One Step Back”

By V. Kajum Khan

The journal, “Milli Turkistan” No. 84 B, 1953, organ of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee (N.T.E.K.) has published a noteworthy article by its president, Veli Kajum Khan, on the Russian policy of conquest and its tactics. We here reproduce the unabbreviated text of this article — Ed.

Since 1917 Russian imperialists have used the tactics of “Two Steps Forward — One Step Back” whenever they were uncertain and in the preparatory stage before taking action, i. e. whenever they needed a breathing space so as to be able to strike at the decisive moment.

When they suggest, as they do today, that two systems of Western democracy and the Soviet form of Government can exist peacefully side by side or whenever they represent themselves as “apostles of peace”, they are using the familiar tactics of “Two Steps Forward — One Step Back”; they never deviate from the communist doctrine of worldwide subversion, revolution and domination. The Turkestanian people have experienced these tactics so often and for so long that they will never believe the promises or words of the Russian imperialists.

In 1917 Czarist-Russian imperialism collapsed and the non-Russian peoples who had been oppressed by the Czarist regime declared their independence. Lenin issued a declaration to the Islamic peoples of the Soviet Union in the name of the Bolsheviki-Party and Council of Peoples' Commissars on 3rd December 1917. In this declaration he promised that “from now on, your beliefs, your customs, your national and cultural institutions are free and unassailable. Carry on your national life in freedom and without hindrance! You have that right. You must be masters in your own countries. You yourselves must direct your lives according to your own ways and wishes!”

At this time the Turkestanian people and other non-Russian peoples had already striven for their separation from Russia and had declared their independence. Moscow immediately took “One Step Back” and first of all attempted to deal with inner conflicts and wars which divided the Russians themselves. At the same time, they entered into relations with the Western World and strengthened their armed forces. It was only after this period of consolidation was over that the different peoples and states, such as Turkistan, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Georgia and others, having enjoyed freedom from 1917 to 1920, were finally attacked and overwhelmed by force of arms. This bolshevik technique was the tactics of “Two Steps Forward, and One Step Back”, and this is the background against which the Lenin proclamation to the Islamic Peoples in 1917 should be seen.

This act of Soviet aggression was followed by plundering and murder in Turkistan. Brutal terrorist measures were taken against our national life, our religion and our peoples. But the Turkestanian Muslim people retaliated by revolts and battles for national independence and in defence of Islam. These revolts came to be known as the “Basmatch Movement”. Wherever they came across communists and Russians they called them relentlessly to account. These nationalist fighters were able to free a small part of our country and in 1921 proclaimed the independence of Turkistan at a Congress in Samarkand. The following year Lenin received an ultimatum from Enver Pasha, the supreme Commander of the Basmatch Movement, in which the Russians were given 14 days to evacuate the country. Simultaneously sabotage operations were begun in all parts of the economy still controlled by the Russians. This happened not only in Turkistan but among all other non-Russian peoples whose land had been conquered by Moscow.

When the Russians saw that they were threatened on all sides, they once again took

“One Step Back”. In the name of the “New Economic Policy” they once again permitted private enterprise; they eased the restrictions on nationalist and religious leaders and permitted religious education in the schools. They also allowed such well-known patriots as Munvar Qari, Fitrat, Cholpan, Elbeh, K. Ramasan, Baitursun to remain in relative peace, despite the fact that they were known to be nationalists and anti-communists. The Russians also ceased attacks on national customs and usages, and even permitted a further group of nationalists to occupy administrative and cultural posts in the Government. Men like

## Congressman Kersten Adopts Our Ideas

Special Report from New York

“A non-aggression pact with the communists is much worse than useless” — said Congressman Charles Kersten from Wisconsin on October 15, 1953. “One cannot treat with criminals”, he added, “and every concession will rebound against the West.”

Kersten declared that the things that could be done to help to end the Cold War and bring about true peace, as well as to depose the little group of fanatics (in the Kremlin) who had already taken possession of a third of the world were as follows:

- 1) Ceasing to negotiate with the communists, as if they were the representatives of the enslaved peoples.
- 2) Exposing their brutal regime and greatly extending and strengthening radio transmissions to these lands from the West.
- 3) Permitting formations of national military units composed of refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, as a magnet for defection from the fighting forces under communist control.

The senator further put forward the opinion that, if America does not pursue a sound liberation policy, it will have war, for only a sound liberation policy can prevent it. The Soviet Union can wage war only if supported by the satellites. One must, however, not say that such support is at all possible.

Faisula Hodja, A. Ikram, Batu, Tora Ruskul were not only allowed in the Government but were also permitted to pursue Turkestanian nationalist objectives.

Nevertheless, the battle went on; the “Supreme Commander of the Turkestan Front” Frunse, who commanded the troops fighting against the Basmatch Liberation Movement's battle for freedom, once again tried to win over the Turkestanian people by the “One Step Back” policy. In 1922, he issued the proclamation — “Muslims, these are your brothers; you must set them free. Communism is not opposed to Islam. Both beliefs have the same inner meaning — ‘brotherliness’.” However, the Turkestanian fighters and the religious leaders pointed out in their reply that communism is the ideology of the unbeliever and carried on their struggle for the liberation of Turkistan despite this Russian approach. Notwithstanding, the Russians continued their camouflage tactics in an attempt to win over Turkestanian Muslims until 1924. They did so in vain.

During this period, Russia prepared herself once again, assembled her military force until, feeling no longer threatened by the West, she once more took “Two Steps Forward”. In 1928 and 1929 Moscow was able to overwhelm the Basmatch Movement by military force, and from that day forward the systematic persecution of our peoples began. All Mosques were closed, 6740 religious schools were abolished; private enterprise was liquidated; trade and business was forbidden. 465 Medresse were turned into Red Clubs; religious leaders and nationalists were declared “enemies of the people”, arrested and exiled or shot. The first group of nationalists mentioned above, such as Sami Qari and others, were murdered, the second group, that is those who had taken positions in the Government, were driven from power during 1937 and 1938. The reign of terror touched every class of the Turkestanian peoples.

At this time Malenkov had already joined the Red Army as a Commissar and was fighting to put down the Basmatch Movement. He was responsible for murdering thousands of Turkestanians, for the burning of the Mosques and spoliation of the countryside. So as to encourage hostility and friction between the different groups of the Turkestanian people, between property-owners and those without property, the Russians carried through the tactics of the so-called Turkestanian Land Reform in 1925 and confiscated the land of the property-owners and gave it to those who had none. In this way they hoped to win over one part of the peoples and to weaken the nationalist revolt. The property owners were declared to be “capitalists, nationalists and public enemies” and were sent into exile. Subsequently in 1928 and 1929, Moscow took “Two Steps Forward” yet again and the new property-owners were in their turn arrested and their land confiscated. This was the beginning of collectivization in Turkestan. Everything was nationalised, that is to say, everything was made the property of Moscow, and Turkestanian men-folk became the slaves of the Russian imperialists.

Once more our country flamed with revolt against the Russian occupiers, but Soviet troops with their armed strength were able to overcome this resistance. However, the battle still goes on.

The Russians were once again forced to revert to their tactics of “Two Steps Forward — One Step Back”. In Turkistan at the outbreak of the 2nd World War when resistance was still intense they instantly announced that in the interests of “patriotism” a few Mosques would be opened and “Red Mufti” were appointed. Once the Second World War was over, this policy was of course reversed and the terror campaign reopened. The Islamic religion and national culture were both subjected to persecution and a programme of Russification was once more in full swing. Hundreds of thousands of Turkestanians were sent into exile or forced labour.

Turkistan had now become a military and propaganda centre of Russia for the purpose of overthrowing the Near and Middle East. Stalin said on the 11th May, 1938: “Through Turkistan, the Near and Middle East must be brought under Soviet influence.” The Red author in Uzbekistan, Aybek, Chief of the “League of the Godless”, who has his agents in Tashkent, was given the job of issuing material to influence intellectual circles in Afghanistan and Pakistan so as to win over these classes to the Soviet interest and turn them into communists. He visited these countries for this purpose a number of times. Simultaneously, Qilitsch Berdi was given a staff and the task of working in Turkmenistan to build up a front in Persia and the Near East against the Western peoples. He is still doing it.

In Tadzikistan Mirsa Tursun Zade had the job of spreading communist and anti-Western influence in intellectual circles in India. To complete this picture of subversion, the “Red Mufti”, Eschan Babhan Abdul Medjid and Abdul Rahman Rasuli, were given the work of getting in touch with all leading religious personalities in the Islamic countries to influence them to sign “Soviet Peace Procla-

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# Economic Crisis in the U.S.S.R.

By M. Myronenko

On September the 13th, "Pravda" published in Moscow a resolution of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the title "Means for the further development of Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.". There appeared at the same time a lecture by N. Khrushchov, the secretary of the same committee, which he had given on the 3rd of September.

Both these pronouncements represent attempts to find a solution of the present economic deadlock in the U.S.S.R.

The text of the resolution runs to four full pages of "Pravda" while the lecture occupies almost six.

*What in fact constitutes this economic deadlock in Soviet economy?*

This question is explicitly answered by Khrushchov as follows — "... the purchasing power of the Soviet citizen and his demand is increasing at an ever faster rate, and the production of foodstuffs does not, by a long way, satisfy the needs of the workers. Therefore the problem of raising the standard of nourishment of the population attains special importance."

*The crisis therefore consists in the fact that the people are short of foodstuffs and that industry is short of agricultural raw materials.* (As is revealed in another passage of the lecture.)

Unless this crisis can be overcome by a decisive increase in production of food and agricultural raw material "one cannot build up communism" says Khrushchov — that is, in other words, one cannot maintain Moscow's Empire.

Why is this question being so sharply posed just now, whereas, before the last war, it was by no means so energetically dealt with? Then, one was inclined to cover up the steady decline of agriculture — that basic foundation of soviet economy — by a blatant propaganda about "the successes and achievements of socialist agriculture" and by assertions that "one was now able to live better and more happily".

Since the introduction of the enslavement system of the collectives, agriculture, then scarcely recovered from the ravages of the first World War and the various national faction wars within the Soviet Empire, has suffered a steady decline.

Grain production has indeed maintained the pre-war level and, in fact, somewhat increased by reason of an extension of the area under cultivation (which increased by 35% since 1913). But the increase is not enough to keep pace with the natural growth of population, restricted though it is by the socialist system.

Bread, as such, makes up only one third of human nourishment. The normal man fills out the remaining two thirds of his menu with other foods — vegetables, fruits, meat, milk and so on. Production of these supplementary foods has steadily declined. Generally speaking the total amount of production became less, although the supply of certain articles, notably grain, increased. However, the lack of meat, fat, milk, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit caused automatically a greater demand for bread, and thus the supply of grain became insufficient. We all know that the highest reward for a "shock worker" consisted in a daily bread ration of 1000 to 1200 grammes — an amount

mations" and to win over Islamic peoples for Kremlin purposes. In addition, the "Red Mufti" was sent to Mecca to spread propaganda amongst the pilgrims at the time of the Hajj.

This policy has been carried on by the Russian imperialists right up to the death of Stalin. Once again his successor is reverting to the Lenin policy of "Two Steps Forward — One Step Back". Once more they need breathing space. However, they will never give up their ideas of liquidation and oppression of non-Russian peoples so long as the Russian imperialist system continues. A change of the man at the top means nothing. We Turkistanians know this for a fact as the result of 35 years experience. It is for this reason we wish to make the full threat of the Kremlin imperialism known to our Muslim brothers and to the free world.

which, even under the heaviest working conditions and with the best appetite, no man is physically able to digest unless it can be balanced by other foods — meat, milk, vegetables, fat, potatoes — in sufficient quantity.

Under these conditions of a general decline of agricultural production — and a low rate of yield, as in Rumania and Hungary before the second World War — the Moscow system extended from year to year the quota of products which the state requisitioned without payment from the producers. Thus the forced deprivations of the state system rapidly grew to the point where there was little more to be taken from the producers. This state of things is described by Khrushchov as follows:

"By means of collective soviet economic methods the productivity of socialist agriculture is growing, as evidenced by the goods available to the state. Thus the supply of agricultural products between 1926/27 and 1952/53 has risen as follows: grain from 10.3 to 40.4 million tons, potatoes

from 3 to 12.5 million tons, meat (on the hoof) from 2.4 to 5 million tons, milk from 4.3 to 13.2 million tons . . ." (extract shortened by editor).

One sees here the verbal conjuring trick in the first sentence in which productivity is made equivalent to the goods available to the state. (Productivity in fact means the total mass of produce, whereas in Moscow jargon "available goods" (Tovarovostj) means the amount of produce 'acquired' by the state.) So much for his attempt to prove the increased productivity of Soviet agriculture.

In another passage of his lecture Khrushchov quotes the following figures on cattle population:

	Cattle	Cows
1916 (in millions)	58.4	28.8
1928	66.8	33.2
1941	54.5	27.8
1953	56.6	24.3

How can the productivity of 'socialist agriculture' have increased, if the general cattle population is less and the number of cows, both proportionately and absolutely has sunk still lower? Have the cows perhaps begun to yield more milk? This question is also dealt with by Khrushchov in his lecture. "... We can no longer be satisfied

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## Fourth Conference of Foreign Units of O.U.N.

### Foreign Resolution

(Concluded from No. 9/10 A.B.N.-Correspondence)

#### The Communist Threat to the Western

a) A sound economic system and recovery aided by material help on the part of the U.S.A. will not bring about the desired results, since communism is not only a social and economic but above all an ideological and political movement. The most important prerequisite in building up a successful resistance to bolshevist aggression is a spiritual re-birth, and this is what the West needs even more than economic expansion. If there is no spiritual re-birth then the countries of the Western World will more easily fall a victim to bolshevist aggression, and the material aid they have received from the U.S.A. will indirectly serve to increase the bolshevist war potential;

b) Whilst the U.S.S.R. is disintegrating the West by means of the Communist Party and the Fifth Column and is ascertaining the military secrets of the former by employing agents of the Communist Party and the Fifth Column, and at the same time is isolating itself from the free countries of the world, it is increasing its own military strength to an unparalleled degree, partly by keeping the standard of living of its own people unbelievably low;

c) the efforts of the Western World to defeat the ideas of bolshevism behind the Iron Curtain by resorting to the help of one of the varieties of bolshevism, namely Titoism, which is apparently in opposition to bolshevism, shows that the Western World has failed to recognize the true situation and the importance of political factors behind the Iron Curtain;

d) the fact that nationalism has been branded as undesirable, the decay of patriotism, and a materialist attitude to life in general has created a certain vacuum in some of the Western communities which the communists are turning to advantage by resorting to their lying propaganda.

#### A Totalitarian War

Moscow is making preparations to wage a totalitarian war. And for this reason any war waged on Moscow must not only be an economic and military one but also an ideological and political war.

a) The most successful and effective ideological weapon of the West against communism is the opposition of the conception of nationalism and social justice against bolshevism, the militant anti-communist attitude of the Church, the combatting of national and social injustice, and the application of Christian principles in practice in social and national life.

b) In order to combat any future military aggression on the part of Moscow it will be necessary for the political and military forces of the West to unite with the liberation movements of

Ukraine and other subjugated nations. Such a union will however only be possible if the Free World is willing to recognize the Ukrainian independent united state and the splitting up of the realm of Russian Empire into nationally independent states, and is prepared to respect the sovereignty of the Ukrainian national policy and the revolutionary fight for freedom.

The ideological conception of the political and psychological war of the West on our front must be in harmony with the ideological principles which have prompted the Ukrainian revolution and the revolution of the other subjugated nations, otherwise, if this is not the case, there will be dissension on the anti-bolshevist front. Whilst nationalism is rallying and mobilizing thousands of persons, who will refuse to accept a compromise, in the fight against bolshevism, the hopes set on Titoism by the West run counter to the wish of the people, who regard him as the hated adherent of the communist regime.

c) Communism has least supporters in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and among the other nations subjugated by Moscow in the U.S.S.R. The Western World can therefore, have whole nations as its allies. The most deadly blow for the U.S.S.R. would be for it to be disintegrated from within, that is to say, by the Western powers supporting the national liberation movement of Ukraine and the other nations.

d) In order to turn the fact that the Ukrainians and the other nations subjugated by Moscow can become the allies of the West in a war waged against the U.S.S.R. to good account it is essential that their territories, in the final game of the future, be regarded as territories belonging to an ally. The political conception of the downfall of the realm of Russian Empire shall determine the purely military conception.

e) So far it is precisely the national revolutionary process which has deterred the U.S.S.R. from launching a direct military attack on the West. Moscow needs the pause that the West has allowed it in order to strengthen its position as ruler in the countries it has conquered and also to make the necessary preparations for the war.

#### The only guarantee for success is to rely on one's own strength

The Ukrainian nation and all the other nations in Europe and Asia which have either been subjugated by Bolshevism or are threatened by it must above all rely on their own strength and their own battle if they wish to attain their justified aims and not shed their blood in vain;

a) the right to sovereignty and national unification on the part of those nations who have lost them as a result of the concession policy of

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*Thoughts and Aspects after a Decade of A.B.N.***We and the West**By *Niko Nakashidze***Straight and twisting paths**

Ten years ago, in those times so fateful for Europe, when the Russian-bolshevist hordes were advancing to overrun the West, there met together, in the forests of Ukraine, the liberation-fighters of the nations subjugated by Russia — among them the U.P.A. Commander-in-Chief, Taras Chuprynka, and other personalities of our liberation-organizations — and founded, as a common fighting front, the A.B.N. This was to direct resistance in the homelands and support it from the free world, with the help of the West.

Out of this organization there grew up a strong federation of the national-revolutionary organizations of all the countries confined within the Soviet Union and lying in the Russian sphere of power. These organizations thus united, which had arisen in the homelands, are represented by men and women who were taking part in the liberation-struggle of their nations, and thus made themselves the legitimate representatives and spokesmen of their nations, in the free world.

From the beginning of our activities, we have sought to make the free world aware of the Russian-bolshevist danger and to convince it that the pacification of the world is not possible without the solution of our nations' problem, i. e. without the restoration of their independent national life: that, furthermore, a one-sided solution of this problem will not mean salvation for the world nor avert from it the existing danger.

We have been at pains to win world public opinion over to our cause and to obtain its support in our struggle for the highest blessing of human existence — the liberty of the individual. We cannot say, however, that we have met with success. The fault certainly does not lie with us.

It seems that the responsible men of the free world have not quite realized the true peril. They are somehow always trying to win the Russians' favour and, by this means, to achieve some kind of settlement. They are prepared to recognize the status quo and to confirm as vested interests the Russians' claim to possession of our nations.

One needs only to think, for instance, of the speeches of Mr. Stevenson to realize sufficiently how frivolous the comprehension is even of a presidential candidate and party leader, and in what an odd way democratic principles are applied.

This confusing of minds and misleading of public opinion in the civilized world is caused by the Soviets' secret societies, who are firmly established everywhere. Generally to be found in the intellectual circles of the West, they contaminate and corrupt the peoples. They emphasize an imminent militaristic danger, supposedly on the part of Germany, and thus distract attention from the great Soviet military might. The free world drifts along in illusions and day-dreams. It creates for itself false ideas and conceptions and imagines thus to save the world. This kind of attitude has already had fateful results in 1945, after the conclusion of the last war. The world has it to thank for the present dangers and this attitude it is that may, in the future, bring the remaining cultured nations to ruin.

**Leagues with the Devil**

A way out of this situation is desperately sought and old methods and conceptions are adhered to. The old conditions will again be allowed to arise: great-Russian empire, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland with the inclusion of Ukrainian territory peopled by several million Ukrainians, and so on. All this in the case of the "best" thing happening, that Moscow should have the goodness to retire from Europe and withdraw behind the old frontiers; otherwise they are quite prepared even to accept the present state of affairs, provided that the Kremlin formally undertakes the leave the West in peace.

Not only the Americans, whom one cannot blame for lack of knowledge of the Eastern problem, but even the Germans have a strong tendency towards wishing to achieve the re-uniting of Germany by means of a full acceptance of present conditions and, even in Bonn, the spirit exists of wishing, by means of a security-pact guaranteed

by the Great Powers, to concede to the Russians right of possession over our countries for eternity.

This "sacred egoism", however, will bring its own penalty. When the revolution in Russia had come to an end and the Soviet Government was firmly established and Russia had re-conquered the countries which had, in the meantime, detached themselves from her, the free nations of the West began to fall over each other in their eagerness to be the first to conclude friendship and trade-treaties with Russia.

Germany — and this was the democratic Weimar Republic — was the first to ally herself with Russia. German scientists, technicians and military experts helped Russia to strengthen herself militarily and economically. The consequences are as follows: East Prussia is today incorporated into Russia, and the other East German provinces are, like our countries, occupied by Russia. Millions of Germans have been deprived of rights and forced to leave their homes, and, in the East Zone, a third of the German nation lives under the Russian yoke.

The other Western Powers, however, have far surpassed Germany in this respect. Out of hatred for Germany and her allies, they handed over numerous European countries to the Soviet tyrants,

and delivered up to them many millions of European people. Thousands of our nationals, even those who had been carried off to Germany, were only beasts of burden here, and yet did not wish to return to the "Soviet paradise", were handed over to the Soviet hangmen like cattle being led to the slaughter.

Those responsible for this are today still honoured as the most noteworthy statesmen and humanitarians.

**Bolshevism is alien Russian rule**

It will go down in world-history as the greatest paradox that, in the cause of preserving the nations and the Christian religion, the western civilized world allied itself with that very power in whose land every liberty had been abolished and the Christian Church destroyed.

As so often in England, a wise Briton now writes: We valiantly defended a principle, and the result was Berlin, a heroic absurdity. (George Mikes in his "Book on Germany".) But the western statesmen did not recognize the real meaning even of the Berlin Revolt of June 17th, 1953. They interpreted it only as a struggle of free men against tyranny. Many a German politician even has not grasped the full import of this revolt. Some of them have compared the spirit of the fighters of June 17th with that of the revolutionaries of 1848. This comparison even between the revolt against the foreign conqueror and the social-political rising of 1848 against the régime in their own land is nonsense. But it is completely contradictory and irresponsible to compare the tyrannical Soviet régime with that of Prussia, a state of justice, order and civilization.

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**Impressive Memorial Ceremony for King Boris of Bulgaria**

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the death of King Boris, the Bulgarian Society in Munich arranged at the Bavarian Economics Ministry a lecture (preceded and followed by a musical interlude) in which the late

by King Boris as the only way out — following Hitler's ultimatum demanding to march through — and in view also of the Kremlin's undisguised intentions towards Bulgaria which Molotov had openly emphasised in Berlin.

In spite of a formal attachment to the Axis, and the symbolical declaration of war upon the Western Powers demanded by Berlin, the King was constantly concerned to preserve the goodwill of the Allies. Bulgaria thus held back until the last from all part in hostilities, and only took under the protection of Bulgarian occupation the liberated Bulgarian territories in Macedonia and Thrace, after the termination of the German Balkan campaign. The object of his complicated policy was, if occasion arose, to end the state of war with the Western Allies, and to withdraw Bulgaria in good time from the war, which might have sufficed to neutralise all the arguments which Stalin later used in Teheran and Yalta to claim a sphere of influence in Bulgaria. Under King Boris, a neutral attitude towards the Soviet Union was made the dogma of Bulgarian policy, and every agitation of the national political forces for defence on the Danube against a possible Soviet invasion was suppressed and persecuted by the King, so that Bulgaria's standing with the Allies should not be compromised and the way left open for secession from the War.

His unexpected death during the war — on August 28th, 1945 — was probably, said the speaker, to be attributed to the enemies of his clear-sighted policy, which was solely and entirely devoted to the interests of his own country.

Despite all his differences during the war with politicians of all parties, King Boris enjoyed an unusual warmth of affection and loyalty among his people who most clearly showed their devotion at his funeral. His policy was on the whole, remarkably peaceable and moderate, and was inspired by a democratic spirit. This policy, so the speaker said, furnishes to-day fully sufficient grounds for Bulgarians driven from their homeland to demand of the West, that Bulgaria shall be saved from her present fate, which overtook her through no fault of her own. The Bulgarian people deserved, he said, to be treated with confidence, and assured of a better future.

W. B.



king's services to his country were appreciated. His policy during the 2nd World War, and his somewhat mysterious death, were shown in a new light.

In the light of facts and circumstances hitherto not sufficiently known, many a prejudice against King Boris and the part played by Bulgaria during the last war was swept away. It was also demonstrated that the somewhat authoritarian regime of King Boris during the war, which has been sometimes described by its opponents as "fascist", was in fact only introduced in order to avoid the entanglement of Bulgaria in the war through the conflict of political parties in the country. This authoritarian character helped the King to carry through his policy of peace and neutrality.

The accession of Bulgaria, to the Three Power Pact was only unwillingly agreed to

*Arnolds Spekke, Latvian Minister*

## The Eastern Baltic

*On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the rebirth of the independence of Latvia and the other Baltic States, whose peoples are today languishing under the Soviet Russian yoke, the Latvian Minister, Prof. Dr. Arnolds Spekke, present Ambassador to Rome, has sent us a noteworthy historical-political survey of the fate that has befallen, and the world-political importance of the Baltic countries. We are very pleased to be able to offer this contribution to our readers as follows — Ed.*

Today the east coast of the Baltic Sea is one of the "neuralgic zones" of the Soviets' far-flung political-military defence system against "capitalist encirclement". As is well-known, this system consists of several rings and, as it is in Western Europe, so it is in the Caucasus and in the Near and Far East. The first "rampart" against Western Europe is formed by the non-Russian republics incorporated in the U.S.S.R. — Karelia, the three Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine. Advanced fortifications are the so-called satellites — part of Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria etc. Against Germany was added Russian-occupied East Germany. The Baltic zone is lacking in advanced "ramparts", and so the Baltic Sea — *mare clausum russicum* — must take their place.

When one realises the historical westwards expansion of the Russian Empire of Peter I and especially that at time of the Poland — Latvia partition of Catherine II, one receives the impression of a zone by zone advance, slow but dangerous for the powers of Western Europe, and that especially at times when these powers have been mutually tearing each other to pieces or suffering from acute internal weakness.

There are thus no satellites on the east coast of the Baltic, from where, e. g. from Riga, one can reach Moscow by the shortest route, scarcely 1,000 km. Moreover, a sea is no line of defence, however full it may be of submarines and however strongly fortified are its coasts. In addition, another "note sensible", the Baltic emigrés, who are making for their goal uncommonly stubbornly.

These emigrés are a living reproach to the great power complex, in which the world is truly not poor. There is no doubt that the presence of these people abroad is a source of great annoyance to the Russians; the former are ever at hand to prevent convenient arrangements being made which will give the Russians the chance of retaining their "Baltic window", without which they must suffocate. Had not Peter "the Great" said in Riga that he sought, not land, but water, and after more than two hundred years answers his echo, Molotov (10. 2. 1939): "Peter I tried to procure for Russia access to the sea. Now we have not that access. We cannot remain in this situation in which we have found ourselves."

But the great power complex is not only to be found in the East. What a low level the Baltic problem had reached in the years 1942-7 — *praterunda sunt nomina* — can be judged from the many books written about it, and still more treatises may be expected, but, in spite of all, this problem appears more and more vital and concrete and the emigrés are more live today than ever: they print books, organize great concerts, song festivals and exhibitions, build homes for the infirm, and publish a whole series of papers. "just like we communists have begun to do", said a Russian diplomat to the American Ambassador, General Bedell Smith. And since the Baltic States still have embassies in some world centres (London, Washington, Rio de Janeiro, Rome — at the papal court) they do not let any opportunity slip of making known their protests and opinions and thus occasioning official declarations that the liberty of the nations of the world is sacred.

It is a hard struggle: a few hundred thousand Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians scattered all over the world, in contradiction of the traditions of a whole century of common ideals, feelings and interests which the great power evolution of the 19th century created and confirmed from the Sacred Alliance to Versailles. One might often feel like giving way to despair when one sees the merciless millstone of world-history and world-events thus crushing men and generations if it were not for the fact that, despite everything, the elemental inborn sense of justice of the "man in the street" is stronger than treaties and proclamations signed with golden pens in historical halls. Thus, we do not let our hands hang idle.

These emigrés have more allies than one thinks,

and I will speak of one here which is overlooked only too often by the diplomats and statesmen schooled in the sacred documents of the Sacred Alliance. And this ally is — the historic perspective of the Baltic frontier lands between the two continents. Our "neuralgic" east coast of the Baltic Sea has, on the whole, never belonged culturally to the eastern continent, but has only been politically and militarily overrun and administratively subjugated, and this only in the last century. The ethnical frontier on the east of the Baltic nations towards the Russians is one of the sharpest in the whole of Europe and was established centuries ago at the time of the Varagian and East Slav movements and contacts or conflicts in the 8th century A.D. It is the sea, the narrow Baltic Sea which for about a thousand years — we are able to go back as far in history as that — has developed its coast uniformly and typically, and historical bonds of this kind cannot be so easily swept away by decrees and terrorism or even by deportations, without which, apparently, the gentle-

men in Moscow cannot visualise war, as the lessons of the 16th century onwards have taught us.

This all concerns the present frontier zone of the U.S.S.R., from where leads the shortest route to Moscow. Without a doubt, the consequences are great tension; tensions in the internal "reconstruction" (to use a euphemism) of the social traditional conditions, tensions from the international standpoint. The lot of communist practice, especially of agro-communism, is one of the present world-problems — the world has, so to speak, desired it, and it can now see what to do with it. With regard, however, to the political problems of this sector of Europe, one can say with certainty that from the future status of the Baltic States may be seen clearly and distinctly whether the world of tomorrow will have to do with a Russian great power (and what that signifies today need not be discussed in detail) or with a Muscovy with plenty of land, but without salt water to the south and west and without brutal dominion over alien peoples, who have nothing in common with the Russians. It is no significance when, where and how these problems of power will be decided, but what matters theoretically is the final result.

In 1953, Latvia celebrates the 35th year of its rebirth. It is a very solemn festival. Not a little strength is needed to look all the current problems calmly and courageously in the face. My countrymen have not the easiest biography in the world to write, but this nation is, as a well-known German pre-historian has said, one of the most "original" of Europe and will prevail. Even this time.

Rome, October, 1953

*A. Spekke*

## Fourth Conference . . .

(Continued from Page 4)

the major powers towards insatiable bolshevism is not supported and defended by the major powers in question in keeping with the national interests of the nations concerned, but is treated by them from the point of view of their own current interests.

b) The liberation of those nations which have been subjugated by bolshevism and the defence of those nations in Europe and Asia which are threatened by bolshevism can only be achieved if they refuse to accept a compromise in their fight against bolshevism.

Although these nations do not constitute a bloc nor have they united to form a military alliance, their principles in their fight against bolshevism, which exclude any agreement with the latter, differ from those of a Western block, which on the strength of a partition of the world into two or three parts is prepared to accept a compromise. In this respect the anti-bolshevist nations constitute an objective and *separate* factor in the political chess-match of the world.

c) These nations have allies in the implacable anti-bolshevist elements of every free nation who recognize and support the ideology of national liberation, that is to say, the independence of the anti-bolshevist nations.

*The Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom and the creation of a Ukrainian sovereign independent state will guarantee a permanent world peace*

a) The creation of a Ukrainian sovereign independent state will bring about a fundamental change in the international world order since its existence means the downfall of the Moscow Empire. In this respect therefore it would be of worldwide importance for the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom, which is allied to similar processes in all those countries of the world which are ruled by bolshevism, to be supported by the West.

The Ukrainian fight for freedom and the Ukrainian conception and principles of freedom have become a guide for those countries of the world which are ruled by Russia and are striving to obtain independence. Any decision on the part of the Western World genuinely to support the idea of the Ukrainian sovereign independent state to the end would bring about a turning-point in the history of the world, since an international constellation would result which would guarantee a permanent world peace if the Russian state were once more confined to its ethnical boundaries.

In the year 1917 the Moscow Empire was one of the victors of the war but it was disintegrated internally by the Ukrainian revolution and by other

national revolutions. The conclusions which the Western powers should draw from this fact in the present anti-Russian war as regards the significance of the conception of nationalism and the fight for freedom are obvious.

b) Although the policy of the U.S.A. assesses the Ukrainian fight for freedom as a factor which will remain active in any case, it is striving to win over the Russians to its side at the expense of the Ukrainians and the other subjugated nations. The anti-bolshevist principles prompting the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom are unalterable and there will be no re-orientation to agree with the principles of the Western major powers should the latter oppose and reject the aims of this struggle, which will be continued in accordance with Ukrainian anti-bolshevist principles. The confidence which the Ukrainians have placed in the Western powers has been shaken by the fact that there is at present a pro-Russian attitude on the part of certain Western circles in evidence in the psychological war.

A change of policy and the strategy connected with it is very difficult when once the war has already reached a critical stage and is hardly likely to remedy the damage which has already been done. The entire anti-bolshevist potential will be weakened if no political and practical assistance on the part of the Western powers is given to the national anti-bolshevist fight for freedom.

c) By ignoring the aims of the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom and supporting the idea of a united and indivisible realm of Greater Russia (only with a different regime) pro-Russian circles in the U.S.A. are endeavouring to force this latter attitude on the Ukrainian political forces, too. The present policy of the Western major powers erroneously underestimates the central importance of the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom on the anti-bolshevist front.

The logical and all-round support on the part of the Western powers of the national fight for freedom in the U.S.S.R. would have made world ruin impossible, but the Western World must not use any support it may possibly give to the fight for freedom as a means of pressure to make peace with bolshevism or to gain its favour.

d) It is a political mistake on the part of the Western World to endeavour to reach an agreement with bolshevism during the present internal crisis which the U.S.S.R. is passing through and which is caused not only by internal revolutionary pressure but also by a struggle among the rivals for Stalin's position. Now is not the time for a truce, but for a decisive blow against the U.S.S.R. in order to render a Russian attack on the Free World in the immediate future impossible.

**Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky**  
President of the Slovak Liberation Committee

## Europe Must Rise Again!

*From a longer treatise concerning the integration and significance of Europe in world politics, by Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky for the Almanac of the "Slovak in America" published in Chicago, we have taken, with the permission of the author, a number of salient points. (Ed.)*

Chaos now prevails throughout the World. The political atmosphere becomes ever more unbearable. Statesmen strive in vain to solve our international problems. But far from finding a way out of the deadlock, we see that tension mounts from day to day among the nations.

One cause of our present troubles is that Europe has ceased to be a force as it was in the past. Militarily in Teheran and politically in Yalta, it has been liquidated. Potsdam meant the recognition of a fait accompli made by the Russian armies in Europe at the end of the second World War. Of this, the political difficulties we encounter in the world to-day are the direct consequences.

The European peoples are no longer able to fulfil the mission which they had in the past. The Soviets have taken full advantage of the political exhaustion of Europe to increase their own strength. Thus there is scarcely anyone in Europe to-day who could successfully resist Russia. The necessary counterweight is lacking because the majority of European peoples were enslaved. None of the free peoples, weakened by the second World War has the strength to assume the tasks which formerly devolved upon Europe as a whole. As in arms so in the conflict of ideas, victory is not decided by the ideas with which one is armed for the fight, but by the strength of one's determination to use those weapons to good effect. Through the spiritual and moral weakening of the European peoples they no longer possess the inner strength to contend with the crisis which we are experiencing. Moreover, the spiritual gifts of middle and east European countries, like those of the oppressed peoples in the U.S.S.R. itself, instead of serving progress, are being exploited in the service of reaction and tyranny.

Europe represented also an important economic force. It is not only a matter of 500 million consumers with a relatively high standard of living, but rather of hundreds of millions of human beings of great economic potentialities. By the second World War this potential was largely destroyed, and for the rest of Europe it became impossible to pursue the path of economic renewal and natural development. The present economic troubles in the world are a logical consequence.

The military and economic measures of the Atlantic Pact and E.D.C. are designed to restore the disturbed balance of power. Through the integration of the remaining free nations of Europe we seek to build a barrier against the encroachments of Muscovite Imperialism. The constant refusal of the Pope to countenance communism seeks also to re-establish equilibrium in the spiritual and ideological sphere. The Marshall Plan, again, seeks to provide a provisional remedy for economic dislocation.

At the outset of the 19th century, states which were regarded as world powers existed only in Europe. Their representatives made decisions affecting not only the fate of Europe, but that of a great part of the rest of the world.

The Congress of Vienna at the beginning of the 19th century and the Congress of Berlin in the second half of the century exercised sovereignty more or less over the whole world. Harmony or discord in the Concert of Europe raised echoes through all the continents.

In the second half of the 19th century the U.S.A. became a world power. Then, by her defeat of Russia at the end of the century Japan obtained similar recognition. This process of development was interrupted by the result of the first World War. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy disappeared from the map of Europe. Germany was pushed into the background. As a result of her soviet policy, Russian Empire isolated herself from Europe and became a non European power. At the same time a number of European nations caught within the Soviet Union boundaries were

cut off from Europe. At the Peace Conference, it was not only England, France, and Italy who decided the fate of Europe, but also the U.S.A. and Japan. After the second World War Europe suddenly exchanged an active for a passive role in politics.

At the conferences which dealt with the fate of Europe and the world, decisions were made by four powers, none of which can be regarded as definitely European, without any opportunity being given to the affected European peoples to interpret or protect the interests of Europe.

The European nations have fallen victims to shortsighted power politics in which they had themselves indulged for a long time. The great exertions demanded of the peoples during the second World War could only lead to the weakening of their vitality. It is no wonder that the control of world events passed into other hands. The trampled East and Central Europe was not able to resist Russian bolshevist aggression

*D. Donzow*

## The Wisdom of "Fools"

Unprincipled, so-called "sober, realistic" politicians are in the habit of making merry over all those who are for a policy of lofty principles. In their eyes, the latter are fools or irresponsible fanatics, especially when the declared foes of imperialistic Russia are in question.

How do things stand in reality?

Let us take the Turks as an example! Despite severe threats on the part of Russia, often abandoned by the West, she would never make a pact with Russia. Every Russian aggression she answered with weapons. It was so in the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. And when an anti-Russian coalition was planned, Turkey nearly always took part in it. In the 17th century she supported Ukraine (Hetman P. Doroshenko and G. Khmelnytzky) in her fight against Moscow. In the years 1853—5, she fought against Russia on the side of France and England, and shoulder to shoulder with the Central Powers in the First World War. Even as recently as just after the Second World War, when Russia, an ally of the West, penetrated into the Balkans and stirred up trouble in Persia, flanking Turkey on both sides, and threatening demanded a "condominium" over the straits, Ankara answered with a clear and conclusive "No"!

In this intransigent policy was tremendous courage and — a deep wisdom; the Turks know, and always did know, that entering upon negotiations with land-snatchers is, firstly, dishonourable and, secondly, dangerous. They knew that a highwayman would never understand any other argument than that of the mailed fist. Thanks only to this full understanding of the mentality of her traditional foe and thanks to the firmness and principledness of her policy and her constant readiness to parry each arrogance of Russia with effective counterstrokes, Turkey is certainly hated by Russia, but also respected. This same attitude in domestic politics as well has saved Turkey from many a dangerous crisis. When, for instance, in 1945, asylum was granted to some thousand of Mohammedans who had fled from the U.S.S.R., Turkey was the only country that demanded from these displaced immigrants evidence of harmlessness.

Let us look further, to Spain: there, as well, one cannot sufficiently admire the political courage of the steadfastness of her anti-Russian and anti-Communist attitude. Neither the military might of the Moscow-organized "democratic volunteers" of all nations (the fore-runners of the present Chinese "volunteers" in Korea) nor the

and fell an easy victim to it. Instead of extending the political, cultural, and economic boundaries of Europe to her geographical frontier at the Urals, the Western frontier of Russia was brought forward to the line Luebeck—Trieste.

Instead of carrying forward the banners of freedom, modern culture and humanity, we must look on while tyranny abounds, not only in the U.S.S.R. but also among many once cultured peoples of East, South, and Central Europe, and is now reaching far out towards the West. Free Europe to-day comprises only 50% of the population and 25% of the territory of the former Europe.

So long as the iron curtain separates the enslaved from the free peoples of Europe, it will be impossible to integrate them in a positive sense. The present division of Europe in fact increases the danger to the free world because Russia's potential is being constantly increased by the spiritual and material contribution of the enslaved peoples.

That is why America saw herself obliged to step in with military influence, political measures, and economic aid, in order at least temporarily to try to fill the existing vacuum.

America cannot view events in Central and Eastern Europe with indifference, because these events condition the acuteness of the threat directed also against her own security.

For centuries the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe were the guardians of our continent. Now everything is upside down. Violence, barbarism, and decadence triumph not only in Europe, but

political and economic boycott by the democracies, at that time allies of Russia, could shake Spain's firm will to defend her liberty and religion against a considerably stronger power. By this venturesome policy, Spain has not only saved herself from communism but has also saved the nations hostile to her: for, had Spain made compromises, instead of pursuing a policy true to her principles, had she, in view of her many foes, lost her courage for one moment, a Spanish "Grothwohl" or "Rakochi" would now be sitting in Madrid.

The third state is Finland. Had this little country not pursued a "foolhardy", quite "unrealistic" policy towards Russia, had she — only for a moment — hesitated in taking up arms against the Russian bear, her position would now be no different from that of Armenia's. In what a wretched state are those countries who wanted to save themselves from the Russian aggression by means of compromising! It is enough to mention the names of Benes, the younger Masaryk or of Mikolajczyk, to say nothing of those "great" statesmen who — thanks to their "realistic policy" towards the Russian danger, do not know where they stand.

Also when, today, the question of an independent Korea appears upon the agenda of world-politics, it is only as the result of the unerring policy of a Syngman Rhee, who, with his people, is, and always was, ready to defend the independence of his country against every aggressor, be they Japanese, Chinese or Russian, and even against the whole world. These peoples, attacked or menaced and afflicted by Russia, stand up as shining example in this chaotic world, because all the great spiritual values, such as religion, fatherland, liberty, are cherished by them; because they see the true face of Russia and have the courage fearlessly to follow an unyielding policy which is true to their principles. And this because they had and still have, no "politicians", but statesmen of the stature of Kernal, Mannerheim or Syngman Rhee.

And in conclusion when, in spite of Moscow's 33-year long extermination-policy in Ukraine, she is still a serious danger to the existence of the monstrous imperialistic colossus, it is only because there are enough young Ukrainians who value liberty more than a dishonourable peace and possess ideals for which they are ready at any time to lay down their lives. Thus the Apostle is right! . . . "But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise . . . and the weak . . . to confound the . . . mighty."

threaten also all the established values of Western culture. Large spiritual and material resources of the European peoples are to-day being thrown in the scale against humanity.

The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe were abandoned to the power of the Soviets with blatant disregard for the principles of liberty, democracy, and historic tradition. Their historic significance was despised, and the declarations of the United Nations totally ignored. Besides which no notice was taken of the spiritual qualities of these peoples nor of the geo-political significance of their lands.

Through the cutting-off of Central Europe, freedom was driven back to the coasts of the Atlantic and of the Mediterranean.

The present political discontents throughout the world which threaten to unleash yet another world war, have their source to a large extent in this neglected territory. If the question of Trieste, of Berlin, of access to the Aegean, of German unification, of the Austrian treaty, are so heavy with consequences, it is above all because the Central European glacis to our fortress lies already in Soviet hands.

A precondition for the rebuilding of Europe and the establishment of peace in the world, is the liberation of all Moscow subjugated peoples. Without that, lasting security and stability is inconceivable.

The half Europe of to-day is a plague of mankind. But the world cannot disregard this bur-

densome problem unless it wishes itself to become a victim of Soviet tyranny. The vital interest of the enslaved European peoples lies in the hope that the free part of Europe shall get up as soon as possible onto its own feet. That will not only mean the warding off of Soviet aggression, but will also bring the gradual rolling back of the Russian bolshevistic rule. The Soviets will not be strong enough to resist the gravitational force which a united and strengthened Europe would exert upon the enslaved peoples.

Also in the future, only a united Europe would be able to build a strong enough barrier to secure the European peoples against renewed Russian aggression, and to establish the preconditions of lasting peace and prosperity.

If the European peoples wish to prosper in the future, in view of the material and spiritual progress of the rest of the world, this will only be possible if they combine their resources in a common potential. Otherwise the U.S.A. would be forced to make further big sacrifices to maintain the economic health of our continent, and for the pacification of the world.

Only a free and united Europe can take the part which she must again play in the interests of the proper development of Mankind. In the coming years, our continent awaits a new vocation. The bounds of freedom, humanity, and progress must, if possible be pressed forward to the Siberia, as a contribution towards a better future for all mankind.

## We and the West

(Continued from Page 5)

This revolt, again, was proof that no nation and no individual, except the Russians themselves, can endure the bolshevistic system and régime. It was so even in the Soviet Union itself.

Despite all this, it will never dawn upon the western world that the bolshevistic revolution was able to take root in Russia only and that bolshevism came to power first of all in Russia.

The peoples penned up in the Tsarist empire freed themselves from Russia after the 1917 revolution, restored their national independence, and founded democratic republics. They were once more overpowered, with brutal military superiority, by Russia. And it is these nations who are unceasingly struggling against the Russian-bolshevistic domination and are always organizing revolts. These peoples are the victims of the Assyrian policy of the Soviet Government, they are exiled and deported in large numbers and their lands settled and corrupted by Russians.

Revolts and deportations of Russians are something quite unheard-of.

Even the organization of the anti-bolshevistic movement and the formation of the White Russian Army was possible only in the Cossack territories. When they, however, in the fight against the bolsheviks, reached purely Russian districts and advanced to the Orel, the peasants there fell upon their rear and the fate of the White-Russian movement was sealed.

The hope of a mass-uprising of the Russians against the Soviet régime is completely unfounded and deceptive.

It is only the non-Russian peoples who struggle inexorably against Russian-bolshevistic domination and they alone are the free world's true allies in the fight for the liberty of nations and individuals.

### Fateful Indecision

The Western Powers are so indecisive, and do not know what path to take. The Franco-Russian and Anglo-Russian friendship pacts are still in force and can always be renewed. The Russians know how to exploit the situation to perfection. The Russian makes very skilful moves on the chess-board of world-politics and knows how to embarrass his western opponents. The West perplexedly tries to save the situation, or at least to break the check-mate and end the game indecisively.

Not because the Russian is anything like a superior player, but that his western partner is a weak one.

The latter is also lacking in ideas, in methods and tactics. He has inhibitions, is timid, overlooks things and does not grasp the situation. The West always makes the mistake of thinking that bol-

shevism and the Soviet system are national and social-political phenomena, and will not look more closely and understand that they have in reality arisen directly out of the nature and spirit of the Russian people. It does not grasp the fact that, in the end, it is religious and political philosophical impulses which, with the Russian nation, nourish the consciousness of its "world-historic mission", which is today called the "proletarian revolution".

The strength of this philosophy enabled the Russians to bring their Soviet empire to very great extent and power and to expand it ever further.

The first victims of the Soviets' imperialistic impulse towards conquest were our nations. But the civilized world has remained indifferent to their fate and has helped the bolsheviks to victory and to new conquests.

Now the West itself faces the danger of being overrun and subjugated by the Russians. But it has realized it very late; i. e. not until the Russians have penetrated to the heart of Europe itself.

### Unteachability that avenges itself

When, long before the Second World War, the Georgian Socialists turned to the well-known Belgian Socialist, H. Spaak, requesting him to bring up the question in the international organizations of the nations subjugated by the Soviet Union and morally to support them, he answered confidently: "Your problem is exclusively an internal Russian affair!"

In the meantime, he has learnt better. Today the same Russian stands with ordered arms only a few panzer hours from Mr. Spaak's frontiers. Now Mr. Spaak is racing about the world, as if possessed, conjuring up all spirits to an alliance for the saving of Europe from the Russian invasion! We hope it is not too late!

The German Socialists, who were likewise great adherents of the Rapallo Treaty, then avoided "irritating" the Russians and standing up for those deprived of their rights. Once there was upon the Socialist banner the words: "Revolutionary Fight against the Oppressors, for the Liberty of the Oppressed — the Workers and the Subjugated Peoples!" Today, however, when millions of workers and peasants, Germans among them, are enslaved, when millions of people of deprived of every freedom and degraded to the level of collective animals, when millions languish in forced-labour camps and prisons, these Socialists are still fighting only for social privileges, the right of decision, and the like, and demand, moreover, the neutralization of Germany!

What is the free world now doing to save itself?

It is completely without plans, only with general propaganda slogans, proceeding from a distorted

## Baltic Peoples Warn and Challenge

The Council of the Baltic States has sent a memorandum on the experiences of the Baltic States in their relations with the U.S.S.R. to the President of the VII General Assembly of the United Nations and has simultaneously sent copies to the representatives of their individual nations. The memorandum is signed by K. Seller, former Foreign Secretary and deputy of the Esthonian National Committee, R. Lipsius, former Minister of Finance and head of the Department for Foreign Affairs at the European centre of the Latvian Liberation Committee, and R. Krupavicius, former Minister of Agriculture and President of the Supreme Council for the Liberation of Lithuania.

From this document we reproduce the following extracts:

"The leading organs of the Liberation Movements of the three Baltic Republics, which arose directly out of the Resistance Movements formed during the various occupations, represent all political parties and are reliable interpreters of the wishes of their nations, who long to regain their liberty. They consider it their duty to:

a) Put the free nations in remembrance of the terrible experiences of the Baltic States in their relations with the U.S.S.R.;

b) Direct the attention of the responsible men in the West to the mortal danger that will beset the free world if they trust in the promises, declarations and signatures of the bolshevistic despots;

c) Challenge the members of the U.N. to whom the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration of the United Nations and the pact of this organisation are no dead letter to include in the great problems which must be solved the restoration of the political independence, as well as the individual rights, of all the nations oppressed by the bolshevik régime, and of the Baltic States in particular;

d) Beg all the free nations that, in any kind of negotiations with the Soviets, they should make it a condition that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania should be liberated from Soviet occupation and receive their independence once more."

### Why Beria is an Agent

In the Western World, heads are shaken disbelievingly when the charges which the Soviets are bringing against the former M.V.D.-Chief, Beria, are made known. In reality, however, Beria actually was an agent. Why? That is quite simple.

Beria had Yezhov, who was dismissed from the post of N.K.V.D.-Chief for intriguing, taken to a lunatic asylum and in 1939 had him shot. Yezhov, for his part, had gained great credit for unmasking the agent, Yagoda, his predecessor, who was shot in 1938, because he has murdered his predecessor, Menshinski, with poison, assisted by the doctor, Levin. Thus Beria will now have to die. Whether Beria's successor, Comrade Kruglov, will die a natural death, or whether the imperialistic capitalists have again this time filled the post of M.V.D.-Chief with one of their agents, only Malenkov knows.

promise and from incomplete military measures, whose completion is to claim several years, because they fill the peoples with enthusiasm and win their confidence.

The West wishes to arouse enthusiasm in the peoples of the so-called "satellites" and to awaken their hopes for a better future by means of political exponents who collaborated with the communists and whose hands are soiled with the blood of thousands of innocent murdered people.

Great hopes, moreover, are still being set on the Russians themselves. According to the convictions of western political circles, the Russians are alleged to be against the Soviet system and would be ready, as soon as the opportunity arose, to fight against Moscow in common with the western democracies.

Thus, American circles have fetched the former Russian prime minister of Revolutionary times, A. F. Kerenski, out from among the dusty archives and have set him up as exponent of the anti-bolshevistic struggle.

# DMYTRO DONZOW - Pioneer of Ukrainian Liberation

On the 70th Anniversary of His Birthday

Almost half a century ago, in November 1905, at the beginning of the first revolution in the Russian Empire, one might have heard, at St. Petersburg in a large and stormy gathering of Ukrainians, many speeches in favour of national independence directed against Russian oppression. Among the most active in the meeting was Dmytro Donzow who was in those days, still a young student.

Donzow spent the following years in the ranks of a revolutionary anti-Tsarist underground movement. He was arrested but released on bail. Then he fled to Lviv (Western Ukraine) where he concentrated upon the study of social and political science until the outbreak of the revolution of 1905.

For several years before the first World War Dr. Donzow worked hard to spread the idea among the Ukrainians that they should make a complete break with Russia -- not only the then existing Tsarist Russia, but also with any eventual liberal or socialist Russia -- in fact with the Russian influence altogether. He published (mostly in Kyiv) in a number of Ukrainian periodicals many well documented articles of a high literary quality.

Not only in the Ukrainian press, but also in the Polish "Dziennik Peterburski" (Petersburg Daily), Donzow eloquent and fiery denunciations of Russian imperialism stirred his readers. His articles were also published in Russian, for the information of all the peoples groaning under the Russian yoke. Especially remarkable were his masterly expositions of the attitude of the great prophets of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, to the oppressed nations, and also his splendid reminiscences of Vasyl Domanytsky, the young literary historian.

Even before the first World War, between 1911 and 1914, in all his writings Donzow ceaselessly warned the Ukrainian intellectuals against their unjustified faith in the so-called Russian-liberal or socialist freedom movement. Through his precise and objective analysis of Russian liberalism he foresaw its return to the old Moscow tradition of ruthless imperialism. His most significant work was "Russian Liberalism and the Ukrainian Movement" (Ukrainskaya Zhiznj, 1912, No. 4-6). He soberly discredited the belief of the Ukrainian federalists in the possibility of a future liberal or socialist Russia which would take account of the national interests of the oppressed non-Russian peoples. Further, he prophesied that this future Russia would come to an understanding with Poland at the expense of the Ukraine - which is exactly what happened, nine years later on March 18th, 1921 at the Peace treaty in Riga when Moscow and Poland divided the Ukraine between them. In a later treatise "Russian Imperialism and Ukraine" (ibidem, 1915, No. 2) he again sounded a warning against a revived and modernised Russian imperialism which would carry with it the broad masses of the Moscow people, and would bode no good either for the Ukrainians or for the other non-Russian oppressed peoples.

At Lviv in summer 1915 during an All-Ukrainian Students Conference, in a talk entitled "The present political scene, and the part we have to play", Donzow laid down a political programme directed against Imperialism. Once more he foretold the imminent outbreak of an European war, that Russia would wage this war at the expense of Ukraine, and that the Ukrainians would have to take arms, in their fight for freedom.

Another first class article of Donzow's at this period, "The modern Moscophiles" (1915) exposed federalistic -- autonomic factions in the Ukraine which were seeking to propagate the notion of a future liberal or socialist Russia.

Early in 1914, six months before the war, at Kyiv, Donzow released a further polemic "Concerning an heresy" in which he once again demanded a total separation from Rus-

sia. This article was received with hostility by supporters of federal-autonomy. It is, however, significant that one of these critics writing in the monthly "Ukrainskaya Zhiznj" was obliged unwillingly to admit that 'in actual fact', there was more evidence in favour of the authors viewpoint, -- and against our own...!

During the first World War Donzow lived in Switzerland where he went from Lviv. There he wrote a number of scientific and polemic works which were first published much later. Among them were "The Ukrainian campaign of Charles XII", "Hetman Mazepa

## Moslem Peoples Again Taking up Cudgels for the Freedom of their Oppressed Turkestanian Brothers

We have repeatedly stressed the fact that the Turkestanian peoples are not fighting for their own independence alone, but also against the common enemy of all Islam brothers and the enemy of the entire free world, as Russian Imperialism does not only exploit the wealth and property of Turkistan but also oppresses the Turkestanian peoples, and fights and persecutes the Islamic religion and culture.

In their telegram from Mecca, dated 23. 8. 1953, the Moslem representatives assembled there expressed the unity and solidarity of the Moslem brothers and their support for the enslaved Turkestanian peoples.

On 23. 8. 1953 the following telegram was despatched to the Governments of Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. This telegram was also despatched to the Arab-League, the U.N., the Arab Newspaper Agency and newspapers such as "Al-Ihram" (Egypt) and others.

Mecca, 23. 8. 1953

"The Muslim pilgrims' congregation at holy Mecca urges you to intervene against the growing brutal activities of Soviet Russia towards the Muslims of Turkistan stop this is contrary to Human rights stop

Amjad Azzahawi	of Iraq
Mustafa Mohammed Assahabi	of Egypt
Rafiq Mohammed Khan	of Pakistan
Mohammed Sabbagh	of Syria
Abdurrahman Kavunji	of Turkey
Abdullah Uzbek	of Afghanistan
Khalid Bin Sultan	of Oman Coast
Khairi Tamini	of Palestine
Ibrahim Khin Pe	of Burma
Omar Ibrahim Fawi	of Gambia
Abdullah Ali Mahmud	of Oman
Hamid Mohammed Al Mahdi	of Sudan
Mohammed Fazel	of Ceylon
Latif Mohammed	of India.

(Milli Turkistan, No. 85-86 B, 1953)

and his followers", "History of the conception of a Ukrainian State", "Europe, and the conception of a Ukrainian State".

After the fall of the Tsar, Donzow returned to the Ukraine. In Kyiv he launched a series of remarkably eloquent and impressive public lectures, of which the most effective were "International relations of Ukraine and Russia" and "The Culture of the Primitive".

Particularly the latter, which dealt with the seamy side of Russian literature, attracted great attention, and gave a lesson to young Ukrainians who were formerly accustomed to accept quite uncritically the universal significance of Russian literature.

Following the unfavourable outcome of the Russo-Ukrainian war in 1919, Donzow went as a fugitive to Vienna, where, in 1921 he published his first major work "The Foundations of our Policy". From May 1922 onwards he became chief editor of the revived periodical "Literaturno -- Naukovy Vistnyk" and gathered round him the best of the nationally

conscious elements among the Ukrainian emigrants and the West Ukrainians under Polish occupation. This periodical continued to appear until September 1939 when Donzow was temporarily arrested by the Poles and Lviv was occupied by Soviet Russians. From 1940 -- 41 in Bucharest he published a national Ukrainian periodical "Batava" ("Movement"). For 17 years he was the moving spirit of this periodical in which he published, month after month, his original and passionate articles and political leaders, which played a decisive part in combatting Russian communist influence in the Western Ukraine and also in opposing international socialist tendencies among Ukrainian emigrants.

Another, and perhaps historically still more important aspect of Donzow's publicity is revealed in his major works since the first World War: "Nationalism" (Lviv, 1926), "Literature in Our Times" (Lviv 1934), "In Search of Our Traditions (Lviv 1936), "The Spirit of Our Past" (Prague 1945), "The Significance of Our Inheritance" (Montreal 1952).

It would be presumptuous to attempt to appreciate in a few words the rich ideological content of these imposing and highly stimulating works which are the cause of much controversy in Ukrainian emigré circles. It is sufficient to say that Donzow has set down an ideological foundation of nationally conscious traditionalism which, in its depth and shrewdness of judgement, is in no way inferior to the famous works of a Charles Maurras or of an Ortega y Gasset. Its significance in the sphere of social and philosophical history goes far beyond the specific Ukrainian nationalist problem, and serves the cause of all the enslaved peoples of Russia. Also in the field of literary criticism Donzow has produced splendid achievements, notably in his essays on the great Ukrainian national poets Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) and Lesya Ukrayinka (1871-1915).

Of the same high quality is also his last work "The Poet of the Flaming Frontiers (Toronto, 1953) which the now 70 years old thinker (whose jubilee was lately celebrated by the Ukrainian press on August 29th, 1953) has dedicated to the heroic Ukrainian poet Olena Teliha (1907-1942).

Lector

## "Bourgeois Nationalism" in Siberia also

The Moscow "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of Sept. 6th, 1953 has poured criticism upon an article by the Buryat-Mongolian scholar, P. Khadalov, which was published under the heading of "Incessantly Strengthen the Friendship among the Nations of the U.S.S.R." by the newspaper. "Buryat-Mongolian Komsomoletz".

The Moscow paper reproaches Khadalov for hindering, during the last quarter-century and with the help of bourgeois nationalism, the struggle of the Party organizations in Buryat-Mongolia, for taking his examples from the mists of antiquity, and for devoting his meditations in general to the subversive activities of the bourgeois nationalists in other countries.

"The author does little to show", continues the "Komsomolskaya Pravda", "how the friendship among the nations of the U.S.S.R. has developed and grown stronger, and he depicts the history of the Buryat-Mongolian U.S.S.R. in a completely false light. He states that it is composed of equal elements of Buryat-Mongolians and Russians. In reality it consists not only of Buryat-Mongolians and Russians, but also of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Evenkis, and others".

In this case, when Khadalov speaks only of Russians, he obviously wishes to emphasise that the latter have penetrated into Buryat-Mongolia as occupants.

In conclusion, the newspaper reproaches Khadalov for speaking of "cultural national autonomy" and not exposing its "bourgeois-nationalist core". The "Buryat-Mongolian Komsomoletz" was also censured for publishing Khadalov's article. Z. O.

## Croatian Memorandum

We here publish an Extract of the memorandum which the Croatian National Committee in Europe has sent to the Military Defence Conference of the military representatives of U.S.A., British and French Forces in Washington.

"Yugoslavia (that of Karagjorgjevic, destroyed in 1941, and Tito's new communist one) is a state artificially formed against the will of the peoples now enslaved in her. Tito's present regime is the same dictatorially communist one as all other communist regimes in other parts of the world. Tito's state is sustained only by the brutal force of his police and, the moment the peoples get the chance to decide for themselves, this state will disintegrate and disappear like the night before the rising sun.

It is absolutely unreasonable to believe that Tito's communist regime will ever be prepared to defend freedom and democracy, which the same regime is so persecuting inside its own boundaries.

There are many signs that the differences which existed between the communists of Belgrade and Moscow in the last years are disappearing and every increasing consignments of arms to Tito's units may one day be used against the democracies (as happened in the Far East) the same as any military information may be communicated to undesirable quarters.

Every supposition that Tito's Yugoslavia has a powerful army (30 divisions), which could be a very useful instrument in the case of Tito's regime getting on bad terms with their comrades in Moscow, is a most dangerous fallacy. Firstly, Karagjorgjevic Yugoslavia was, for 23 years, spending

over 1/3 of her budget for her Army, which was praised as one of the best in Europe. Karagjorgjevic's army and state practically disappeared in only eleven days. A distinguished British writer said, in her book "Crusader in the Secret War": "The Germans conquered Yugoslavia in eleven days, not because they had tanks which could climb up trees, but because the Croats were unwilling to fight for Belgrade." If Karagjorgjevic's army, where the officer corps was solidly composed of Serbs, supported by all the Serbs, capitulated and disappeared without offering any resistance worth mentioning, what would happen with Tito's present army which has no properly trained officers (there are 12,000 officers and 45,000 N.C.O.s) in all formations (Army, Militia and Udha (Police), and 4,500 reserve officers. Out of this number, about 6% are from the old Yugoslav Army, 40% Spanish veterans, 60% from war partisan activities (most of them can only write their names) and the rest came out of Tito's Military Academy).

Old Yugoslavia was unable to defend herself because the Serbs form only 1/3 of the population and the other 2/3 looked upon the state as their gaol and waited for the first opportunity to free themselves. Tito's present communist Yugoslavia is far worse off, having not even 5% of the population behind the present regime."

## "Bohemia" Unmasks the Pharisees

In its article, "A Delicate Problem — Christian Peace between Czechs and Germans", published in No. 4/6, 1953, the Rome religious journal, "Vinculum", treated itself to the following attack on the Union of Czech Democratic Federalists (U.Cz.D.F.), which, as is well-known, has, as a progressive, national Czech initiative, rendered great service to the anti-bolshevist struggle of the present Czech emigration.

"This group (here is meant the U.Cz.D.F. — Ed.) has become a member of a certain international (clearly the A.B.N. — Ed.) set into which extreme rightwing East European exiles formed themselves in 1945 in Germany, and particularly in Munich, and in which, it is understood, Ukrainian Banderists, Croatian Ustashites, Hungarian Pfeilkreuzler and Slovakian Gardists have the most to say" . . .

The author of this article has been identified as the Catholic priest, Dr. Heidler, who is at present in charge of religious broadcasting at Radio "Free Europe" in Munich.

The organ of the U.Cz.D.F., "Bohemia", has taken up the defamatory publication of the above-mentioned journal and, in answer to it, have made the following statement in their number of August, 1953, No. 26.

"It is stated in the article that the U.Cz.D.F. is working together with Banderists. The essay is intentionally so styled that the uniformed reader receives the impression that the "Banderists" are criminals. It is well-known that all the leaders of the so-called Banderists were imprisoned in Nazi concentration camps from 1941 until the end of the war and that tens of thousands of Stefan Bandera's followers in the Second World War in the Ukrainian forests fought against both the armies of Hitler and against the bolsheviks for the liberty of their homeland and of their church.

Just as incorrect is the statement concerning co-operation with Hungarian "Pfeilkreuzler". And, as for the co-operation with Slovaks, the U.Cz.D.F. does not work with "Gardists", but with democratic Slovaks, the overwhelming majority of whom are undoubtedly loyal Roman Catholics, which is also the opinion of the Holy Father himself, as may be seen from his occasional declarations during the past year."

In addition to this, we have the following statements to make:

1) The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is in no way an "international sect of extreme right-wing East-European exiles", but the covering-organization of the national liberation centres and organizations of the peoples subjugated by

bolshevist Russia, who are all represented in the A.B.N., with equal rights, on a democratic basis.

2) It is, in our opinion, unworthy of a Catholic priest to spread such glaring falsehoods, and this, what is more, in a Catholic journal. Thus will be served, not Christian love between the people and their emigrations, but the work of their bolshevist enemies.

3) And it is as Christians that the representatives of the Christian nations in the A.B.N. are proud that they, in common with the revolutionary liberation organizations of the Moslem nations, Turkestanians, North Caucasians, Azerbaijanians and Idel-Uralians, are waging the war against world-communism and Russian-bolshevist imperialism for the salvation of the Christian and Islamic cultural heritage.

The men and women of our organization are not stained with the blood of thousands of innocent murdered Christians and Moslems, like the collaborators of the bolshevist butchers of our peoples.

Without further comment, we wish only, in this connection to recall the well-known words of Christ: "Woe to him that hears false witness!"

### Not in Byelorussian Interests

## Remarkable Utterances of the Journal "Osvobojdienie"

The journal "Osvobojdienie" ("Liberation") organ of the organization which calls itself the "Revolutionary-Democratic Movement of the Peoples of the Soviet Union" and, according to its declarations, recognizes the peoples' right to self-determination and national independence, has published a remarkable article by an alleged Byelorussian.

In his remarks, the writers tries to prove that "separatist" (sic!) movements do not correspond to the desires of the Byelorussian people and cites "facts" in support of this statement which can only be described as myths.

The Byelorussian national organ "Backauscyna" ("The Fatherland") of October, 1953 has dealt these statements a sharp rebuff. And that rightly!

It is quite clear that the writer of the article has been through the Soviet Komsomol school, or he could not be so abandoned and shameless in national-political matters.

We, however, are not interested in the person of the author and his utterances, but in what the

### Georgia's Independence Day in New York

## Meetings in Sympathy for the Subjugated

Prominent American politicians and representatives of international organizations of the peoples deprived of rights participated in the great function of the Georgian colony at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York in memory of the declaration of Georgia's independence in 1918.

The first speaker was that tried friend of our nations, Congressman Charles Kersten. In his comprehensive speech, he reminded his hearers of the deliberations on the recognition of Georgia in the Committee for Foreign Affairs of Congress in 1926 and the resolutions on this point, and said: Here we made promises concerning the recognition of Georgia and its support, and afterward Roosevelt, against all the laws of logic, acknowledged de jure the Moscow Government — in other words, the conqueror and annihilator of the nations. Mr. Kersten then sketched the international situation, pointed out the aggressive plans of Moscow, and addressed himself to the American people with the warning that it was high time to estimate the danger accurately and to extend a hand to all America's real allies in the fight against the common enemy. These allies are the nations subjugated by Russia who have always fought for liberty and will also do so in the future. In conclusion, Mr. Kersten expressed his firm conviction that the cultured nations fighting for liberty would one day attain their goal.

After him, Mr. O'Connor of the State Department began to speak. His extraordinary knowledge of Georgian history and that of other Eastern peoples aroused astonishment and admiration in those present.

Especially interesting were the remarks of Mr. Dewar, Head of the "Near East and Southern Asia" Department of the New York "Voice of America". He traced the historical development of Russian imperialism, and emphasized that, since the time of Ivan the Terrible and the conquest of Kasan and Astrakhan, Russia had always pursued the same imperialistic policy of conquering alien lands and nations. He expressed the conviction that the time of the liberation of Georgia and the other subjugated lands was no longer very distant.

Next spoke the president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, Prof. L. Dobriansky, and the member of Congress, Mr. Pizniak, on the historical rights of our peoples, and called upon the Americans, in accordance with their political and ethical principles, immediately to recognize and proclaim these nations' demands for independence.

Messages of greeting were received from President Eisenhower; Governor Dewey of New York; Senators Ives and Lehmann and other notable public figures in the U.S.A. All expressed their conviction and confidence that all the subjugated nations would regain their freedom, and emphasized the right of every people to national freedom.

editors of "Osvobojdienie" were thinking of when they decided to publish this article so objectionable in every respect.

Perhaps it came about after the style of the so-called "Discussions of the free tribunes", freshly imported from the Soviet Union? It was then very clumsy and tactless, for such "objectivity" and "tolerance" goes too far. It is just as injurious to our fight, as it brings into discredit the national interests of our peoples! An end should be made of that kind of political-sects among the emigration. Despite all these clever gentlemen, the historical rights of the Byelorussian nation cannot be denied. This nation as well possesses national and ethnical independence and is officially recognized in this sense by the whole civilized world and all states, Byelorussia having been accepted into the U.N.O. as a member with equal rights.

To discuss this at all is nonsense, and not only that, but a testimony to the low political and moral level of the writers and their hosts.

*The State of Science in the U.S.S.R. (VI)***Science and the Marxist Dogma**

By Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn

It is, of course, self-evident that every scientist in the Soviet Union and in the satellite states must, from time to time, publicly parade his devotion and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, merely in order to avoid exposing himself to malevolent criticism. How often and how thoroughly this kind of "ideological" proclamation must be taken in hand depends, for every individual scientist, least of all on his scientific branch, but almost exclusively on his official position, i. e. from his so-called "social prominence". It is required far less from a simple lecturer in history of literature, for example, than from the director of an institute for research, even if it were an institute for thermodynamics or something else which had no kind of connection with the substance of Marxist doctrine. The only exceptions are those fields of research which are directly connected with military affairs and strategy: their representatives are, for obvious reasons, burdened by no such "ideological" tasks and obligations; in addition, they have already been much too carefully politically sifted in advance.

This kind of more or less occasional, official and officious Marxist-Leninist declaration, however burdensome and humiliating it may be for every genuine scientist, has little to do with the question in as far as the science in question is itself infected by Marxist principles, or regulated and over-disciplined by them; for that depends in the first place on the object of research and the concrete problems of each separate science. In this respect one may on the whole divide all the sciences, as they are fostered and taught in the U.S.S.R., into three groups, according to the strength of the Marxist pressure. (In this, one must naturally consider the varying attitudes of the Soviet "culture-policy" towards each at different epochs of the Soviet domination.)

1) The mathematical and physical sciences have naturally least to endure under the yoke of Marxist "ideology", for the simple reason that not one of the "infallible classical authors of Marxism" in the Soviet Union (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin) has ever seriously engaged in those sciences. It is true that at one time (the early thirties) there was no lack of voices to demand a "Marxist political co-ordination" of even the mathematical and physical sciences and, among other things, a "dialectical-materialistic" formulation of physical and chemical laws. These were, however, mainly only isolated, especially ambitious place-hunters who sought, in this time-serving manner, to espouse quickly and easily an academic or publicistic career — and that mostly with some success. Yet this disposed of the whole matter; for those isolated place-hunters realised only too well the impossibility of their own demands being met and took care to follow them up only to a certain extent. Thus, after as little as two or three years, the ludicrous matter was allowed to slide completely.

The actual obligations, therefore, of the mathematical and physical sciences in the U.S.S.R. to the Marxist dogma are, despite all the avowals in this respect of the Soviet mathematicians and physicists themselves, quite trivial (although they must look quite enormous to the free West): A few compliments, as vague as possible, addressed to the "classical writers of Marxism" (the more general, the better!), a few rhetorical phrases from Engels' "Dialectics of Nature" or Lenin's "Materialism and Empirical Criticism" in every or, at least, in every longer treatise, avoidance of too philosophical-sounding statements of a fundamental character (such as about the *essential* structure of natural phenomena), and occasionally a vehement polemic against individual "western" doctrines (such as Einstein's Theory of Relativity) which are decry as "bourgeois" and "idealistic" — that is about all. Certainly no paradise for mathematicians, physicists, chemists, astronomers, etc., but also no far-reaching limitation of their scientific work!

2) Matters are much worse in the case of the actual natural sciences, i. e. with those that deal with living nature (to these belong linguistics as far as it does not coincide with the history of

language). It was, admittedly, different to start with: in the first decade of the Soviet rule, thus to about 1927, the scientific freedom of the natural philosophers was little curtailed. Even psycho-analytical treatises by *Salkind*, *Aleksandrov*, etc. could be published — although the Marxists had viewed Freud's "pansexualistic" doctrine askance from the very beginning — and a Russian professor, *Berg*, was even able to publish a "teleological" theory of evolution which fundamentally differed from Darwin's. But those times are long past, and ever since 1928 every Soviet natural philosopher has had to be an unconditional Darwinist, which, by the way, is rendered extremely difficult by the extraordinarily complicated and contradictory character of Soviet Darwinism. The Soviet say "Darwin" and mean "Lamarck", since they obstinately cling to the idea of the hereditary transmission of acquired characteristics. By reason of the "struggle for existence" they would have done best to throw Darwin's "natural selection" overboard; that, however, was impossible, as Marx and Engels, on their part, had both approved of Darwin's Theory of Evolution, unconditionally and with evident enthusiasm, considering his fundamental denial of the transmission of acquired characteristics as unimportant

or not understanding it at all. But since the Soviets consider, and not incorrectly, that Darwin's doctrine of a natural selection is "mechanistic" and destitute of any dialectic, Soviet biology is in the hopeless position of contesting Darwin's opinions in Darwin's name, which has naturally brought the entire Soviet doctrine of heredity into a chaotic state.

Moreover, it is thoroughly characteristic of Soviet natural sciences (including linguistics in the sense indicated above) that quite regular theories and even tendencies to systems appear in it which might be described as pseudo-Marxist in as far as they stress and overstress their alleged "dialectical-materialistic" character without having much, or even the slightest, claim to it. The most note-worthy examples of this are *Lysenko's* doctrine of heredity in biology, the so-called reflexologist school (founded by *Pavlov* and *Behk-terev* before the Revolution) in psychology, the so-called pedologic tendency in pedagogy, and *Marr's* "Japhetic theory" in linguistics. The three latter have met an inglorious end, after having enjoyed a long period of undisputed sway in the branches of knowledge in question, which was naturally brought about exclusively by their abundant material support from the "Party and Government" and by a systematic and purely administrative suppression of those holding different opinions. These three tendencies were simply "abolished" by the same "Party and Government, and even *Lysenko's* opinions appear lately to be passing into obscurity. That lay in the very nature of the matter, since it was a question of typical "ersatz-doctrines", substitutes

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**Economic Crisis in the U.S.S.R.**

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with the fact that for more than ten years now the milk yield in our collectives does not exceed 1000 to 1070 litres per cow."

From Khrushchov's information, in the language of Soviet statistics, can be drawn the following conclusions:

In 1926/27, 28 to 29 million cows yielded up to 35 million tons of milk per annum. From this, Moscow requisitioned as "available produce" 4.3 millions tons, that is, 14.3%: in 1953 24 million cows yielded no more than 24 million tons, of which Moscow requisitions 13.2 million tons as "available produce", — that is 55% of the total milk yield. For the whole of the rural population, comprising 65% of the total population, and for the raising of calves, there remain only 45% of the total milk yield.

In still another passage of his lecture Khrushchov says, "Last year the collectives raised less young animals than in 1940. In fact, reckoning per hundred females, (cows, ewes, sows) there were raised 11 calves, 27 lambs, and 163 piglets less than in the year 1940. During the last two years, in the collectives of the Novgorod, Kostroma and Altai districts, one calf in three died of disease . . ."

That, after the "collection" of the "available" milk to the extent of 55% of the total production, the collective farmers and producers have any milk left for themselves is unlikely. (Incidentally, the yield of 1000 litres per cow is in any case pitiful!) But that interests Moscow but little. The evil consequence, as can readily be seen, is that every hundred cows produce 11 less calves than in 1940, and that one in three of these newborn calves die off.

It is therefore clear that the milk yield does not increase over the ten year period, but that the number of cows gets less, and furthermore among the collectives and the rural population altogether (small holders, workers, and employees) a colossal backlog of unfulfilled obligatory quotas (for meat, milk, vegetables etc.) is piling up. So the limit has been reached where the increase of "available" produce is no longer practicable because there is nothing left. Khrushchov himself confirms this, for he says, ". . . in comparison with pre-war levels, the number of cows in the personal possession of the land population is less by 6.5 millions. The number of collective workers who possess no cows has risen by 45%." How then can the collective workers realise their quotas of meat and milk?

Concerning production of potatoes and vegetables Khrushchov says, "The demand for potatoes and vegetables has risen to such an extent that the supply must be described as totally inadequate. During the last few years the rate of yield has not been increasing, but rather considerably diminishing. . . it is particularly alarming that in many districts the diminishing yield has caused a total reduction in the potato crop."

That is the picture of "The growth of socialist productivity" and of the "available produce" which is drawn by the facts revealed in Khrushchov's lecture!

To sum up, the present state of agriculture and productivity is a deadlock in so far that Moscow has reached the limit of possible exploitation of so called "available produce". There are now obvious signs that the actual amount of agricultural produce, which according to "Stalin's instruction" can be strained upon, has also begun to decline — which can be concluded from Khrushchov's published information.

The agricultural economy is no longer able to supply Moscow's demands — not even on the basis of the quotas already assessed. The general crisis is especially acute in those branches of agriculture in which the personal, social, and economic freedom and independence of the countryman are decisive factors in achieving high yield, — that is in cattle raising and market gardening.

It has been mentioned in the press some months ago that Moscow has been buying butter and fats from New Zealand and Australia, and negotiating for foodstuffs with other countries (Denmark, Argentina), and for the exchange of crayfish for herrings with Great Britain. These are not commercial propaganda tricks, — though Moscow would perhaps like them to be taken this way, — they are just separate indications that the Kremlin is not able to secure the food supply of the Moscow proletariat through home production.

Khrushchov's lecture and the above-mentioned resolution of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, (both in "Pravda" of the 13th September, although Khrushchov's lecture took place as far back as September the third) sketch out a whole system of measures to be taken to resolve the agricultural deadlock. The general trend is indicated by Khrushchov thus: — "Why should we not, now that the Soviet intellectual stratum has grown up, issue an appeal in the name of the Party. Why should we not call upon the best men in the city — let us say 50,000 communists — and send them out to strengthen the workers on the land?"

# "Peaceful" Construction or World Conquest

## Statistical Spotlight on Moscow's Exploitations

At the 5th Session of the Supreme Soviet, from 5—8 August, 1953 the 1953 Budget of the U.S.S.R. was passed, showing a revenue of 544.264 milliard roubles.

In the total of the Union budget are included the budgets of the various Soviet Republics to a total of 102.6 milliard roubles. Among these is the budget of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) as a "federal member" with 57.552 milliard roubles. The budgets of all non-Russian Republics of the Soviet Union, taken together, comprise only 45.048 milliard roubles.

Thus, Russia proper (racially speaking) which numbers 40—45% of the whole population, has 499.216 milliard roubles or 91.7% of the total Soviet Union budget at its disposal, while to the rest, the non-Russian peoples (55—60% of the population) represented by their Kremlin-made puppet governments, is allocated only 45.048 milliard roubles, or 8.3% of the total. This means that the Russian Kremlin government actually controls and administers 91.7% of the resources, money, and production of the entire U.S.S.R.

But that is not all, for the puppet governments do not even freely control the miserable 8.3% which is officially supposed to be allocated to them. They probably dispose of no more than 2% of the total budget of the U.S.S.R. — that is, their own salaries and minor administrative expenses (larger expenditure requires the agreement of Moscow).

*The Russian Kremlin-Clique are thus in possession of enormous economic resources which make it possible for them to carry out aggressive policies directed against the free world.*

Among the non-Russian Soviet Republics, Ukraine has the largest budget: 17.953 milliard roubles (we shall return to this point later). Next comes the Kasakhian S.S.R. with 4.339 milliard roubles, and then the Byelorussian S.S.R. with 3.929 milliard roubles. The remaining Soviet Republics have still smaller budgets — each about 1 milliard or less.

It is superfluous to emphasize that over 75% of the total budget of the U.S.S.R. is devoted by Moscow to the preparation of a fresh war of world conquest. That can be clearly demonstrated. For example, for 1953, 129.8 milliard roubles were written down for cultural and social purposes. But, after seven months of the year have passed, not even 50% of this money has been used. Thus, in the iron and steel works controlled by the U.S.S.R. a plan for the putting in service — or more correctly, building — of children's crèches and kindergartens, has only been carried out to the extent of 41%. In the coal industry, the building programme for sanatoria is still less completed; there, only 37% of the proposed sanatoria have been built. It is also noteworthy that the iron, steel and coal works are mostly in Ukraine or other non-Russian Soviet Republics.

The Ministry of Transport and Heavy Industry has completed only 38% of its half-year programme of workers dwelling houses, and only 43% of its programme for heavy machinery, and only 49% of the wood and paper industry's programme. In a number of non-Russian Soviet Republics, the hospital building programme has not been carried out to effect. The actual situation is worse than appears, because these figures are "doctored" so that Malenkov can present a more favourable picture. The less said about Moscow's "planning" with regard to the civil needs of the non-Russian population, the better! But one must mention that the financial budget plan for the building of the Werkhnyo-Dniprovsk Starch and Sugar combine was altered nine times.

On the other hand, the Kremlin turns with great energy to the completion of its military plans and consequently everything else is catastrophically neglected.

Actually the published budget for the current year (as in the case of all statistics published by the Kremlin) is designed for propaganda purposes. In reality, Moscow will work according to a different and secret budget. Therefore one can only smile when one reads that this year only 110 milliard roubles, that is 3.8 milliard less than last year, are to be spent on "defence". Why then are the plans for houses, schools, hospitals, and kindergartens not being carried on? They

never will be carried out because the money has been from the start allocated by the Kremlin to military purposes.

How can the Kremlin dare to call the 1953 budget one of "peaceful construction" while nothing is being built to serve social, cultural or peaceful ends?

Let us return to the fact that at the 5th session of the Supreme Soviet Ukraine budget was set at 17.953 milliard roubles. That makes only 1/30th of the Union budget, which exceeds 544 milliard roubles. These figures show most clearly the oppressed state of Ukraine whose population comprises al-

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(Continued from Page 11)

for an actually non-existent Marxist biology, the same kind of Marxist psychology, pedagogy, linguistics, etc. It was desired to have nothing but Marxist natural sciences (it is self-evident that pedagogy and linguistics, viewed from a materialistic standpoint, also belong to the natural sciences): Since, however, such sciences neither existed nor, with the best will in the world, could be constructed, those teachings were temporarily preferred which at least pretended, prompted by an ignoble place-hunting, to be "dialectically-materially" inclined and to confirm in theory the Soviet rule. But according, as their connection with Marxism-Leninism was, in reality, only subjectively conditioned, mostly quite doubtful, where not (as in the case of Marr's notorious Japhetology) obviously feigned, the "Party and Government" considered it better in the course of time to renounce all this kind of questionable and compromising "idealistic fellow-travellers" even if their fancies could not be replaced for the moment by anything new. (It is characteristic that the brochure, "Marxism and the Problems of Linguistics", which was published under Stalin's name in the summer of 1950 and was a direct condemnation of "Marrism", contained no "theory" at all, but was merely a collection of platitudes which had nothing at all to do with Marxism.) Better no theory at all than one that is not sufficiently Marxist-Leninist — seems to be the tune of present-day fashionable Soviet directives concerning the natural sciences. Whether the latter gain anything by that is more than questionable.

3) The state of the actual "arts", i. e. all the historical and philosophical branches of knowledge, whose fate in the Soviet Union has been shared by jurisprudence and economics, was already marked by the fact that, in accordance with the Soviet "culture policy", it was, in contrast to the two groups discussed above, to be neither externally nor internally "Marxized", but was simply to be replaced by the corresponding Marxist movements which were already in existence. This replacement process, which had been planned in advance, lasted throughout the entire twenties, as it was for reasons of prestige, not desirable simply to jettison the older and highly-qualified scientists. In the thirties, however, the process was quite unexpectedly redoubled, as the replacement of non-Marxists by Marxists was followed by the replacement of non-bolsheviks and — from Stalin's standpoint — questionable bolsheviks by true disciples of the notorious "general line". It is significant that this second process took an incomparably crueller and more ruthless course than the former, since it was a question, not of merely cutting short scientific activities, but, in most cases, of also physically annihilating the scientists in question. One ought, of course, not over-estimate the total scientific worth of

most 1/4 of the total population of the U.S.S.R. while its industry contributes in several branches no less than half the total production of the Union, and in agriculture the Ukrainian grain and sugar represents 3/4 of the total production of the U.S.S.R. A budget of 17—18 milliard roubles is for Ukraine merely "pocket-money" or, more simply, — a dole. But the puppet government of Ukraine is not allowed even freely to dispose of this pittance, since their every movement is watched by busy agents of Moscow to see that not one rouble too many is squandered on education or for protecting the health of Ukrainian mothers and children!

There is but one remedy — division of the U.S.S.R. into independent national states, so that the non-Russian peoples, represented in future by their own sovereign governments, may freely control their own fortunes.

Z. O.

the Marxists shot or exiled to Siberia and Turkistan by Stalin's Government; for, especially after the "Communist Academy", founded in Moscow at the beginning of the twenties, was compulsorily incorporated after a few years with the old Petersburg Academy of Sciences, conscienceless place-hunting, fraud and political intrigues quickly gained the upper hand among the Soviet-Russian Marxist "scholars". It should, on the other hand, not be ignored that, during the violent "purges" of the thirties, it was those very personalities of Soviet Marxism who were, comparatively, best trained scientifically who lost their lives. Among them were the two investigators of sources, *Ryazanov*, who had rendered great services to the history of Marxism, (who, as early as the twenties, used to say of himself that he "was no bolshevik and no Leninist, but exclusively a Marxist"), and *Adoratsky*, and the Marxist philosopher, *Stolpner*, in Moscow, the Marxist philosophers, *Semkovsky*, (a cousin of Trotzky), *Rudayev* and *Yurynev* in Kharkiv (Ukraine), and many others. The waves of terrorism in the thirties raged even more violently against the no longer numerous survivors from the non-Marxist students of the arts. Even those who were most prominent in their special branches were not spared, such as the highly meritorious historian of old Ukrainian and Russian literature, *V. Perets*, the classicist and mediaevalist, *B. Yarkho*, and the historian of art, *Fedor Shmit*.

To this day, the Soviet-Russian arts have never been able to make up these enormous losses, not so much on account of the considerable number of murdered or missing celebrities as because of the lack of new scientifically-trained blood which that has caused. Even the very low social status of any scientist who is not actually world-famous in no way contributes to the increase of predominantly theoretical studies of the arts. As was the case a century ago in Russia, a professor in ordinary nowadays counts for less socially than a colonel. In short, there are at the moment in the Soviet Union no longer any arts, but a few isolated, not very numerous, students of the arts. From time to time, one or another of them dares to utter something that is scientifically useful (which therefore does not suit the purposes of the usual propaganda), but that kind of thing seldom occurs. The fact that, since 1941, there has been an increasingly more open replacement of orthodox Marxism by a consistent Russian chauvinism does not alter the position in the least.

Among the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., the arts (and not they alone) have been rooted out even more thoroughly than in Soviet Russia (R.S.F.S.R.) proper. How that happened is a chapter in itself, or rather several chapters, since the process of extermination has been in no way uniform everywhere, and any schematism would be out of place in this case. The results, however, are everywhere the same: within the Soviet Union is no more Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, etc. science; there are the Soviet Russian scientists, on the one hand, who are working outside the R.S.F.S.R., and, on the other, local non-Russian scientists who must write and teach according to schemes and instructions from Moscow. What they publish represents their own opinion as little as the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. represents the opinion of the "Soviet nations".

A fundamental alteration of this situation is inconceivable without the Moscow empire first being divided up into independent national states.

### Important Note

We request those of our readers who have hitherto received the A.B.N.-Correspondence gratis to let us know if the journal has arrived regularly and if they are interested in its delivery being continued. In the event of no reply being received by Dec. 15th, 1953, delivery will automatically cease.

Editorial Office of the  
"A.B.N.-Correspondence".

## “Neutrals” or Gravediggers of Western Civilization

The greatest nonsense in the assertions of the so-called “experts” in Russian matters is that the cause of the communistic expansion is the unsatisfactory social conditions of the masses.

The authors and preparers of the revolutions were predominantly renegades from the ruling classes, which were to be annihilated — politically and physically — by the revolution.

Among the mental instigators of the Russian Revolution “shone” the names of Count L. Tolstoi, Prince Kropotkin, A. Herzen, M. Bakunin and many others members of the nobility.

The same thing is being repeated in the advance of the Russian Revolution in the West. Who are its advocates in Europe, in America? Men from the masses? No, for they are the deceived! But who are the deceivers? Who are Russia's friends in the West? They are recruited predominantly from the ranks of the present-day (bourgeoisie) elite: from University professors like Lasky; from the great ones of science such as Einstein and Joliot Curie; from clergymen like Dean Johnson and Endicott; from diplomats like A. Hiss and Lattimore; from “great artists” like Chaplin, from parliamentarians and politicians such as Fred Rose, Time Buk, Bevan and Wallace. To these people belong writers like Zweig, A. Gide, A. Barbusse, J. Sartre with his “Existentialism”, painters like Picasso. Finally, many newspaper-men, even of the official anti-communist press, busy themselves in this direction, and doctor all the news so that it awakens in the readers fear and terror of the mass-murderers of the Kremlin and belief in the complete impossibility of the West's overcoming these miscreants. And how these people lamented the “poor Beria”, who — allegedly — had wished to open up a new era of happiness for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and an age of peace for the world! Together, naturally, with the friends of Russia in the West!

It must also not be forgotten that it was not the people who opened the doors of Central Europe and the Balkans to bolshevism. That was the “leaders” of the nations, their elite, like Dr. Benes in Bohemia and King Michael in Rumania, just as, in 1919, Count Caroly in Hungary abdicated in favour of the communist bloodhound, Bela Kuhn. I shall not speak here of those leaders of the Occident who enthroned Tito, the then accomplice of Stalin, in Belgrade.

And is it really remarkable that the members of this “elite” have sprung into the breach whenever things threatened to go badly for Moscow, in order to defend it. Franco? He must be slandered and shunned! Chiang-Kai-shek? He must first of all admit Communists to his government, and afterwards must, for God's sake, do nothing against Red China! Syngman Rhee? He is decry by those circles almost as an aggressor! If decisive action is taken against the Russian spies — that is intolerance and a violation of democratic freedom of opinion! McCarthy, however, is thought to be a madman. If the Thores and their like in other lands threaten, in event of war, to betray their native land in favour of Moscow, the “ladies and gentlemen” of that “elite” soothe the public opinion with the statement that this is no treachery. No! That is the freedom of opinion which is founded in democracy and its conception, etc.! Even when President Eisenhower rose up against this “freedom” of Russian agents, those circles immediately branded him as a Fascist, an enemy of democracy, and almost as a new Hitler. The fifth column and all those cliques of Moscovites are active, arrogant and aggressive.

And their opponents? They are timid, meek and indecisive. They even hesitate to let loose a storm of protest against the cowardly shooting of German workers. They behaved in exactly the same way towards the mass-murders in Ukraine. They are neutral, and let Moscow and its friends do as they please to undermine the spirit of patriotism in the West and the

desire to fight against the arrogant aggressor. They preach peace at any price, even at the price of national honour and thus sanction the slaughter of the rising generation in an inevitable clash with Moscow. They want to remain neutral! The bolshevist Revolution of 1917 clearly shows that it was rendered successful primarily by the masses of “neutrals”.

Not the distress of the masses, not the strength of their ideal, caused the victory of this revolution, but the low spiritual and moral level of the ruling classes; some consequently sympathised with the aggressor, others remained neutral towards him, and thus both became incapable of resistance.

The same danger is menacing the ruling classes of the West in respect of Russian imperialism, and with them the whole Western civilization. It is high time that the patriots of the West understood this. The enemy is no longer standing without the citadel; he is already in our midst, and there behaves with ever-increasing audacity and defiance.

D. D.

### † Colonel N. Wolter-Peninsky

#### Cossack Liberation-Fighter

On Sept. 17th, 1953, there died in Munich Colonel Nikolaus Wolter-Peninsky, Cossack liberation-fighter, member of Cossack National Liberation Movement, second chairman of the Cossack Supreme National Assembly (Cossack Parliament in Exile) and leader of its Military Commission, member of the A.B.N. Military Commission, theoretical and practical expert in partisan warfare, permanent co-worker of “A.B.N. Correspondence” and other anti-bolshevist papers.

Colonel Peninsky was born on April 20th, 1900 in Ekaterinodar (now Krasnodar). During the Revolution after the First World War he took an active part in the struggle for the independence of Cossackia. In the Second World War, in the union of Cossack liberation divisions, he continued his fight against bolshevist Russia for the independence of his fatherland.

His death means a great loss, not only for the Cossacks, but for all our nations, that are fighting for liberty and national independence. We shall always keep him in honoured remembrance.

### Russian “Culture-Policy”

In the Soviet Union, all the old Russian poets and authors are greatly honoured.

Now it is the turn of Tolstoi and Turgenyev.

One must possess bolshevist cynicism if one is to extol Tolstoi, who loathed any kind of despotism and violence, and the exceedingly feudal Turgenyev as standard-bearers and forerunners of the bolshevist revolution and to claim them as one's own. Therein is manifested once again the tendency to impress upon the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union the Russian sense of mission and to demonstrate only Russian cultural achievements as the driving-power of their intellectual development.

The newspapers of Georgia and other nations must write only in this style and emphasise again and again in their articles that our nations have been saved from destruction by coming under the care and protection of Russia.

But when the authors and scientists of our nations write about the great men in their own history and the culture of their nations, that spells, according to the language of Moscow, “national deviation, defamation of the great Russian people”, or even “flight into the historical past and turning-away from the realism of Soviet life”. As such is this literature condemned and its writers are outlawed.

Truly what a strong spirit must be possessed by our peoples in order, dependent only on themselves, to defy this oppression and yet to preserve their national spirit alive.

N. N.

### Mr. Kersten's Journey of Information

## U.S.A. Congress and the Annexation of the Baltic States

On July 27th, the Congress of the United States of America adopted a resolution to form a commission for investigating the annexation of the Baltic States and Russian terrorism in these countries. As chairman of this commission was appointed Mr. Charles J. Kersten, delegate for Wisconsin, who had introduced this resolution in Congress.

Mr. Kersten is the best person that the Baltic peoples could wish for as spokesmen for their cause in the American Congress. He is a friend of the Baltic nations, familiar with bolshevism, lawyer by profession and an idealist without personal ambitions. Kersten is one of those rare politicians of the western world who not only clearly recognize the danger of bolshevism, but also know how to value the importance of the oppressed nations in the fight against it. As early as January 14th of this year he introduced a resolution in Congress on the combining of all anti-communist forces in the fight against Russian imperialism.

“Whereas the greatest potential anti-communist force in the world exists among the several hundreds of millions of peoples who experience first hand the inhuman cruelties of the communist police state evidenced by, among other things, spontaneous, but largely abortive uprisings against the communist government.” And further: “. . . it is the duty of the peoples of the free world to help keep alive the hope for freedom and democracy among the enslaved peoples and, avoiding premature and abortive uprisings, to assist them to co-ordinate their resistance to tyranny and ultimately to gain their freedom so that they may fashion governments of their own choice.” He goes on to recommend that the emigrés and national organizations of the oppressed nations should be harnessed in the fight against bolshevism.

In connection with the foundation of this research commission, the Baltic political centres and organizations are preparing comprehensive evidence to throw a light on Russian terrorism in the Baltic States.

Before taking up his research work, Kersten spent a few weeks in Europe, in order to establish personal contact with the Baltic political centres, liberation-organizations and most important witnesses here. He visited France, Germany, Sweden and England. On Sept. 2nd. he was present at a meeting of the Baltic Political Council in Reutlingen, near Stuttgart, where the question was discussed of co-ordination of the whole work and suitable resolutions were made. On Sept. 22nd., in Bad Godesberg, Kersten received the president of the presidium of the *Latvian National Guard*, J. Bracs.

### “Pravda” gunning for Dr. Friedenau

According to the official Soviet press Agency, “Tass”, the official party paper of Moscow, “Pravda”, made an attack on August 31st. on the chairman of the “Research Commission of Free Jurists”, Dr. T. Friedenau, during his stay in Copenhagen. The usual demagogic methods were used. “Pravda” referred to the Helsinki “Tyuekansas Sanomat”, which is obviously bolshevist-inspired:

“Friedenau has confirmed the accuracy of several press-reports that his organization took indirect part in the preparation and carrying out of the provocations that took place in Berlin on June 17th.”

“Friedenau bragged to journalists that he had recently often received from the Americans large sums of money in east- and west-marks to expand the network of helpers in his ‘research-commission’ and to widen their activities in East-German territory.”

“The journalists further emphasise that Friedenau does not refrain from self-exposure, but declared that more than 30 spy-rings and subversive organisations similar to his ‘commission’ were active in West-Berlin, having been founded by the Western Powers and paid mainly by the U.S.A.”

# From Behind the Iron Curtain

## BYELORUSSIA

### CONTRARY YOUTH

On Sept. 9th, the Moscow newspaper, "Komsomolskaya Pravda", the organ of the Communist Youth Organization of the Soviet Union, "Komsomol", published a longish article by W. Siniyyn, the secretary of the Vitebsk district committee of the C.P. of Byelorussia. In this article he sharply criticises the Komsomol work in Byelorussia and writes:

"An important organ of collective leadership is the Bureau of the Committee, on which the members of the Committee bestow their confidence and which has to direct the current organizational work in between plenary sessions. The Committee-Bureaus in many districts and towns of Byelorussia perform this task very badly. From January until May of this year, the municipal Bureau of the Komsomol Committee in Orshan discussed no important questions and made not a single resolution.

In the district of Dubrovsk, half of the Komsomol organizations had held no meetings for six months."

The Moscow newspaper and its officious informers in Byelorussia need not wonder that the youth there can muster up no interest in the Komsomol, or rather, in the suggestion that they should render service to the oppressors of their fatherland.

## COSSACKIA

### ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

The latest resolutions of the plenary meeting of the C.C. of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Sept. 7th, 1953, with regard to agricultural measures and the resolutions of the Cabinet and of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. of Sept. 26th and 29th on measures to be taken in stock-rearing and potato and vegetable production are mostly concerned with Cossackia, which plays a large part in the agriculture of the U.S.S.R.

All the Soviet measures are unable to bring about an increase of agricultural production. Here even the Soviet occupation organs have failed.

In the report of N. *Chruschchev*, who was recently appointed First Party Secretary and in the measures which the Soviet Government has taken, these defects are reflected. The Soviets' weakness was always stock-rearing and the lack, connected with this, of meat, butter, milk, eggs, wool, etc. Now they are paying for it.

The specialists in the kolkhozes would rather work in the Bureau or in the Soviet organizations than on the land. There is also a lack of good mechanics, vehicle drivers, etc. This has led to great damage to agricultural machinery and to work-production. The Soviet Government is now crying, "Hundreds of thousands of the best agriculturists and zoologists in the kolkhozes!" (Pravda, Sept. 29th, 1953) or "Agricultural machinery in expert hands!" (Komsomolskaya Pravda, Sept. 27th, 1953).

It is exactly these difficulties which the oppressed Cossackian population and those of the other non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R. make for the Russian alien domination that is forcing the Soviet Government to adopt new agricultural measures.

## GEORGIA

### PURGE WITHOUT END

The Prime Minister, V. Bakradze, and the Party Secretary, Mertzkhulava, of the Georgian S.S.R. have been removed from office for sabotaging Moscow's decrees.

Bakradze was appointed by Beria himself in the course of the general post after the death of Stalin. At the last meeting of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, however, he con-

demned his teacher and patron, Beria, thanked the Moscow Government for his arrest, in the name of the Georgian people, and demanded the severest penalty for this unworthy son of Georgia. Also at the last session of the Georgian Supreme Council which took place in the middle of August in Tbilissi he railed vehemently against Beria, and was accorded thunderous applause. All that, however, did not help him, and he fell victim to Moscow.

Bakradze, Mertzkhulava and all the others of the younger generation were brought up under the Soviet regime and were pupils of Beria.

The newly-appointed also: Prime Minister Dyavakhishvili, Party Secretary Mamaladze, and the other Party leaders and Government members are from Beria's school. In Beria's time they all occupied various Party and Government posts.

On account of the Russification-measures, the ranks of the discontented are increasing enormously. The resistance of the people is being still more strengthened by the fact that even thousands of Communists are falling victim to the Moscow tyranny.

Moscow will never again succeed in making the Georgian Communists pliable. The latter know only too well that they will be punished by Moscow, not because they are bad officials, but only because they are Georgians and do not wish to be servants of the Russians. Now arrives the latest news that even the deserving Communist-ministers, Baramia, Chiaureli and Tsulukidze, have likewise been dismissed.

### NATIONAL DECIMATION

Moscow's Assyrian policy of resettling the population of the non-Russian countries in other districts or in foreign countries, with the diabolical aim of Russifying and levelling-out the nationalities, is already bearing its poisonous fruit.

In the course of this process, the numbers of the native population in Georgia have been terribly diminished.

On the pretext of supplying the growing industries and agriculture with man-power, whole multitudes of Russians and other nationals have been settled in Georgia. According to Soviet estimates, already more than 40% of the inhabitants are foreigners.

All the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union are menaced by this same danger of national decimation.

## GERMANY

### RESISTANCE IS BEING ORGANIZED

The Research Commission of Free Jurists published, on Sept. 6th, 1953, a booklet entitled, "From the Zone of Injustice", from which we quote the following:

"The workers in the individual concerns have been drawn much closer together by the events of June 17th. In many cases, the strike-committees of various works in the same place have formed central managements which meet together secretly and discuss methods for preserving a solid front when putting forward claims. From here go out threads to similar groups in adjacent districts...

A kind of secret union which goes far beyond the individual concern is quietly forming... Often parts of the F.D.G.B. contributions are no longer paid to these, but are laid aside "in case of accidents", as the colleagues of condemned or imprisoned men see to it that their dependents receive support..."

### DIPLOMA OF HONOUR

The Chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, Comrade Hermann Matern, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, is herewith granted, in recognition of his meritorious services in unmasking those class-enemies disguised by a Party membership-book, those agents, spies, traitors and saboteurs, Noul H. Field "Georg Dertinger, Hamann, Franz Dahlem, Paul Merker, Lex Ende, Kreikenmeyer, Bauer, Goldhammer, Maria Weiterer, Erika

Glaser, Herta Tempi, Norbert Kugler, Lena Fischer, Hans Lauter and Fritz Uschner, and of his exemplary achievements in the examination of the Party examination in the class-warfare against conciliation, Social Democracy, Zionism, blindness, reaction, Titoism and lack of alertness, the title of "Meritorious Unmasker of the People"

Berlin  
signed: Walter Ulbricht,  
Secretary General of the S.E.D.

### CONVICTS BUILD AUTOBAHN BRIDGES

400 prisoners from various prisons in the Soviet Zone are at present being employed in the construction of an autobahn bridge over the Oder south of Frankfurt on Oder. Two arches of the new concrete bridge which were begun, but not finished, during the war, have now been completed.

With this new bridge there will be established connection, long demanded and described as "of great strategic importance" by the Soviets, between a highway running right across Poland and the Polish-administered eastern territory and the autobahn running south from Berlin to Frankfurt on Oder — Magdeburg — Helmstedt — Brunswick.

### "HEROS OF SOCIALIST INTELLIGENCE"

In accordance with the decree of June 27th, 1950 that the activist- and competition-movement should be increased, a competition under the name of "Heroes of Socialist Intelligence" has now been announced by the "National Front of Democratic Germany", its purpose being the broader expansion of the movement for enlightenment on the subject of class warfare.

The subjects of the three essays are as follows:

1) The importance of the national military forces in the struggle against remilitarisation, with special consideration of Stalin's doctrine concerning just and unjust war.

2) The fundamental difference between Nazi anti-Semitism and bolshevist anti-Zionism with special consideration of the teaching of the Slansky trial.

The composers of the best essays are distinguished by the title of "Hero of Socialist Intelligence" and receive a prize of 100,000 marks as well as an intelligence medal, newly instituted for this special purpose, which bears, on a red ground, the heads of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Malenkov, Beria and Molotov, and the inscription, "The Party is Always Right!!!"

## HUNGARY

### BE CAREFUL WHOM YOU TRUST

#### Communist Counterpoint

Matyas Rakosi stated on May 10th, 1953:

The possibilities of our agriculture are so great that still greater production results can be achieved without special investments.

Our enemies maintain that we are forcing the farmers into the collective economy. That is not true. The future of the collective economy is already assured, since more and more farmers are becoming convinced of its advantages...

The most urgent task is the fulfilling of the Five Year Plan...

Imre Nagy stated on Aug. 9th, 1953:

As a result of the insignificant and ever decreasing investment in agriculture in the course of the last year, agrarian production has fallen off to such an extent that one may say that it has been at a standstill.

The most important result of the precipitate collectivisation is, however, that the repeated encroachments and the violating of the fundamental principle of free-will has produced unrest in the ranks of the working farmers. In consideration of this, the government deems it necessary to slow up the founding of new productive-cooperative-societies. In the interests of the strict observance of the principle of free-will, it is making the condition that those co-operative-society members who wish to return to individual agriculture, because it offers them better advancement, may secede from the society at the end of the economic year.

The main principle is: progressive raising of the living-standards of the masses.



## NEW VICE-PRESIDENT

During the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian S.S.R. on August 18, 1953, in Riga, Ernests Ameriks was appointed deputy chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet. He is born in 1899 in the Valmiera district, finished the Rujiena commercial school and worked then at a druggist's shop. He has been a C.P. member since 1919 and in the same year became a member of the C.P. executive committee of the town of Ape. In independent Latvia Ameriks was sentenced to six years imprisonment for illegal Communist activities. In 1940/1941 he was Deputy Secretary for Building Activities at the C.C. of the Latvian C.P. During World War II he organized Red partisans in Latvia. In 1944—1946 Ameriks was People's Commissar for Public Health, 1946 to 1953 Minister for Cinematography. At the 10th anniversary of Soviet Latvia in 1915 he was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner. In the spring of 1953, at the time when his ministry was merged with the Ministry for Culture, he was elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian S.S.R. from the Krimunas polling district, Dobele raion, replacing Kronbergs, who had died in the meantime.



## THE POLISH UNDERGROUND AND THE U.P.A.

As was announced on the Warsaw radio on Sept. 22nd, 1953, the Polish Military Court has condemned Bishop *Czeslaw Kaczmarek* of Kielce to 12 years' imprisonment for "espionage, propaganda hostile to the State, and subversive activities". Three men accused with him have received sentences of from 5 to 10 years.

The accusation, which naturally servilely followed the pattern of earlier and similar cases, contained the following interesting sentences: "The groups of reactionary clergy have also helped Catholic priests (Ukrainian Catholics — Ed.) in their criminal alliances. They also give shelter to the Ukrainian bandits who belong to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)."

So much for the official Communist source. There is reason, however, to assume that, in this accusation, very much more is said about the co-operation of the Polish Underground Movement with the U.P.A.



## DURCANSKY, ENEMY No. 1

On August 28th, the eve of the 9th anniversary of the communistic Partisan Revolt in Slovakia, Gen. Bacilek, at that time still Minister for Police in the Prague Government, made a speech to a festival-meeting. He declared that the revolt against the government and laws of the Slovak Republic had been inspired by the Communist Party and by "the historic success of the Soviet Union's anti-Fascist fight". A great part of the speech was devoted to slander of the Slovak Republic and the anti-communist emigrés. Concerning the emigration, he said that they are today ready, in the service of American imperialism, to sell their nation to those who are striving to "subjugate our people and to annihilate our peoples'-democratic Czechoslovak Republik". Chief among these enemies of Communism and Czechoslovakia he names the President of the Executive Council of the Slovak Liberation Committee, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky.

## BACILEK OUT OF PRAGUE GOVERNMENT

On Sept. 11th last, the Prague Government was re-formed. Gen. Bacilek, until now Minister for Police and Deputy Prime Minister, has been left out of the Government and appointed First Secretary of the C.C. of the C.P. of Slovakia. He has thus been degraded from his position as one of the most powerful representatives of Czechoslovakia to that of a provincial big-wig. Presumably Gen. Bacilek, who was only recently feared as the embodiment of the police-terror, has fallen

from grace on account of his being Beria's man. Obviously the representatives of the Party and of the power of the State in the "province of Sloviakia rank as only second class men.

## FLIGHT INTO FREEDOM

The Slovak airman, Lt. Vladimir *Krman*, who succeeded this spring in flying from subjugated Slovakia to the West, has joined the Slovak Liberation Committee in London. His daring flight into freedom was a sensation for the world-press. In Western Europe, Lt. Krman reported on the present political situation in Slovakia to press and radio representatives everywhere. With his decision to join the Slovak Liberation Committee, he announced his desire to fight against communism for the independence of Slovakia.

The Slovak airman, Lt. Josef *Rampak*, who recently flew from Slovakia to Austria, has likewise joined the Slovak Liberation Committee.



## SUCCESSFUL PLUNDER

According to an announcement of the official Soviet press-agency, "Tass", the national budget for 1953 and the report on how it is to be employed have been approved by the plenary meeting of the supreme Soviet of the Turkmenistanian S.S.R.

The budget of the Republic shows receipts to the amount of 1,060,780,000 roubles and an expenditure of 1,060,199,000 roubles. In contrast to the previous year, the estimates of the budget have increased, certainly for Moscow's own purposes, by 10.2%.

According to this, the planned plundering of Turkistan will this year be carried out much more ruthlessly than in the previous year. The insatiability of the brigand grows, as has been shown by experience, with the increase of its booty.



## WHO LEADS REGIMENT OF COMMUNISTS?

It was announced at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the total number of communists in Ukraine may be estimated at some 700,000. An explanation of how these communists are graded and what functions they perform is given by the Moscow journal, "Istoricheskiyi Zapiski" ("Historical Notes") in No. 41/1952:

"At the beginning of 1948 there were, in the villages, kolkhozes, M.T.S. (Machine- & Tractor-Stations) and the Sovkhozes (state-administrated Kolkhozes) of Ukraine, 19,095 branches of the Party organizations, comprising 167,000 communists, besides 160,000 communists engaged in the institutions, works and teaching establishments of the district. In all the rural districts of the Republic were employed 327,000 communists; in the eastern territories of Ukraine, 362 communists had a share in a district. 15,666 communists were employed as chairmen of the kolkhozes (according to this journal, there were 16,015 C.P. members in the kolkhozes — Ed.), 4,072 as managers of animal-breeding farms, 10,377 as brigadiers, 5,116 as tractor-drivers (among a total of 150,000 tractor-drivers — Ed.) and as drivers of combine-harvesters. Among the ordinary kolkhoze-farmers were 43,739 communists (in the year 1939 there were 3,618,000 kolkhoze-families within the borders of the Ukrainian S.S.R., including circa 7 million adults — Ed.). In view of this, it must be assumed that, after demobilization, there were included in the Party organizations of Ukraine 460,825 members and candidates of the Party from the Soviet Army, which, in January 1949, made up more than two-thirds of the whole Communist Party (b) of Ukraine."

In reality, the situation is as follows. The Russian communists who fled from Ukraine during the War returned from the demobilized Red Army after the War to Ukraine as the new rising generation. The Ukrainian kolkhoze-peasants, on the other hand, amount to 43,739 or 5—6% of the whole communist Party and, in relation to the total adult kolkhoze-population, not quite 5%.

Of the total number of privileged "mechanician-cadre" — the tractor- and combine-harvester-drivers — they form as little as 3%.

Despite the careful enumeration of Ukrainian names in the local edited press, the national-Russian composition of the Communist Party in Ukraine is, in view of the absolutely overwhelming numerical superiority of Russian names in all leading positions, including those of kolkhoze-chairmen and brigadiers, clearly evident.

## PRESS-MAMMOTH IN SERVICE OF RUSSIFICATION

In Kyiv has begun the construction of the largest newspaper combine in Ukraine. The copying-machines of the local papers make it possible to issue as many as 5 million copies within a few hours. The combine will produce in one year about 25 million journals, 30 million books, 7 million date-blocks, innumerable posters, etc.

Moscow hopes that, with the help of this press-technical effort, Soviet-Russian moral pressure upon the Ukrainian population will be manifoldly increased.

## VAMPIRE-METHODS

The milling-concern in the Ukrainian town of Zaporozhe has already been set in motion. By July 20th, 1953, 20,000 pud (320,000 kg), flour had already been ground. The flour obtained was immediately dispatched to Moscow, Leningrad and other Russian cities.

That is what the Russian "disinterested support" of Ukraine looks like in reality. Bolshevistic vampirism, to which may be traced back the catastrophic famines which have hitherto occurred in Ukraine, is thus to be continued in an increased form.

## "KOLKHOZE MILLIONAIRES"

According to an announcement of the Soviet-press in the Dnieperpetrovsk district, there are there 343 "kolkhoze-millionaires".

As long as it is not a case of bolshevist Party-sheikhs, it is certain that these "collectivised millionaires" have not a complete pair of trousers to put on.

## IN THEIR OWN MIRROR

In an article in "Pravda" of Sept. 10th, 1953, concerning the construction of schools and crechés in Ukraine, the true face of the slovenly communist economy is clearly recognisable:

"The school-year has already begun, but the scaffolding is still standing on many new school-buildings in Ukraine. Year after year, in the villages of the Kyiv district, the building-plans for the new schools are not being carried out. In the current year, only 25% has been accomplished.

The carrying-out of the erection of new school-buildings is also very bad in the district of Poltava. Building has been going on for five years on the intermediate school in Manuyinsk, in the district of Koselshchyn.

School-buildings are also very inadequate in the districts of Chernykhiv, Vynnytzia and Kirovograd.

The situation as regards the building of kindergartens and children's homes is even worse. In the present year, work should have been begun on 156 kindergartens accommodating 12,600 children. Only 122 of these were being built. In the first six months only 13 kindergartens were functioning, instead of 50. It was the same with the building of crechés.

The contracting-firms in the towns of the Dniepropetrovsk district had undertaken to build 20 children's homes this year. Only 4 were as yet ready for use.

The erection of homes and kindergartens is also in a bad way in the district of Voroshilovgrad and many other areas of Ukraine."

## "LITERARY CRITICISM"

On Sept. 10th, the Moscow journal, "Literaturnaya Gazeta", made an extraordinarily sharp attack on a journal of the same name which is published in Kyiv in Ukrainian, on account of "gross negligence" in its editorial work.

In all probability this is the usual announcement and preparation for a new political purge in which the responsible editor, A. Khyzhniak and his whole staff will disappear.

## BOOK-REVIEWS

### Asian Nationalism and the West

A Symposium Based on Documents and Reports of the Eleventh Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Edited by William L. Holland, New York, 1953. The Macmillan Co., 450 pp.

This praiseworthy and very comprehensive compilation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, ("an unofficial and non-partisan organization, founded in 1925 to facilitate the scientific study of the peoples of the Pacific area, runs the publisher's notice) which is an international body, although organized from New York, is devoted primarily to the recent history and the present national and political problems of the peoples of South-East Asia. The fundamental notion, "nationalism", has been interpreted very liberally, so that, in fact, the entire political, ethnic, social and economic life of the peoples in question has been included in the contents of the book. Religious and denominational relations and differences and questions of national structure have also been fully considered according to their national-political reality. The compilation begins with a general introduction by the "editor", William L. Holland ("New Trends in Asian Nationalism") which, in order to round-off the book structurally and to justify, to some extent, its far too ambitious title, contains short summaries of Philippine, Singalese, Burmese, Chinese and Indian "nationalism" — which here may mean no more than "national feeling", but, on account of reserve and caution, presents little that is clear and nothing that is new. After this come the main three sections of the compilation — the three monographs on "Indonesian Politics and Nationalism", by George McT. Kahin, "Vietnamese Nationalism and French Policies", by Philippe Devillers, and "Nationalism in Malaya" by T. H. Silcock and Ungku Abdul Aziz. All three treatises study predominantly the interests of the Anglo-American reader and are thus rather similarly planned — very objective, with a superfluity of documentation, and almost altogether reserved concerning deductions and prognoses.

In any case, however, this treatise as well as the two others brings to light a considerable number of important and little-known social-political, cultural-historical and economic facts, the knowledge of which is quite indispensable to all those who are interested in the national problems of South-East Asia. It is, for example, of the greatest importance for a proper understanding of the national struggles in British Malaya to know that the total population of the Malay Peninsula, which today numbers about 5 million, consists of only about 2 million Malays, 2 million Chinese who immigrated long ago and also recently, and 1 million newly-immigrated Indians; in 1850, the actual native Malayan population amounted to not more than half a million people. Under such peculiar ethnic — and correspondingly religious-denominational — conditions it is not to be wondered at that the nucleus of the anti-British partisan troops is composed of Chinese Communists, who were armed and equipped against the Japanese by the British Colonial authorities during World War II (The Britons did not trust the Malays, but the Chinese communists could hope for no pardon from the Japanese in any case): This is a classical example of how a rigid adherence to the old colonial policy has benefited the Communist helpers of Soviet Russia exclusively!

Surprisingly enough it is not the actually chief sections of the compilation which arouse the most interest, but a kind of appendix: "Summaries of Lucknow Conference Discussions" — an abbreviated, but thoroughly pertinent report on the proceedings of the Second Conference of the "Institute of Pacific Relations", held at Lucknow (India) in October, 1950. Despite the extremely moderate and tactful wording of the report, which, characteristically, designates the speakers no more exactly than according to their nationality, one feels at every step that two political conceptions are in conflict here that are incapable of the slightest mutual approach and cannot avoid fundamentally combatting each other. They are the anti-Communist, which coincides in this case with the anti-Soviet, and the allegedly neutral which, it is true, in no way regards Communism as a positive achievement, but much more as, at the least, a "lesser evil", but on the other hand approves, on principle and for racial reasons, of every advance of Soviet Russia, Red China or Vietnam against the free "white" world and its possessions and protectorates in Asia. (It is true that they do not talk about race but of "Western imperialism" — but that actually makes no difference). The "white-skinned" participants in the conference — thus the Americans, Britons, Canadians, French, Dutch, Australians, New Zealanders, as well as the representatives of the anti-Soviet-minded nations of free or semi-free Asia, who are not decisive as to numbers — the Japanese, Philippines, Vietnamese and British-Malayans (the Koreans were, for obvious reasons, unfortunately not present) — had been at great pains to make it clear to the representatives of all the rest of the free nations of Central and East Asia that Soviet- and Mao-Communism is not a suitable means of speculation or of blackmail of the West and that experience has shown that the lot of laughing third party has not fallen to anyone who wanted to play the part of a "third power" between Soviet Russia and its adversaries.

It was all in vain: with very few individual exceptions the Indians, Pakistanians, Indonesians and many others persisted in the view that every weakening by world-Communism of America and Western Europe bolstered up the new-born independence of the Asiatic peoples and was a surety against the "imperialistic lusts" of "Western capitalism", as was declared, with remarkable cynicism, by one Indian member of the conference — "Indians believe that if a Communist menace did not already exist, it would have to be created. They are tempted to exploit the conflict of Russia and the West to speed their own development."

To that one may reply, however, that the West is itself to a great extent responsible for the present pro-Soviet attitude of most of the peoples of South-East Asia: "The attitudes of Asian intellectuals towards Soviet Russia have been shaped substantially by the writings

of Western scholars, such as the Webbs. It is only recently that Western experts have changed their minds. In war time, Asia was given great amounts of Allied propaganda about the victories of the Soviet Union. Just five years ago, Allied leaders were unanimous in insisting that nothing could undermine the unity of Russia and the Allies. In the postwar years few anti-Communist books have had wide circulation in Asia."

One must not object that is merely the opinion of a relatively thin intellectual stratum. Who in Southern Asia — therefore in countries whose people are for the greater part illiterate — is to determine the aims and tasks of a now independent national policy, if not the intellectual upper class, educated after the Western pattern? Certainly not the mullahs or the brahmins! It is, in any case, certain that the nationalism of the now free and independent nations of Southern Asia is at the moment going through a severe crisis: the newly-established national state needs constructive and positive ideas, which it obviously lacks, concerning development (thus the hankering after Soviet methods of industrialization), while the continued waging still recommended and practised by many, of ruthless and unconditional national, or much more racial warfare against the "Western colonial powers" has not only already become to a great extent useless, but is also leading directly into the fatal embrace of the Soviet Russian bullies. Nowadays, not one of the national states of Southern Asia is secure from the tragic fate of National China, yet unfortunately only very few of their leaders are aware of it.

Liu Shaw-tong:

### Out of Red China

Translated from the Chinese by Jack Chia and Henry Walter

Duell Sloan & Pearce — New York; Little, Brown & Co — Boston, 1953; pp. 272

This book, the authenticity of which Dr. Hu Shih, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States, places, in his introduction, beyond question, forms what is up till now the only competent and veracious account of the political, social and economic life on the other side of the "Bamboo Curtain". It is written by an educated Chinese and may lay claim, almost throughout, to the value of an eye-witness account. The author, a student of the University of Peiping who, after the entry of the Communist Army into that city in the spring of 1949, had, half-voluntarily, been obliged to take up the post of war-correspondent and later — without being formally a party-member — attained to technically important offices in the Propaganda Ministry of the Mao Tse-tung Administration, escaped in 1950 to Hongkong and now gives an account of, almost exclusively, those things which he personally saw and heard in the course of his eighteen months or so of political activity;

Yet, apart from that, the picture as a whole is gloomy enough — a real impeachment of that pro-Communist propaganda which at that time unfortunately succeeded in convincing influential circles in Western Europe and America that the Chinese communists were concerned mainly with "democracy" and "agrarian reform". Of democracy there is naturally no trace; there is exactly the same rule of force and terror of a dictatorial party-totalitarianism as exists in the Soviet empire. Small farmers and traders are, it is true, not for the time being decisively enslaved, but they must go all the more hungry on that account (this, moreover, applies also to the working classes). The chaos and absurdity of a Marxist regime, whose upper ranks are nine-tenths composed of more or less "proven" old partisan fighters, is being compensated for by undiluted terrorism and a kind of "corpse-discipline", of which not even Stalin dreamt. And regarding the relationship between the communist military tyranny and the broad masses of the population, the following study of the "discipline of the People's Liberation Army" leaves nothing to be desired as regards clarity:

"Two key words of that discipline were caution and secrecy. Much of the army discipline was based on the premise that the ordinary people were unawakened masses, most of whom were Nationalist spies pretending friendship for the People's Army and the Organization (i. e. the Communist Party — V. D.). We were forbidden, therefore, to establish any personal contact with the ordinary people. We were taught to refuse gifts of food and well water, because there were too many instances when the masses (!) had put poison into their wells and into the food they offered to soldiers. In any of our brief dealings with the common people, we were to trust no one, to exercise the greatest of caution, and always to be on the alert for treachery. The best protection which comrades in the People's Liberation Army had against the people was to have nothing to do with them."

Therefore a complete analogy with the invasion of Finland by the Soviet-Russian "liberator" in 1939! No wonder: the regulations in question of the Red Chinese Supreme Command were copied from a Soviet-Russian writing, "The Red Army's Characteristic of Secrecy and Caution" (1936). It was just this study of those regulations and of their Moscow sources which brought the author and another Chinese journalist — an intimate confidante — to the conviction that "the Party phrases were very nice and idealistic in theory, but in practice had to be forcibly imposed on the people and artificially maintained by intensifying the class distinctions between the people and the army. We agreed that the only difference between the socialist rulers and the fascist dictators was that the socialists forced their system on the people with greater violence than the fascists did. The pretty words were false. The theory was a pipe-dream. The practice was a nightmare."

It is impossible for us to go with more detail into the quite copious and autopsical (also partly documented) contents of the book here and we must content ourselves by bringing to the reader's attention those single chapters which are particularly explanatory and full of withering irony: XI. Reclassifying the Classes; XIII. Love under the Revolution; XIV. The Land Reform; XV. People's Art and Entertainment; XVII. People's Freedom of Press and Religion. — On the other hand, one cannot help quoting the author's short remarks in Ch. XII ("American Imperialism and the Russian Moon") on the role of the Soviet-Russians in Red China, since they run

diametrically counter to all the unfounded hopes of an eventual dispute between Red China and the Soviet Union:

"The Russian language took the place of English on the Chinese mainland. All radio stations carried Russians broadcasts; all universities established departments of Russian language and Russian literature. All staff officers had to learn Russian; and short courses in Russian were introduced in all offices. All political districts in town and country were ordered to institute "Sino-Russian Culture and Friendship Associations". The first lesson in Russian textbooks was called, "Why the Slav language is the most excellent language in the world" . . . The Russian craze on the China mainland is not a natural tendency, but is owes its success to the political pressures which the rulers are exerting on their Organization on the people. It is no joke now to say that "the Russian moon is rounder than the Chinese moon". In the new society, it is a factual statement endorsed by the rulers themselves."

As one sees, there exists in the despotism of Mao Tse-tung not the slightest sign of a supposed "Chinese Tautism". V. D.

R. L. G. Footitt:

### The Instrument at the Door

A search for reassurance in the modern world  
Skeffington & Son, Ltd., London 1953, pp. 192

It would be indeed difficult and, moreover, rather unprofitable even, to attempt systematically to present the rather vague trains of thought of this copious, but very confused, writing. In commencing from the admittedly palpable premise that "the peoples of the Western World are today carried along in a direction they would very much rather not go", the author puts the main responsibility for this upon the "western materialism", i. e. not so much any definite materialistic philosophy as the materialistic view of life in general. In this, moreover, he takes up, with much courage and skill, the standpoint that the present low level of religious faith in the Western World (naturally he particularly means by that, and actually says, almost exclusively the Anglo-Saxon countries and peoples) had been caused in the last place by the lack of "magical practices", which are, and always will be, no less than a physical necessity of mankind:

In connection with that, certain mystical constituents of the ancient idealistic philosophies (Pre-Socratic, Platonic and Neoplatonic) are described — unfortunately rather cursorily and without great knowledge of the subject —, as well as those of the ancient Indian religious philosophies (Upanishads and Yoga) which seem to be preferred by the author. Whether, however, he is quite serious in expecting a "reassurance in the modern world" from an eventual strengthening and spreading of those exotic mysteries — we would rather leave open, since he, in his own appended critique of the most differing social aspects of the present "western" cultural life (business, sex- and family-life, internal and external policy, etc.), manifests no trace of mysticism or magical belief and behaves, much more, like the average British publicist, highly rational in his arguments, highly liberal in his personal biases and — whereby his book awakens a certain, however, rather painful interest — is very snobbish towards everything that is not British or at least Anglo-Saxon. This explains his tolerance towards Communism, which is extremely surprising in a "magically" inclined spiritualist, when he deals with what he is pleased to call "Eastern Communism". — "The variation between Eastern Communism and Western Communism" — so runs his opinion — "is probably more significant than that between Western Communism and Fascism: . . . The East has, for centuries, known little other than totalitarian government, and the introduction of Communism, though it may improve (!) the material lot of the inhabitants, in so far as it is more efficient and less corrupt and acquisitive (!) than previous régimes, will make scant difference to the political or social climate of their lives."

Perhaps, therefore, a saloon-bolshevism, which so likes to prattle of the idyllic life and doings of the "formerly enslaved, but now liberated peasantry in the "paradise of the working"? Or a kind of proper fifth-column action, disguised by alleged "magical" idealism, for the benefit of the communist reign of terror in Red China, as well as of the Red-Chinese "liberation struggle" in Korea? In itself, neither the one nor the other would be impossible. It is, however, much more probable that we have here a specific British manifestation — a long-lasting effect of that pro-Soviet propaganda which was being very systematically spread in the socialist circles of England, and especially in the Labour Party, as early as the beginning of the 20ies, by such people as G. B. Shaw, R. McDonald, the two Webbs, even H. G. Wells, who were not communists themselves, and even bitterly condemned and combated the political activities of the communist party in Great Britain.

It is the very ignorance and the ruthless prejudice which the author reveals in his comical arguments in favour of an "Eastern Communism" which render a conscious and intentional falsification of the facts in question scarcely possible; a secret communist agent would have thought his ideas over better. V. D.

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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

P.O. Box 70, Munich 53 :-: Phone: 59 15 51 :-: Germany

Editorial Staff: Chief Editor: Dr. D. Balkanski;

Editor responsible: K. W. Orlicky.

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Yearly Subscription \$ 2 or Shillings 12.  
Remittances to: Süddeutsche Bank, Munich,  
Account No. 10 707, Dr. O. Wintoniak (A.B.N.)