

STALIN DIES: RUSSIA MARCHES ON

800 YEARS
OF
RUSSIA'S MARCH
TO
WORLD CONQUEST
by
OLEH MARTOVYCH

Foreword by

JOHN F. STEWART

Chairman, Scottish League for European Freedom

March 1953

Price, 1/6

SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

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FOREWORD

The following pages are of absorbing interest, and come at a time when again the attention of the world is focused on Moscow, and the world is wondering what, if any, change there will be in Russian policy towards the rest of the world.

Instead of giving my own or anyone else's opinions, I am giving historical facts from which any person of average intelligence ought to be able to form an opinion for himself, that is, if he cares to think at all.

Here are some words which are not mine but those of a Russian dignitary of the highest authority. They are from the Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartorisky, a member of the Russian Imperial Court, an intimate friend of the Grand Duke Alexander, a confidant of the Tsar Paul, and a Russian Ambassador. He lived from 1770 to 1861, and his Memoirs were published in 1888. Here we are:—

“The Czars of Moscow had the instinct of conquest from the reign of Ivan the Cruel: they employed artifice and violence by turns, and succeeded with rare ability in AUGMENTING THEIR TERRITORY AT THE EXPENSE OF THEIR NEIGHBOURS. It was under Peter the Great, however, that Russian policy first assumed that decided and stable character which it has retained to this day.

All the objects which Russia pursues unceasingly, with indefatigable perseverance, amounting to nothing less than the SUBJUGATION OF THE GREATER PART OF EUROPE AND ASIA, were already conceived and designated to his successors by Peter the Great. The impulse which his iron will gave to the nation still continues, and, by an extraordinary concourse of circumstances, Russia has come alarmingly near to the attainment of his object without Europe having succeeded in stopping her. Internal difficulties from time to time may have retarded her progress, but the spirit of Peter still hovers over his Empire, and his pitiless ambition still lies at the bottom of every Russian heart.”

Surely that is plain enough!

Here is another commentator:—

“Concerning the principal points and matters of State wherein the sovereignty consisteth (as the making and annulling of publik laws, the making of Magistrates, power to make war or league

with any foreign State, to execute or to pardon life with the right of appeals in all matters both civil and criminall) they do so wholly and absolutely pertayne to the Emperor and his Council under him as that he may be said to be both the SOVEREIGNE, COMMANDER AND EXECUTIONER of all these. For as touching any law or publik order of the Realme it is ever determined of before any publik assembly or Parliament be summoned. .

. . . . They (subjects) are kept from travelling that they may learne nothing or see the fashions of the counties abroad. You shall seldom see a Russe a traveller except he bee with some Embassadour or that he makes an escape out of his Countrie which he can hardly doe by reason of the Borders which are watched so narrowly and the punishment for any such attempt which is death if he has been taken and confiscation of all his goods."

The foregoing is an extract from *The Russe Commonwealth* by Dr Giles Fletcher, British Ambassador to Russia, 1588 to 1589.

A volume of extraordinary interest to the student of Russian affairs has just been published. It is a translation of the *Journey for our Time*, by the French Marquis de Cuistine, an experienced, observant and acute traveller of the early nineteenth century. He made the almost unique voyage to and travels in Russia, and his observations amply confirm all that Prince Adam and Dr Fletcher say.

At the moment of writing Stalin "The Great Father and Teacher" has died, and controversy is going on as to the possibility of a change of policy. Reading the bare facts set out by Oleh Martovych, and pondering Russia's history since she came into the light of day 800 years ago, no intelligent reader will expect that Russian policy will be changed a hair's breadth; methods may change but not the goal. If our Silvermans, Zilliacuses, Shinwells, and Deans think that, by "approaches" to Moscow, assisted by numerous "Peace Meetings" they will change Russian nature as it has been for so many centuries, they are wrong.

As to Russia now being ruled by a triumvirate, I would draw the attention of the reader to the fact that at *no* time has Russia been ruled by any other than *one absolute sovereign*. The Russian does not understand anything else, and would not welcome any attempt to change him by outsiders who have no business to interfere.

The world is becoming alarmed at the strength of the Russian Navy and the Russian control of the Baltic.

From 1939 I have consistently warned our people of the immense danger to us, especially in allowing Russia to seize the strategic parts of Finland, the Baltic States, East Prussia, Danzig and part of Poland— all abutting on to the Baltic. I was de-

nounced and told that, under Russian control it would be so easy for us to enter to trade with that great country. It was in vain that I pressed that the last thing Russia wanted was to provide facilities for trade, and that in regard to Finland and the Baltic States especially she would construct enormous fortifications and naval, air and military bases from which she could decimate this country in a matter of hours. I was told I was prejudiced and knew nothing about it. But it has all come true. Only one single national newspaper in the whole of Great Britain would give me the hospitality of its columns to make public my warnings—all the others were pro-Russian to the last degree. Russia, of course, never AUGMENTED her territory at anything like the speed and extent she did during the paternal collaboration of Roosevelt and Churchill—Mongolia, Korea, Kurile Islands and the rest of Asia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, the Danube Basin, Finland, the Baltic States, East Prussia, Danzig, Koenigsberg, East Germany, Berlin—the imagination boggles at what Stalin must have thought. If anyone ever had fairy Godmothers, surely it was Stalin. He must have often thought he was dreaming. I was told—"What else can we do, it would mean war with Russia." Could *anything* have been worse than as we are now? And it was all foreseen.

We are reaping what we have sown. We have practically the same politicians in power; are they worthy of it? They made a terrible blunder about the Baltic, and, now they see the Russian menace drawing near, they fall back on such useless contrivances as UNO, NATO, and, of all things, TITO, to help to resist a Russian invasion! There is nothing to stop a Russian invasion of Yugoslavia; although the Croats and Slovenes are strongly anti-Russian, alone they are too weak to matter, while it is in the highest degree improbable that the Serbs would wish to fight any kind of Russian regime, and a Russian army would sweep across Serbia without a hand being raised against it. Pro-Russian gratitude for Russian liberation from Turkish rule is still too strong, and Tito is not Stalin, nor has he the least popular support in any part of Yugoslavia. It would not have occurred to any Foreign Secretary except one of the calibre of Mr Eden to look to Tito for support. The only fit comparison I can think of is Mr Eden as Mrs Partington using Tito as the brush with which to sweep back the oncoming tide of Russians.

As to which of the Moscow triumvirate, Malenkov, Molotov or Beria, coming on top, my guess is the one who is the most expert liquidator, or, to use an American expression, the one who is quickest on the draw.

JOHN F. STEWART.

800 Years of Russia's March to World Conquest.

In 1943 at the time of the American-Soviet "honeymoon," a top-ranking official in the White House declared: "Never in all her history has Russia conducted any aggressive wars, but, on the contrary, she has been the victim of many foreign aggressions."

This opinion is belied by the entire 800 years history of Russia. In fact, she has always applied an expansive and aggressive policy towards her neighbours. Even in the last 200 years of Russian history nearly 128 years were devoted to wars, 101 of these in wars of conquest and only four and a half in wars of defence.

Moreover, after having conquered her neighbours, Russia systematically applied a policy of oppression and persecution aimed at their total political assimilation and economic exploitation. Russia used such political methods against all non-Russian peoples, whether she was under the rule of an orthodox autocratic Tsar or an atheist totalitarian dictator.

Further, Russia continually attempted to enforce an ideological expansion beyond her own political borders, in order to find supporters in the neighbouring states when the time of aggression came. "Gathering up of all Rus lands" was the first ideological slogan in the service of Russian imperialism by which Muscovy tried to come into possession of Ukrainian and White Ruthenian lands and to become modern "Russia." By proclaiming herself a "Third Orthodox Rome," Muscovy made herself the protector of all Orthodox people and could speak of "liberating" Constantinople from the hands of the infidels, and of placing the cross on the dome of the church of St. Sophia. By proclaiming herself "the protector of Slavs" Russia wanted to arouse and use the Slavic peoples in the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian Empires for the growth of Russian imperialism. Everybody knows that Tsarist Russia distributed millions of roubles for the propaganda of all these ideological bluffs.

All the ideological slogans: "Unity of the Rus lands," "Orthodoxy," and "Pan-Slavism," were outbidden by a new slogan of universal appeal which would attract people all over the world. The post-Revolutionary Russia of Lenin and Stalin found a successful slogan in the universal solidarity of the proletariat, united by the Communist creed. Such a slogan gives every opportunity for Russian Imperialist propaganda to spread throughout the world, and not only in the Slav or Orthodox countries. Using "World revolution" and "Liberation of all working classes," Russian Imperialism finds its supporters in all countries and, consequently, the Communist parties of the entire

globe have become Moscow's fifth column, the task of which is to make easier for Russia the conquest of the entire world.

To-day, there is no doubt that Russian imperialism is a definite threat to the world's stability and to lasting peace. The Russian aim is very simple. It is to destroy the very foundation of the democratic world order and in its place to impose the Russian Imperialist Order. It means the conquest of the democratic world by Russia. According to the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the Communist creed, skilfully used by Moscow, requires the establishment of Communist dictatorship throughout the world. This aim is unchangeable, but Russian strategy and tactics are altered in accordance with the estimate of the world situation. The establishment of Communist dictatorship throughout the world, according to Communist teaching, may be achieved by two means: (1) Class warfare—that is to say, uprising of working classes within states which are not Communist; (2) Conquest by the Soviet Union of non-Communist neighbouring states, followed either by annexation or the installation of puppet governments directed from Moscow.

Russian Imperialism is on the march. While posing as the "friend and defender of the small nations" it attacked Finland and absorbed part of its territory; seized and incorporated Western Ukraine, Western White Ruthenia, Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Baltic States into the Soviet Union; imposed Communist dictatorship in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugo-slavia, Albania and Bulgaria. Beyond the sphere of its direct control, in Italy, France and Spain, it attempts to gain the control of the governmental machinery, by means half democratic and half forceful. Italy is the centre of its organised anti-religious campaign. In France the Communists are trying to get control of the government through the labour unions. In Spain they are supporting an underground movement. In Germany they are supporting German Nationalists, often former Nazi, in order to gain control over all of Germany by their support. All this is done to gain control of Western Europe and to communize it. By attacking Greece, Russian Imperialism strives to gain access to the Mediterranean Sea. By advancing in China it strives to become the master of the whole of Asia. As conquest of the world is the objective of the Russian Imperialism, no nation lies outside the scope of its ambition. Wherever it can advance with impunity (China) it advances. Wherever it encounters serious resistance (Turkey, Iran, Berlin), it tries another area. In this mighty contest so far, Russian Imperialism has taken the aggressive, while the Anglo-Saxon democracies are playing a defensive game.

Unfortunately, in the Anglo-Saxon world one often comes across some erroneous views, even among the most determined opponents of Communism, which must be corrected. Many people still think of the "appeasement" of Russian Imperialism, and every tactical move of the Kremlin gives them new hopes for the peaceful settlement of all affairs with the Soviet Union. Such people need to make acquaint-

tance with Stalin's "Mein Kampf"—"Problems of Leninism" (English edition, Moscow, OGIZ, 1939) and to find out there that all attempts at appeasement of the Kremlin will not satisfy Soviet Russia, but will increase its political appetite. Other people think that the present threat to International relations lies exclusively in Communism, and not in Russian Imperialism, and that the Russian people, on the contrary, are peace-loving and without Imperialistic ambitions. For example, some influential people in the United States are apparently anxious to repeat once again all the mistakes made in the past years by British and French policies. They are collecting in the United States White-Russian emigres of all kinds really believing that these representatives of the old Russian Imperialism would be able to overthrow Bolshevism in Russia, and establish a just democratic order exterminating all brands of Russian Imperialism.

The purpose of this article is to show that Russia, throughout the 800 years of her existence, has been an aggressor state. Imperialist expansion of Russia did not commence with the absorption of the Baltic States in 1939-1940, or with the subjugation of many others in 1945-1949, but commenced as early as 1169 with the sack of Kiev in Ukraine, and its present brand is only the continuation of that centuries-long Russia's march for the conquest of the world. The plans of Russian Imperialists of past centuries and the plans of the present Red Kremlin bear a close affinity. The difference between the new and the old imperialisms lies only in the fact that Tsarist Imperialism was less dynamic, less universal, and therefore less dangerous than the Soviet brand, which in its amorality is more unscrupulous, in its communism more universal, and in its results more dangerous to the world.

In their numerous memoranda, letters, and articles, the White-Russian emigres tirelessly emphasize the idea that the present government of Moscow has nothing in common with the Russian people. The latter, they hold, suffer a despotic slavery and totalitarian persecution at the hands of the Kremlin clique. Actually, the expansion of Tsarist or Soviet Russia by means of aggressive action against her neighbours ignored the internal welfare of her population; the Tsarist Russia of Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, and Catherine II, like the Communist Russia of Lenin-Stalin, has always been an empire of beggars. Never have the Russian people had another regime than one of "despotic slavery and totalitarian persecution" throughout the 800 years of their history. The short-lived attempt of Mr. Kerensky at the establishment of democracy in Russia proved totally unsuccessful and the Russian democrats were expelled from the country by a new brand of patriotic Russian nationalists. Overnight, Ivan the Terrible, one of the most cruel despots the world has ever known, became a national hero. So with Alexander Nevsky, Dimitr Donskoy, Minin Pozharsky, Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, General Suvorov, General Kutuzov, and scores of others whom the Soviets revived as the great and immortal builders of the present Russian empire.

This turn about is one of the main reasons why so many White Russian emigres in Europe have voluntarily returned to Soviet Russia ; they were convinced that " Stalin is doing a great patriotic work for Russia." It is also a fact that the Imperialism of Soviet Russia always found a sympathetic response among the Russians throughout the world, even among those who are opposed to the doctrine of Communism, including the Russian Orthodox Church.

Still another erroneous view must be corrected. Many people among the Anglo-Saxons identify the ancient Ukrainian Kievan State Rus with medieval Muscovy and modern Russia. The two terms are not identical. From the old Kievan Rus came not modern Russia but Ukraine. " Russia " is an artificial name which appeared only in 1713, when Peter I, the founder of the modern Russian Empire, issued an ukaz, by virtue of which his state, formerly known under the name of Muscovy (Moscovia), was renamed Russia (Rossiya) and his subjects became Russikye. " Rossiya " had been used by the Greeks to designate the ancient Kievan State of the Ukrainian people —Rus. After the Tsar's ukaz giving Muscovy a new name, Russian diplomats abroad received instructions to persuade and even bribe foreign officials and journalists to use the new name exclusively. The purpose of this renaming Muscovy into Russia was finding a basis for seizing from Poland the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian lands which had once belonged to the Ukrainian Kievan Rus.

Even if there exists some knowledge of the history, culture, and national relationships in Eastern Europe, Russians and Ukrainians are treated in America and in Western Europe as " the Russian people." In fact the Russians and the Ukrainians are racially two distinct peoples. The Russian stock arose from a mixture of eastern Slav tribes with Finnish and Mongol tribes, while, on the other hand, the Ukrainian stock was exclusively of Slav formation closely akin to their Western neighbours. The distinction between Ukrainians and Russians manifests itself in language, physical appearance and structure, national character and culture, in customs and habits, and in historical tradition.

We will trace the growth of Russian Imperialism and show that, from the time of Andrey Bogolubsky to the present, Russian policy has been consistent. It encouraged the Tsars to push their military conquests to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south. It sharpened their conflicts with neighbours and inspired their efforts to steady expansion of the Russian state over the non-Russian nations in all possible directions.

In 1169 Prince Andrey Bogolubsky sacked the city of Kiev ; he could be sure that for decades, if not longer, Kiev would not be able to rise again from the ruins and dare to threaten his hegemony. It was the first foreign conquest of newly born medieval Muscovy and the first step of Russia's march toward the conquest of the world.

In the next century Moscow fell for some centuries under the power of the Mongol empire and the Golden Horde. The Moscow

princes were clever in winning the favour of the Tatar Khan. They married the daughters of the Asiatic conquerors and Asiatic influences and imperial traditions affected the thought of the Russians. Ivan III, better known as Ivan the Great, looked on himself as the protector of the Eastern Orthodox faith after Constantinople had fallen to the Turks in 1453, and was the first ruler to give himself the title of Tsar, which is the Russian form of "Caesar." The Kremlin of Moscow was built under him with the help of Italian engineers and architects. He attacked Yaroslavl in 1463 and Novgorod the Great in 1478, a great bastion of democracy in Eastern Europe. The Republic of Pskov fell under Russian domination in 1510. Later, Tsar Ivan the Terrible stamped out what remained of its freedom. In a barbarous manner he ruined the defenceless city, killed in cold blood a few thousands of its inhabitants, and transported fifteen thousand of its remaining citizens to Muscovy, filling their places with Muscovites.

Under Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-1584) Muscovy had been consolidated, but as yet the gateways to the Baltic and the Black Seas were still barred, as well as access to the Pacific Ocean.

The road to the Baltic was blocked by the Swedes, who held Finland. Further to the south-west the land was under Poland and Lithuania.

In 1700 Tsar Peter the Great began the Great Northern War with Sweden which lasted until 1721. His army was defeated at Narva in 1700. However, nine years later he won a decisive victory at Poltava in Ukraine, where the Ukrainians under Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709) had allied themselves to Sweden. By the treaty of Nystad, Russia obtained Karelia, part of Finland, Ingria, Estonia and Livonia (Latvia). The victory over Sweden ensured an outlet to the Baltic. In 1703, Peter laid the foundations of a new capital city—St. Petersburg (Leningrad)—which was built with the same methods of forced labour as later the Bolsheviks built their canals and railways. The capital was moved from Moscow to St. Petersburg, where it remained until 1918.

By the treaties after World War I (1914-1918) the states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, were created, and Finland became an independent state. This forced Russia to withdraw from the Baltic till the time of World War II (1939-1945). Late in September 1939 Russia demanded and obtained Mutual Assistance Pacts with the three Baltic Republics. Soviet troops were given the right to occupy certain strategic areas in these countries. Russia then made similar demands on Finland, but the Finns refused to agree. Soviet troops thereupon crossed the Finnish frontier on November 30, 1939, but the Finns put up a stiff resistance, but were defeated. On March 12, 1940, Russian terms of peace were accepted by Finland. Russia obtained the neck of land near Viipuri (Vyborg), north-west of Leningrad, and a naval base in Hanko.

The day after the fall of Paris, on June 14, 1940, without any pretence of law or justice, Soviet Russia presented an ultimatum to

Lithuania, in which it accused Lithuania and other Baltic states of military conspiracy against the U.S.S.R. On June 16, 1940, ultimatums were issued to Latvia and Estonia, containing completely unfounded accusations that the Baltic General Staffs were plotting against the U.S.S.R. Simultaneously with the issuance of the ultimatums, the Red Army was on the move into the Baltic countries. Thus Soviet Russia committed herself to open, ruthless, unprovoked aggression in violation of treaties of Non-Aggression and Amicable Settlement entered into with Estonia on May 4, 1932, with Latvia on February 5, 1932, and with Lithuania on September 28, 1926, not to speak of the Pacts of Mutual Assistance from October 1939. On August 3, 5 and 6, 1940, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were incorporated into the U.S.S.R. and deprived of their independence as well as their political, social and economic systems. The Western Powers tacitly recognised this state of affairs, as the Potsdam Conference of July, 1945, agreed that the Western frontier of the U.S.S.R. should run from the Bay of Danzig on the Baltic coast to the meeting-point of the frontiers of Poland, Lithuania and East Prussia. This agrees in principle to the inclusion of the Baltic States and of the part of East Prussia with the city of Königsberg into the Soviet Union. Never before stood Russia so firmly on the Baltic coast as at the present time.

In the reign of Alexis (1645-1676), a weakened Russia recovered its strength so rapidly that the Tsar was tempted to revive the energetic aggressive policy; some advantages he obtained. Smolensk was definitely incorporated in the Tsardom of Muscovy and great progress was made towards the absorption of Ukraine.

After the treaty of Andrusiv (1667), which fixed the boundary between Russia and Poland, there was no expansion westwards until the reign of Catherine II. Poland at this time was a weak state with authority in the hands of quarrelling nobles. This was an opportunity not to be missed by Russia, Prussia and Austria. The first Partition of Poland took place in 1772 without any strenuous resistance on the part of the victim. Russia gained the land to the west of the Dvina and parts of White Ruthenia. By the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, Russia seized the remaining part of White Ruthenia and Ukraine to the west of the Dneiper. The patriots of Poland, under their hero Kosciuszko, tried to resist, but his men were crushed by General Suvorov (a medal is named after him and is now worn by leaders of the Red Army) famous by his slaughter of the population of Warsaw's suburb Praga. The final Third Partition took place in 1795. Russia's share included Lithuania and a part of Poland. By these partitions Poland as an independent state disappeared from the map of Europe till 1918.

In 1809 Russia had a victorious war with Sweden and gained the rest of Finland.

By the Congress of Vienna (1815) it was settled that Russia should receive the Congress-Poland. It was allowed some independence, but

after the unsuccessful result of the revolt of 1830-31 this part of Poland was incorporated into the Russian Empire.

During World War I, in the treaty of Brest Litovsk in March 1918, Russia had to cede Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine. The full terms never became effective, since Germany lost the war. The Revolution and domestic War lasted in Russia from 1918-1922. Fighting developed between Poland and the new Soviet Russia in 1920. Eventually the Treaty of Riga was signed between Poland and Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine in 1921. By this Poland pushed her boundaries to the east and included Western White Ruthenia and Western Ukraine. This was the Poland we knew from 1921-1939.

During the liquidation of World War I (November 1, 1918) the Ukrainians restored their own government on the Western Ukrainian lands, but this from the first days of its existence had to defend itself against Poland and Rumania. The war between the Poles and Ukrainians was won when the Poles received several well-trained divisions which had fought under General Haller along with the French on the Western Front. The Allied Supreme Council on June 25, 1919, authorised the Poles to occupy Western Ukraine up to the line of river Zbruch, the old frontier between Austria-Hungary and Russia.

When World War II began, the Soviet Army invaded Western Ukraine and Western White Ruthenia, on September 17, 1939, despite various treaties the Soviet Union had with Poland. Fourteen countries or territories with a combined population of 24,355,000 were annexed by Russia, which established a "people's democracy" in some twelve further countries or territories, with a population of 165,000,000 or more than that of all North America. Finnish Karelia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, part of Western Prussia, Western Ukraine, Western White Ruthenia, Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Carpatho-Ukraine have all disappeared into the belly of the Big Red Bear. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania, Finland, Eastern Germany and Eastern Austria are at present in his mouth and are being slowly chewed to pieces.

Although the mouth of the Volga and the Caspian Sea were reached by the Russians in 1556 (by the capture of Astrakhan under Ivan IV the Terrible), the Black Sea Coast was occupied by Tatars, then vassals of the Turks. The khans of the Crimea were able to resist annexation by Moscow for more than two centuries.

To the south lay Ukraine and the lands of the Don Cossacks. When Ukraine, ravaged by Tatar hordes and attacked from the north, lay helpless, Lithuania and Poland encroached upon her territories; and in the sixteenth century, when the union between these two countries was cemented, she came almost wholly under Polish domination. A remarkable development now occurred. The freedom-loving Ukrainians grouped together on the islands below the great cataracts of the Dneiper and founded their famous Cossack state called Zaporozhian Sich. This was in reality the continuation, in an original form, of the independent Ukrainian nation, which existed

from the ninth to the fourteenth century and was known as Rus, with its capital in Kiev.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be considered the heroic age in Ukrainian history. It was during this period that the Ukrainian people freed themselves from Polish rule by means of a widespread national and social uprising under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnitsky in 1648. Seeking for foreign assistance to secure Ukraine's independence Khmelnitsky made a disastrous move. He appealed for assistance to Moscow, and offered to place Ukraine under the protection of the Tsar on condition that Ukraine's independence in all internal and external affairs be respected. After prolonged negotiations the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) was concluded. It created a union between Ukraine and Muscovy, with Ukraine retaining full independence in all internal and external affairs. After Khmelnitsky's death, Russia began to encroach upon the liberties of Ukraine step by step, later interpreting the Treaty of Pereyaslav as one of allegiance rather than alliance.

Muscovite troops began to settle down as garrisons in Kiev and in other Ukrainian cities, as an ostensible protection against the Poles, but in reality as an occupying force. This forced Hetman Vyhovsky, the successor of Khmelnitsky, to swing back to the Polish allegiance under the so-called Hadyach Agreement of 1658, which created a union of Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine. After a succession of wars and truces, Russia and Poland carried out a partition of Ukraine, by concluding the Treaty of Andrusiv in 1667. The Dnieper was recognised as the boundary, Russia retaining all territory on the left bank, Poland the lands on the right bank. The city of Kiev from that time passed into the possession of Russia.

The steppe-lands of the Lower Volga and the Don were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the home of the Don Cossacks. These freedom-loving people formed a semi-independent military community which professed allegiance to the Tsar of Moscow. In no case did this allegiance involve strict obedience to orders from Moscow, and the Don Cossacks had their own democratic home-rule and considered themselves independent of anybody.

Step by step, in her march toward the Black Sea Muscovy began to encroach upon the liberties of the Don Cossacks. Russian expansion on the lands of the Don Cossacks gave Tsar Peter I the chance of reviving his projects of getting a firm footing on the shores of the Black Sea. He constructed a flotilla of galleys on the Don River and with the help of the Don Cossacks succeeded in capturing Azov from the Turks in 1696; he thus gained access to the Black Sea.

The Don Cossacks rebelled, under the leadership of their Ataman Kondrat Bulavin, in 1707. Bulavin's rebellion was suppressed and its leader committed suicide. The privileges of the Don Cossacks were abolished and Don Cossackia became a part of Muscovy.

When the Northern War raged between Russia and Sweden, Hetman Mazepa decided to seize the moment to strike out for

Ukrainian national freedom. He was secretly negotiating with the Swedish king for alliance and for a clarification of the post-war status of Ukraine as an independent state. As Charles XII entered Ukraine in 1708 Mazepa joined his forces. Peter I recognised the danger and immediately directed his forces into Ukraine. The Russian army succeeded in capturing Baturin, the capital of Mazepa and massacred the garrison and the population, men, women and children. It was the veritable Lidice of that time. It succeeded also in seizing Poltava, an important city in Ukraine. Although Zaporozhian Cossacks under their Ataman Hordiyenko joined Swedish and Ukrainian forces, the decisive victory of Peter I over Charles XII at Poltava in 1709 sealed the doom of an independent Ukraine. The defeated Swedish-Ukrainian forces had to flee to Moldavia for Turkish protection. All Russian efforts to have Ukrainians "forcibly repatriated" were met with a flat refusal by Turkey. After Mazepa's death, one of his lieutenants, Orlyk, was elected Hetman and set up the first Ukrainian government-in-exile. He issued appeals to the European powers to help uphold the "natural rights" of Ukraine "to free itself from oppression and to regain what injustice and force had taken away." But these appeals led to no practical results.

The Russians abolished in 1764 the office of Hetman and Ukraine was fully incorporated into Russia in 1781. Immediately after the beginning of the liquidation of the Hetmans of Ukraine, Russia gave Ukraine the name of "Malorosseyia" or Little Russia and Russians began to assume the role of "elder brethren" of the Ukrainians.

The Zaporozhian Sich was in the way of Russian expansion to the Black Sea. It was destroyed in 1775 and the last Ataman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Kalnyshevsky, deported to the Solovetsky Islands.

The fall of the Zaporozhian Sich changed the history of Eastern Europe. It opened a window on the Black Sea to the rulers of Russia.

Soon after the fall of the Zaporozhian Sich, the Crimea was annexed (1783). The process of annexing Ukraine was completed when the Ukrainian lands on the right bank of the Dneiper were brought under Russian rule after the Second Partition of Poland in 1793.

The subjugation of Ukraine (1654-1793) and the annexation of the Crimea enabled Moscow to expand her frontiers to the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the depths of Asia.

After Poltava, Peter I hoped to continue his struggle against the Turks, but was beaten severely in the decisive battle on the Pruth River and was obliged to sign a humiliating treaty by which the Ottoman Empire regained Azov.

Where Ivan the Terrible and Peter I had failed to reach the Black Sea, Catherine II succeeded. By this time Ukraine had become a part of Russia. By the Russo-Turkish war of 1774 Russia obtained the Black Sea coasts and the towns of Azov and Kerch. After a further war the Crimea was annexed and the steppe-land between the

Dniester and the Bug was acquired together with the port of Ochakov. This was in 1792. Two years later Odessa was founded.

Further coast lands were brought under Russian rule in 1812, when just before Napoleon's invasion, Bessarabia lying between the Dniester and the Danube was taken from the Turkish Empire.

During the XIX century, many conventions and treaties were made. The discontent of the various submerged nationalities in the Balkans gave Russia an excellent opportunity to interfere in this region. The Southern Slavs, the Serbs and the Bulgarians, the Rumanians and the Greeks, in their subjection to the Turks, looked for the actual military assistance that Russia as the great Orthodox nation, protecting her lesser Orthodox brethren, could give them. The Russian-Turkish wars which proceeded intermittently for two centuries gave the Serbs and the Bulgarians the hope that it would be through Russia that they would receive their freedom.

Under the threat of war, Russia obtained the Convention of Akerman (1826), by which the autonomy of Moldavia, Walachia and Serbia were confirmed. In July 1827 Russia signed with England and France the Treaty of London for the solution of the Greek question. After a further war, in 1829, the treaty was signed at Adrianople by which the Porte ceded to Russia the islands in the mouth of the Danube and several districts in the Asiatic frontier, granted full liberty to Russian navigation and commerce in the Black Sea, and guaranteed the autonomous rights previously accorded to Moldavia, Walachia and Serbia.

As protector of the Orthodox Christians, Russia espoused the cause of the rights of the Orthodox Church with regard to the Holy Places in Palestine and sent a special mission to Constantinople to obtain a treaty which should confirm the protectorate of Russia over the Orthodox Christians in Turkey. The resistance of Turkey, supported by Great Britain and France, led to the Crimean War, 1854-1856, which terminated with the first siege of Sevastopol and the Treaty of Paris. By that important document Russia reluctantly consented to a strict limitation of her armaments in the Black Sea, to withdrawal from the mouths of the Danube by the retrocession of Bessarabia and to a renunciation of all special rights of intervention between the Sultan and his Christian subjects.

Until Russia recovered from the exhaustion of the Crimean War it remained in the background of European politics. But in 1871, with the support of Bismarck, she was able to denounce with impunity the clauses of the Treaty of Paris which limited Russian armaments in the Black Sea. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 enabled Russia to recover Bessarabia at the expense of her Rumanian ally, and the victorious advance of the Russian army to Constantinople was followed by the preliminary treaty of San Stefano, which realised almost to the full the national aspirations of the Bulgarian people. The great powers, however, anticipating that this "big Bulgaria" would become a

Russian dependency intervened and the concessions extorted from the Porte at San Stefano were revived and considerably modified in favour of Turkey by the Congress of Berlin (June 13-July 13, 1878).

The ultimate goal of Russian aggression against Turkey has always been the possession of Constantinople and the adjacent waters which connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. This policy of Tsarist Russia is still being followed by Stalin. Not satisfied with the acquisition of Koenigsberg as a port and with the acquisition of the naval base of Port Arthur, as well as with "pre-eminent interests" in the Chinese commercial port of Dairen, the Kremlin is demanding control of the Dardanelles, control under trusteeship of Tripolitania, the Italian colony in North Africa, and a base in Eritrea, the Italian colony at the lower end of the Red Sea. Another port that attracts the Soviet Union is Saloniki in north-eastern Greece. At the present time the Soviet Union, through satellite governments, controls Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania. Therefore, Soviet demands are more than a question of a "warm water port" or of "access to the open ocean" as the Soviet propaganda wants the world to believe. It is the determination of Russian Imperialism to gain control over the Near East in order to monopolise the great petroleum resources of this region, and, at the same time, to disrupt the British lines of communication and to cut the British Empire into segments, breaking its back.

EXPANSION INTO TRANSCAUCASIA.

The narrow isthmus between the Black and Caspian Seas has been throughout history a cross-road between East and West. The capture of Astrakhan (1556), the annexation of the Don Cossack lands (1707) and the annexation of Ukraine (1793) reopened the Caucasus to Russia.

Still under Peter the Great an attack was made in that direction. In 1723 Baku was stormed, and this, with Derbent, another small Caspian port to the north (Daghestan) with adjacent coast lands, was ceded to Russia by Persia. However, this gain was not very permanent; in 1735 the frontier was pushed back to the River Terek. Transcaucasia remained under Persia, whilst Western Georgia and the Black Sea coast were retained by Turkey.

Catherine the Great pushed through the Kuban region and the Nogaisk steppe-lands. However, it was after Catherine's death that the Russians were able to cross the Caucasus, to gain Tiflis and Eastern Georgia in 1801. The independence of Georgia was abolished. Twelve years later (1813) Persia was forced to cede to Russia the whole of eastern Transcaucasia and in 1828 the frontier was pushed to the Araxes River where it remains to-day.

After the capture of Tiflis the Russians attacked along the Transcaucasian depression to the West and the Turks lost all their territory north of Batumi by 1829 (Treaty of Adrianople).

It was one thing to have the Caucasus territory ceded by a power and another thing to break down the resistance of the Northern Caucasian mountaineers. The resistance of the Northern Caucasian guerillas was supported by the British during the Crimean War. Only in 1864 did the Russians finally manage to subdue the Caucasian peoples of Northern Caucasus under their leader Shamil.

The manner in which the Russians did succeed in subjugating these peoples aroused world-wide protests and indignation. Karl Marx violently denounced Russian Imperialism in his articles, Russian poets Lermontov, Pushkin, Griboyedov and others were full of praise for these fighters for freedom. Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's foremost poet, made the Caucasus a symbol of the struggle for liberty of all non-Russian peoples in his poem "The Caucasus."

Russia had constant trouble with the Northern Caucasus. As late as 1878 there was a rising of the mountain guerillas.

During World War I Turkey once again occupied Batumi, and the oil region of Azerbaijan was contested by Britain, Turkey and Russia. During the Russian Revolution the Caucasian peoples resumed their fight for liberation from Russia. The Northern Caucasus broke off relations with Russia on December 21, 1917, and by May 11, 1918, had proclaimed its independence. In quick succession, the others followed: Georgia proclaimed its political independence on May 26, Azerbaijan on May 29, and Armenia on May 30, 1918.

In March-April, 1920, Soviet Russia began an aggressive war against Azerbaijan and Armenia, and these countries, unaided by the West, succumbed to Russian Imperialism. At the same time (May, 1920) the Soviet Government recognised the independence of Georgia, but in 1921 the Red Army marched in and Georgia was duly transformed into an affiliated Soviet Republic.

Turkey of Kemal Pasha fixed the present frontiers with the Soviet Union in 1921. It regained the districts Kars and Ardahan which, before World War I, belonged to Russia.

When World War II in Europe had come to an end with the surrender of Germany the world was amazed at the discovery that several Soviet Republics had been *liquidated* for their opposition to the Red Army. The Soviets announced that during the war Crimean Tatars had been active on the side of the Nazis, as were also some Caucasian races: Chechenes, Kalmyks, Karachays. After the war their republics were abolished and their population exiled to Siberia.

After World War II the Soviets did not withdraw their armed forces from Iranian Azerbaijan. Behind the lines of the Red Army a puppet government in Iranian Azerbaijan was installed, whose forces have been armed by the Soviet Union. The purpose was to detach Azerbaijan from Iran and to incorporate it into the Soviet

Union. As the sovereignty and integrity of Iran were formally guaranteed by the Soviet Union and Great Britain in January 1942 by an agreement which contained the additional promise that both Great Powers would withdraw their armed forces from Iran within six months after the end of World War II, the Iranian Government appealed for protection to the United States. After a meeting of the Security Council of the U.N. the Soviet troops were withdrawn from Iranian Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijanian "people's democracy" fell immediately after the withdrawal of the Soviet army. The fact that the Soviet Government changed its tactics in Iran does not indicate that it has abandoned its aim to control Iran. At the southern frontier of Iran lies India. In south-western Iran lie the Anglo-Iranian oil-fields and the huge British refinery at Abadan. The southern ports of Iran lie on the Persian Gulf, which is the finger of the Indian Ocean. If the Soviet Union should bring the whole of Iran under its political control, it would be in a position to strike a mortal blow at the British Empire.

But the fact of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Iran shows that, when faced by American opposition, the Soviet Government will not dare to persist in overt aggression. Perhaps it will use subtler tactics in the acquisition of another spring-board from which to leap further.

EXPANSION IN CENTRAL ASIA.

Still Tsar Peter I was intent on pushing into Central Asia. He even sent men to explore the possibility of a road to India. The region of the Aral Sea, the Amu-Darya, was the domain of the Kirghiz-Kazakhs, nomadic horsemen who were organised into three hordes, the Great, the Middle and the Little Hordes. In 1730 all but the Great Horde had submitted to Russia. In 1819 all the tribes which had hitherto been independent accepted the rule of Russia. In 1842 the lands of the Amu-Darya came under Russian rule.

In 1863 an offensive was launched against the Tatar Khans of Central Asia, and Chimkent became Russian, to be followed by Tashkent in 1865. During the next ten years the Emir of Bokhara yielded to Russian pressure, and all the old centres like Samarkand (1868), Khiva (1873) and Kokand (1875) became part of the Russian Empire. This activity made Great Britain apprehensive, for India was not far away. In 1884 and again in 1895, British and Russian representatives fixed the frontier between Russia and Afghanistan.

Central Asia really became a colony of Russia. The Russians encouraged settlement and in 1867 over 15,000 Cossacks came to live in the region south of Lake Balkash (Semirechensky Cossacks). The greater part of the territory was formally incorporated into the empire, and the petty potentates, such as the Khan of Khiva and the

Emir of Bokhara, who were allowed to retain a semblance of their former sovereignty, became obsequious vassals of the White Tsar.

During the reign of Alexander III the expansion of Russian domination in Central Asia made considerable progress. The territory of the Tekke Turkomans had been conquered by General Skobelev, and in 1884 Russia annexed the Merv oasis. The further movement of Russia in the direction of Afghanistan was stopped by Great Britain after more than two years of negotiation, but it continued with great activity farther east, in the region of the Pamirs, until another Anglo-Russian convention was signed in 1895.

The peoples of Turkestan, possessing a distinct ancient culture, were bitterly opposed to the Russian colonizers. A general uprising in 1916 preceded the outbreak of the Revolution. Despite the spontaneous nature of the uprising, the lack of unity and common goal doomed the uprising to failure, and its leaders fled to Afghanistan.

They came back to the home-country when the Revolutions reached the Central Asian steppes. The democratic governments were installed everywhere, in Ashkhabad (August 1918), Khiva (1917), and Bokhara. However, the Red Army marched in and sovietization of the country began. Emir Alim Khan had to flee to Afghanistan and Faizoula Khodjaev became President of the Soviet Republic of Bokhara (August 1920). He was shot by the Soviets in 1938.

Step by step sovietization made progress, meeting stern opposition on the part of the "besmaches"—Turkestanian national guerillas. Unfortunately, though the people of Turkestan are bitterly anti-Russian and anti-Communist, they had to succumb under the pressure of the overwhelming forces of the Red Army. A heavy blow was dealt to the Turkestanian democracy by the victorious Entente refusing recognition and giving no aid to the Turkestanian national armed forces in their fight against totalitarian aggression. At the time when another representative of Russian Imperialism, White General Denikin, received full support from Great Britain and other Western Powers, the badly-equipped and insufficiently armed detachments of anti-Soviet Turkestanian national army received no aid from Churchill, although Great Britain should have taken into consideration the fact that an independent Turkestan would once and for all stop Russian aggression against Iran and India.

Having taken Turkestan into her possession, Soviet Russia divided it successfully into five "independent" republics: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan, Kirghizistan and Kazakhstan.

Soviet Russia did not stop on submerging West Turkestan. She widened her influences in East Turkestan (Sin-Kiang) too. In view of its propinquity to Soviet Russia this Chinese province with its area of 633,802 sq. m. and population of 1,200,000, especially economically, has been under Russian influences for a decade or so. Its allegiance to China is only nominal.

The country of Dalai-Lama now attracts the Soviet Union in this area. Soviet agents are busy here and try to make the country easy for Soviet expansion.

Here, too, Russian Imperialism is on the march.

EXPANSION TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

The Forest steppe and Taiga country lying beside the River Kama and the Middle Volga was opened to Russian expansion by the decline of the Tatar Khanate, and the ancient seat of the Volga-Bulgars and Tatar Khans at Kazan was captured in 1552. This opened the way to the Lower Volga, and the Caspian port of Astrakhan fell to Ivan the Terrible in 1556. The area of the Kama Valley, that is the land between Moscow and the Urals, saw the expansion of the power of Muscovy. It meant the incorporation and the subjugation of the Zyrian, the Kazan Tatars, the Chuvash, the Mari, the Mordvins and the Udmurts (Votyaks). These peoples were the first non-Russian peoples which succumbed to the Moscow's rule.

The region lying east of the Urals, in the Ob basin, had been under Tatar Khans since the thirteenth century. It comprised the Khanate of Sibir with its capital Isker on the Irtysh. When there was a clash between the Siberian Tatars and the merchant activities of the Stroganov family, a Cossack Yermak was called in to help. Yermak began in 1581 the period of expansion into Siberia. Towns like Tyumen and Ufa were occupied for Muscovy in 1586, but the Tatars and Bashkirs often caused the Russians much trouble.

It is remarkable that the Pacific was reached as early as 1648 by a Cossack called Deshnev. He actually sailed from the Arctic through the Behring Strait about eighty years before it was rediscovered by Behring himself. However, it must not be thought that, by this time, all Siberia had been discovered.

In 1628 the Lena was reached, and the fort of Yakuts was founded in 1632. The Buryats round Lake Baikal offered some opposition, and the Cossacks erected forts in the region. In 1650, Khabarov set out into the Amur valley. The Chinese resisted him and brought Russian progress to a stop by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, 1689.

After the expedition of Chivikov in 1714 to the north Canadian and Alaskan coasts, a number of merchant adventurers crossed the Pacific and the Russian-American Company was founded. In 1796 Baranov reached an island off America now named after him. He became Governor of Alaska. By about 1820, Russian outposts had been established along the coast of North America, as far south as San Francisco. It was in California that the Russians came up against Spanish territory. However, Russia was warned off by the Monroe Doctrine, which forbade further colonization by any European Power in America. Alaska was sold in 1867 to the United States for 7,200,000 dollars.

The next important expansion was carried out by Count Muravyev-Amurski. He coveted the rich and important Amur territory. Between 1852 and 1857 a chain of Russian Cossack settlements grew up along the Amur, and in 1860 the Chinese recognised as Russian all the country on the left bank of the Amur at the Treaty of Aigun. The remaining strip of territory lying between the Ussuri and the Sea was ceded in 1860, the same year as Vladivostok was founded.

The rise of Japan culminated in the clash between Japan and Russia. In 1891 the Trans-Siberian Railway was begun. It was pushed eastwards to Lake Baikal, and then Russia was allowed by China to build the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria to Vladivostok. The line was extended in 1898 to Port Arthur. This contributed in part to the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905. The Russian armies were severely beaten in this war, and Russia had to sign the Treaty of Portsmouth (U.S.A.) by which Japan gained Port Arthur, controlled Korea and South Sakhalin. However, Russia retained the right to use the Chinese Eastern Railway to Vladivostok.

The outbreak of the Revolution loosened the ties of Siberia with Moscow. As early as 1917 an autonomous Siberian Government was established in Omsk and an independent Far Eastern Republic created in the Amur area predominantly inhabited by Ukrainians. Unfortunately, Siberia fell under the influence of the reactionary White Russian forces of Admiral Kolchak. In December 1919, Kolchak seized the reins of government from the democratic Siberian Government. He had advanced as far as Kazan, threatening Nizhni-Novgorod, from which he had a clear road to Moscow, but was beaten by the Red Army. His Russifying and nationalistic policies (while advancing he liquidated the autonomy of Siberia and of Tatar-Bashkir Republics created by spring 1918) were the chief reason for his defeat despite the support and recognition by Supreme Council of Allies in Paris.

Mopping-up operations of the Red Army against Kolchak in Siberia (1920) and Kolchak's execution caused the complete disintegration of White Armies in this area. Some White Guards units fled to Mongolia and established there a regime of Bogdu-Khan personified by the Baltic Baron Sternberg. In 1921, with the assistance of the Red Army, Mongolia was "liberated" from the detachments of White Guards, and the Mongolian People's Republic was established. Thus the huge area of Outer Mongolia has been detached from China and added, in fact if not in name, to the Soviet Union. At a plebiscite (October 20, 1945) Mongolia voted to sever all ties with China and to become an independent nation. Inner Mongolia was joined to Mongolia.

In the Far East, the independent Far-Eastern Republic survived till the fall of 1922. In October 1922 the last of the Japanese and White Armies evacuated this area and it became part of Soviet Russia. For some time the guerillas of Ataman Semyonov offered resistance but were overcome by the overwhelming Soviet Russian forces.

The fall of the Japanese Empire, 1945, thanks to American efforts, has removed a potent check against Russia's expansion and leaves her practically unimpeded in her expansionist moves in that area. The agreements at Yalta and the Sino-Russian Treaty have already yielded her the acquisition of South Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and important concessions in Manchuria and Korea. Using these as a base, the Soviet Union is in position to turn southward and bring all China under her control. To these moves, the Western Powers can offer little opposition, since demobilization and revolts in India and the East Indies have placed them in a defensive position.

The colonial uprisings in India, Siam, Burma, Viet-Nam and the East Indies now going on owe their origins in large part to extensive Soviet propaganda which began in 1917, in which the Soviet Union is represented as the "protector of the colonial peoples throughout the world." The enormous growth of Russian prestige in the East speeds such a development. The rapid spread of Communism in China and the colonial dependencies of the Western Powers is already threatening the foundations of the colonial empires, is placing them on the defensive in these areas, and has rendered them vulnerable to a Soviet attack.

On the other hand it is clear that by the recession of the Kurile Islands in the Japanese chain and of Port Arthur and Dairen in Manchuria, as well as access to them by means of the South Manchurian Railway, Russian Imperialism was granted the possibility to lay the basis for competition with the United States of America as an oceanic power. The vital American interests are threatened now by Russian Imperialism. For this strange and bitter fruit of victory the people of the United States have to thank those who based American foreign policy on appeasement of Stalin.

EXPANSION TO THE NORTH.

Towards the north and north-east of Moscow the early Russian colonization was attracted by furs. These, together with walrus ivory and sealskin had lured the Novgorod merchants into the northern forests. However, in the fifteenth century the search for salt was a further quest. In this the monasteries played their part.

One source of salt was at Solovetski, on an island in the White Sea, founded in 1436, now renowned throughout the world for its Soviet slave-labourers' camp.

The northern route-way was discovered accidentally and rather unexpectedly in 1553, when seamen came here from England. This was Richard Chancellor in search of the north-east passage to "Cathay" (China). As a result, trade relations were established between Britain and Russia, the English-Muscovy Company was formed, and Archangel was founded in 1584 to deal with this trade.

The outlet to the " cold " White Sea did not satisfy Tsarist Russia. New impulse to the expansion to the north was given only when the Soviet regime was established in Russia.

One of the first large projects of the Soviet Government was to build a canal from the Baltic Sea at Leningrad to the northern port of Sokola on the White Sea. This was started in 1931, and in under two years the Baltic-White Sea Canal was constructed. The chief man-power used to this work consisted of slave-labourers.

In 1932, the Soviet Government set up the Northern Sea Route Administration under the pioneer of the Arctic, Otto Schmidt. Now, thousands of tons of freight leave the Ob, Yenisei, Lena, Kolyma and Indigirka via the Northern Sea Route.

" Modern Age Moves North " wrote the Soviet newspapers when the ice-breaker " Sedoff," under the leadership of Captain Badigan reported on August 29, 1939, that it had drifted to latitude 86°39' North, and longitude 47°55', the farthest North ever reached by vessel. This is about 250 miles from the North Pole.

The Arctic Sea is now " Mediterranean " Sea and is assuming great strategic importance. The fact that the U.S.A. is on the other side of the North Pole from the Soviet Union was brought to light quite forcibly in 1937 by the Soviet flyers. However, when Chkalov, Baidukov and Belgakov flew from Moscow to Portland, Oregon (U.S.A.), by crossing over the North Pole it was not to break records.

In the struggle for control of the air, the U.S.S.R. already has bases in Germany from which heavy bombers can attack London. Moscow is eyeing Polar bases with a view to bombing attacks against North American positions over the Arctic Sea. Stalin has made claims to Spitzbergen.

What next ?

WHAT NEXT ?

Confident of her new-found power, Russia is again, as in the past, on the march. Combining her traditional imperialist expansionism with universalist Bolshevik ideology, she makes deadly attacks on the Western World, attempting to conquer new areas by the use of fifth columns, agents, propaganda, and economic, political and diplomatic pressure. She is preparing a wide programme of military conquest. The points of friction are numerous—Berlin, the Balkans, Greece, the Dardanelles, Turkey, Iran, India, China, are some of the sore spots. About these and the continent of Europe the flames of the World War III may sear.

The " appeasement policy " cannot, of course, secure peace. The Russian colossus, with its immense resources and man-power, plus

its rapid strides in technology and industrial production will sooner or later be able at least to equal, if not to outproduce, its rivals. When this goal is reached, Russia will be ready for a war conflict.

The Western Powers can talk with Russia only with the words of a strong fist and with such words as they used in their talks with Hitler. This reality should be grasped by the Western Powers, and the sooner this is done the better are the chances that Russian Imperialism will finally be checked in its grandiose drive for the conquest of the globe.

In doing that, the Western Powers must welcome any machinery which aims at the destruction of Russian Imperialism. The oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia united in the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (A.B.N.) aim at it. They can be most valuable allies of the Western Powers in the fight against Russian Imperialism. In case of their liberation from under the Russian yoke they would be a cornerstone of political stability and peace, not only in Europe and Asia, but consequently in the entire world.

Therefore, the Western Powers should take into consideration the existence of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations not only as a political reality, but as a potential ally in the future.

The Great Revolution of 1917 opened the doors to freedom for all the subject peoples under Tsarist rule. Not only the Caucasian peoples but also Finland (December 6, 1917), Estonia (February 24, 1918), Latvia (November 18, 1918), Lithuania (February 16, 1918), Poland (November 11, 1918), Ukraine (January 22, 1918), White Ruthenia (March 24, 1918), Kubania (November 9, 1917), Don Cossackia (May 4, 1918), proclaimed their independence. Finnish and Tatar peoples in the Volga basin, the peoples of Kazakhstan and Turkestan experienced a great national revival. Siberia and the Far East loosened their ties with Moscow, becoming autonomous states. Unfortunately, on the ruins of Tsarist Russia there sprang up a new Imperialistic power "Red Russia"—the mighty base for the world revolution. The first victim of "Red Russia's" aggression was Ukraine; White Ruthenia, Don, Kubania, Caucasia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and Georgia followed. From this pogrom of democracies in Eastern Europe, only Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland were saved partly because of the exhaustion and weariness of the Red Army after the fights in Ukraine, Cossackia and the Caucasus.

It must be emphasised here that a heavy blow to Ukrainian and Caucasian democracies in the military-strategical field was dealt by the Entente and its satellites. Churchill granted millions of tons of war material and millions of financial means in full support of Denikin's White Russian Tsaristic Army, and induced France in the Crimea to do the same to General Wrangel, who was even then recognised as the Provisional Government of "Russia." Thus, the

young Ukrainian and Caucasian Democracies, with their improvised and badly equipped armies were compelled to fight a war on two fronts, against the Communist aggressors in the North, and against the reactionary aggressors of Denikin and Wrangel on the other fronts. Ukraine was faced with an even worse situation, as the Ukrainian army was forced to fight on four fronts, against the Bolsheviks, Denikin, Poland and Rumania. With the blessing of France, the Polish army opposed the right of self-determination of Western Ukraine (which had on January 22, 1919, united itself with Ukraine) and invaded Western Ukraine in alliance with the Rumanian troops.

•The direct consequence of British and French, and, later, American policy, is an agonised and shattered Europe and countless millions of inoffensive men, women and children brutally massacred or enslaved. And Britain, France, and, in a less degree, America, have not learned their lesson, and trifle with useless " Talks," while Russia marches on, silently sometimes, but marches.

