

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

World Anti-Communists Meet



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Presidium of the 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Taipei, November, 1964.		
In the chair: Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, President of the League for 1964.		

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Politics And Conscience

In our addled times, the question of the relation between politics and morality may call forth, from some readers, a condescending smile, if not a peal of laughter. In our present-day political life, crimes and injustices have reached such a degree, that a reappraisal of the concept of politics from this perspective may be worth some reflection.

The nature and purpose of politics has been variously defined from different angles and different times. A familiar saying tells us that politics is the art of the possible. But here it is simply a question of the demarcation between realistic politics and political dreaming — or rather, the setting of impossible goals.

For a Machiavellian, for example, power not only means the dogma of political functioning, but also a categorical imperative for international legal, as well as diplomatic, relations. This view of politics, even in our own brutal times, cannot reckon with general acceptance without further ado.

There have also been times when the barbarous law, “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,” was accepted for human as well as for international relations: times when the victors treated their captives according to the maxim *vae victis*, with complete self-assurance.

The mention of a few of these diverse usages, however, is not to be interpreted as an idle escape into the past, nor merely as reminiscences of a historic nature. They have been mentioned owing to their special application to our own present-day politics.

For even today there are examples enough of well-known personalities in both political and cultural life who, in the name of peace and justice, gallantly step forward again and again to speak up for the preservation — indeed for the eternalization — of the discord in the world and the crying injustices practised against entire peoples.

A typical representative of this attitude is a man who has the reputation of being a leading humanist in the field of literature and is at present a lecturer on international law at a German university. Ex cathedra he resolutely represents, for example, the “progressive” view that, once and for all, the thought of changing the status quo in the present world situation must be dismissed, even if the existing conditions are found to be unjust and intollerable by some sides. One is by no means at a loss to substantiate this Machiavellian conception. To this purpose, a large store of historical knowledge is brought forth to strengthen the thesis that in the course of time, some injustices in the past have had a very beneficial effect on the future. Upon this thesis is based the argument, that the present status quo could very likely set up international law norms for the future.

The long and short of this attitude, with reference to the present world political problems, is clear. Individuals and peoples should, in our — ah, so progressive — times, reconcile themselves willy-nilly to their present lot, and every desire for the protection of inalienable national interests should be given up. According to this view, even the barbarous Russian-Bolshevik system, which holds every moral law in contempt, inasmuch as it tramples inalienable human rights and national interests underfoot, should be unquestioningly accepted as a kind of historically

necessitated natural phenomenon. Everything else is accounted for in terms of "historical evolution", which will take care to polish off a few sharp edges to bring about, with time, a grand synthesis between freedom and slavery.

To this, one can only exclaim: *sancta simplicitas!*, whereby, however, it is still an open question whether these illuminated spirits are really as simple-minded as they appear, or whether they are consciously contributing to the annihilation of freedom and all the moral values of the Western world.

With this question we have reached the *medias res*: in actual practice, how can politics and morality really be applied together? Is it not perhaps a hopeless undertaking even to consider politics and morality in the same context? In view of this sceptical question, it can only be hoped that not all who have preserved a moral conscience and are inspired, precisely in the field of politics, to see ethical values realized, have died out. One must not necessarily be a Kantian to believe in the categorical imperative of the Koenigsberg philosopher, nor must he belong to the neo-Kantians to acknowledge himself, just as before, a believer in the validity for moral values, precisely in the field of "practical reason".

Even if one feels called upon to disown the existence of absolute and universally valid moral laws, one should not, even in our "modern times", shut one's eyes to the knowledge, that in certain periods of history and in the realm of entire cultural circles, which, at times, embraced whole continents, there are binding moral laws and ethical values, the realization of which, is, or at least, should be, the highest law of any politics.

At one and the same time this assertion represents the only fitting definition for all political activity and designates, from a historical point of view, the final aim of all politics. To reject this basic law means to deny the value and meaning of every human society, to renounce the values that make life meaningful, and to open all doors and gates to a bottomless nihilism. According to contemporary reference books, the latter is also called existentialism.

No matter how few of those who believe in politics as a calling may be left in our times, the day will yet come when politics will return to that which, in accordance with its essence, it should and must be, and not only theoretically: art and domain, not only of the possible, but also, and above all, the realization of a human community, built upon moral principles, which guarantee the unhampered unfoldment of peoples and their national creative forces in the service of progress. At the head of these principles is freedom, as well as the recognition of the national idea as the basic premise for the permanent overcoming of nationalistic abuses, from which the world of the future must be spared. W.

The A.B.N. aims to give back the subjugated nations their freedom and national independence by co-ordinating the liberation plans of the individual nations and by waging a united war on Soviet Russian tyranny.

The Strength Of Communism In Britain

I have been a Conservative Member of Parliament for over 20 years and out of the 630 members I am one of the remaining 25 who were already in Parliament when the last war ended.

When I first got in there was only one Communist M.P.; everyone liked him even when he was bad-tempered and we all took him for granted. When the war was over Russia was very popular as we had worked together and so naturally there was a huge increase in the Communist representation; indeed it increased 100% and so we had 2 M.P.s instead of one! But at the next General Election in 1950 they both lost their seats and we have never had a Communist M.P. since then. That is perhaps why, until now, the ordinary people of Great Britain have not taken Communism very seriously.

In this last election no Communist won a seat. The British Broadcasting Corporation and the Television Companies made a rule that they would only give time for broadcasting political talks or showing Television Debates to those parties who were putting up a minimum of 60 candidates; but the Communists could not find either the money, or the suitable candidates for more than 40 candidates and they all forfeited their deposits at the Election (i. e. did not get $\frac{1}{8}$ of votes cast for all candidates).

This does not however mean that there are not Communist sympathisers in the Commons on a Communist label. I believe that there are about 40 M.P.s who are left-wing Labour and who are known to be linked up with organizations definitely pro-Communist, however, indirectly.

The new Prime Minister has only got an overall majority of 4. It therefore stands to reason that he cannot ignore in his policies a group of 40 of his supporters if they choose to exert themselves. But will they? That is what nobody knows.

Mr. Wilson is known himself to be left-wing and to have been at one time extremely left-wing. He has never been known to be linked with the Communists, but many of his political friends are, or have been.

Some of those he has appointed to high government posts are left-wingers.

Whether he has done this to balance out the right-wing Labour Cabinet Ministers, or whether he has done it to silence them, again, no one knows just yet.

But it is of interest to those in Asia and Africa that his extreme left-wing high appointments include Mr. Greenwood as Colonial Secretary (with an even more extreme left-winger as his Parliamentary Private Secretary) and the only woman to his Cabinet (Barbara Castle) also extreme left, as Minister for Colonial and Overseas Development.

Will that mean left-wing programmes for Hong Kong and for our African Colonies and former colonies or will it mean these ministers must do what the majority of the Cabinet require and are so effectively gagged? Nobody can tell yet.

It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of our colonies have now become independent and work directly with the Commonwealth Minister (Mr.

Bottomley) and he is extremely right-wing, but they all need money from us and this will go through Mrs. Castle at the Overseas Development office who is very left-wing.

Such are the political factors at the moment. The Communists themselves have long ago given up all hope of real Parliamentary influence and so have vowed to wreck Parliamentary Government and through chaos also wreck our democratic system of government.

They may be able to do this through the 40 sympathisers in the new government, but they are more likely to try to succeed through ruining our economy. Already their influence has made workers discontented, brought about large numbers of useless unofficial strikes and slowed up production so much that we are losing orders abroad. As we lose these we must look for other markets where other people are unwilling to go — especially in Russia and now in Mainland China. The British people do not mind this so much as many others because, as I have said, they do not know much about Communism in Britain, nor do they take it seriously there, and they cannot see why things should be so bad in Russia and China that they should not sell to them if people are willing to take their goods. Communist propaganda all goes to encourage this trend.

How strong are the Communists in Britain? I would say stronger than their number would imply. There are between 35,000 and 40,000 paid-up members, but I am told by experts that they are better disciplined and far better educated than the far larger numbers in France and Italy. Moreover they are almost all industrial workers and many in key positions.

Their programme seems to concentrate on unrest in the docks, at airports, in transport and in motor factories, all units which contribute towards our export market.

This recent general election with its opportunity for uncertainty in government and in foreign policy may well contribute to make the situation worse and perhaps then it will be taken more seriously by our people.

At the moment there are several anti-Communist organizations — why, oh why, do they always have to be called *anti-Communist*, why should the Communists be given such free publicity by the use of their name?

All these organizations are small separate entities. If we are to crush Communism in Great Britain before it becomes really serious then we must have one united body fighting full time.

Communism And Religion

“The struggle against the Gospel and Christian legend must be conducted ruthlessly and with all the means at our disposal.” (Radio Leningrad, Aug. 27, 1950)

“The Party (Communist) cannot be neutral towards religion. Anti-religious propaganda is a means by which the complete liquidation of the reactionary clergy must be brought about.” (Stalin, 1927)

“Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality.” (Manifesto)

Captive Nations — America's True Allies

Most Americans, when confronted with the subject of colonialism, envisage white-helmeted British soldiers policing the colonial possessions in Africa and Asia.

Regrettably, most Americans do not regard the Soviet Union as the last and the greatest of all empires in history. To most of us Americans, the Soviet Union is synonymous with Russia, and Russia in our limited knowledge, again is regarded as a unified and homogeneous nation, and the Soviet republics are vaguely comparable to the states of the American Union, and that the peoples of the USSR are really "Russians".

Such general misconceptions have been largely instrumental in our approach towards the Soviet Union and our dangerous course in foreign policy tending towards complete political accommodation of the mortal enemy which is the Soviet Union.

Our present Administration in Washington is playing down the captive nations, despite the fact that the U.S. Congress passed the "Captive Nations Week Resolution" in 1959. Our State Department has been exerting heavy pressure upon Congress not to implement the Flood Resolution calling for the establishment of a permanent Committee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives.

This policy of appeasement of the Kremlin tyrants is based on the fallacious assumption that Moscow is sincere in her advocacy of "peaceful coexistence" and that the satellite countries of Central and Eastern Europe are swaying away from the Kremlin and are becoming more independent of Moscow every day. Hence, we should trade with the satellite countries, have cultural exchange with them and provide them with economic assistance, such as the sale of wheat to the Soviet Union by this country.

Thus, instead of helping *the captive nations*, we are helping *their captors*, the *communist governments*, thus solidifying their hold over the enslaved peoples.

Such a policy of accommodation will have disastrous results not only for the captive peoples themselves, but the whole free world. The resistance of the captive peoples, which has long been a powerful deterrent to Soviet Russian aggression, might be weakened to the point where it would cease to be a factor in the calculations of the Kremlin overlords. This would leave the Kremlin and its subservient puppets free to undertake further aggressive adventures against a West already considerably weakened by dissensions in NATO.

Russia is guilty of violating the independence of nine Central and Eastern European nations made captive since the end of World War II — Albania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Rumania.

Russia is guilty of forcibly depriving the captive non-Russian nations of the promised right of self-determination and of destroying the formerly independent states of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Cossackia, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural and Turkestan.

Communist Russia is guilty of fomenting Communist intrigues and infiltration in Cuba and in all other countries of Latin America.

Communist Russia is guilty of mass genocide committed on the non-Russian nations, and it is guilty of barbarous persecution of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Protestantism, Judaism, Buddhism and Islamism.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States, in speaking at the unveiling of the Ukrainian monument in honour of the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, in Washington, D. C., declared:

“In the nations of East and Central Europe, in the non-Russian nations of the USSR, and in Russia itself, where the poetry of Shevchenko is well known—there are millions of individual human beings who earnestly want the right of self-determination and self-government. His statue, standing here in the heart of the nation’s capital, near the embassies where representatives of nearly all the countries of the world can see it, is a shining symbol of his love of liberty.”

“It speaks to these millions of oppressed.”

“It gives them constant encouragement to struggle forever against communist tyranny, until, one day final victory is achieved, as it most surely will be.”

We appeal to the American people to give their full moral and material support to the captive nations and their never-ending struggle against Russian Communist tyranny and despotism. *In helping to sustain them in their gallant struggle against the common enemy, we are helping ourselves, because the captive nations are America’s most reliable and most loyal allies as they fight for the same principles of freedom, independence and justice on which this great republic was established by our Founding Fathers.*

New Eastern Cardinals

On January 25, Pope Paul VI named 27 new Cardinals to the Sacred College of Cardinals, among them the *Most Rev. Joseph Slipyj*, Archbishop-Major and Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. Along with *Metropolitan Slipyj* are two other Catholic prelates from countries behind the Iron Curtain who had been named Cardinals, namely, the *Most Rev. Joseph Beran*, Archbishop of Prague, and the *Most Rev. Franjo Seper*, Archbishop of Zagreb, Croatia.

Of the 27 new Cardinals, 17 are from Europe, 4 from Africa, 3 from Asia, 2 from North America and 1 from Latin America.

The three Eastern Patriarchs elevated to the rank of Cardinal are Maximos IV Saigh, Melchite Patriarch of Antioch, Paul Peter Meouchi, Maronite Patriarch of Antioch, and Stephanos I Sidarouss, Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria.

Despite Boom — Italy On Strange Path

I belong to a country which does not fall into the category of the under-developed ones; a country having an extensive and, in some sectors, highly developed industrial structure. A country in which economic expansion has attained such a level, that universal opinion defined its boom as the "Italian miracle". A country in which socio-economic conditions have progressed in such a way that a future historian, commenting on its attainments in the last 15 years, would not hesitate to describe them as truly revolutionary. A country in which there are no racial groups, or religious creeds, or different cultures clashing among themselves. A country having the structure of an open and free society, thriving on a market economy, trading freely with the nations of five continents, teeming every year with millions of tourists, who come from every corner of the free world.

Our country is the depository of a cultural heritage, in which the humanities are cultivated, science and technology not underrated; in which any and every form of art and thought is free to express itself, a country which, as it is generally conceded abroad, is inhabited by an intelligent people, a bit sceptical, sometimes slightly cynical, but joyous, carefree, individualistically minded, and rather hedonistically inclined in savouring the delights of an affluent society . . .

Yet this country of mine is plagued with the largest Communist Party in the Western World.

Quite numerous are the skilled labourers, the well-to-do farmers, the white-collar workers a high percentage of whom own the flats or dwellings they live in, the land they farm, the shops where they exercise their craftsmanship, who go to the polls, actually driving their own car or scooter, to cast their vote for the Communist Party or for groups of fellow-travellers. Instead, less well-off segments of the electoral body, in less developed areas of my country, may be voting for moderate and/or democratically evolutionist planks.

Plenty of egg-heads and of self-styled "intellectuals", some wealthy bourgeois, even members of religious orders consider it highly fashionable and quite coquettish to do their bit of courtship to the Communist and leftist rabble.

And not at all few, are the industrialists and the managers of State-owned and of big free enterprises, contributing in various ways to the financial means of the "commies" and their stooges alike.

None of those, belonging to the rank and file and voting the Communist ballots, would ever stomach for one single day the structure, features and hardships which characterize the type of society they are voting for. But they are lured by an obsessive, continuous, all-penetrating, massive propaganda into a dream of a world of plenty, offering them more and more, against less and less work and personal responsibility. They will not listen to arguments and probatory evidence of any kind, discounting all this as wicked propaganda of the capitalists . . . They haven't practically budged at the exposure of Stalin's crimes, at the news of the Poznan and East Berlin riots, of the Budapest massacre; they

don't give a hoot about the "wall of shame", the famines and economic plight in mainland China, about the peculiar ways by which a Communist regime gets rid of its rulers and leaders . . .

The chieftains and cadres of the Communist Party know better of course, but they feel that if and when they obtain power in my country, they will stay on top, they will be the omnipotent caste. They haven't learned an iota from the practical lessons of what has been happening to their predecessors and colleagues in the Soviet Union and satellite countries.

In truth, it is extremely advantageous to be a Communist in democratic Italy, just as well as in any democratic country disregarding the fundamental concept that democracy cannot survive wherever its enemies are free to challenge it, to bore it from within, and ultimately to destroy it.

Communism, instead, is essentially an evil scheme, a handy and convenient tool for the conquest of power to be ruthlessly exercised in a totalitarian way and not to be relinquished anymore.

In this epoch of ours, many of us are watching with a distressed heart the evidence of a flight from freedom. Most people take liberty for granted, when they enjoy it, and do not realize that they have to relentlessly fight to preserve it

Let's be frank, the masses in the world at large constantly demonstrate that they are much more keenly interested in acquiring material satisfactions, rather than in upholding principles which constitute the fundamentals of life.

And such a dangerous trend is becoming more and more evident, alas! mainly in the affluent societies.

Of those fundamentals, freedom and human dignity are the essential ones. And this is well known and deeply suffered by the countless millions who have been deprived of freedom and have been humiliated in their human dignity.

If both freedom and human dignity have to be preserved for the generations to come, for ourselves, even for those who don't realize what would be their fate in slavery; if both have to be returned to those who have been deprived of them, the scourge of Communism must be stamped out! For this essential reason the peoples that want to stay free, must unite and be prepared to fight.

Pope Pius XII Warns Of Danger

"The battle has been joined between the forces of good and evil — of Christ against Antichrist. The time for planning is past — the time for action is now."

"Militant materialism (Communism) offers false peace to lull the world into a false sense of security." (May 1956)

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery — As for me, give me Liberty or give me death."

— Patrick Henry, March, 1775

We Must Win In South Vietnam

The Veterans of Foreign Wars stands fully behind the United States government in taking whatever measures are necessary to win the war against Communist aggression in South Vietnam.

Why does the V.F.W. take this position? The answer is simple: because we believe in helping peoples anywhere who believe in freedom so strongly as to be willing to fight and die for it. And, let there be no question about it, the people in South Vietnam are fighting and dying for it every day.

The war in South Vietnam confronts the United States with one of the most important decisions in our Nation's history. One of the most erroneous statements heard these days is "we had better make up our minds whether we are going to win or get out of South Vietnam." Nothing could be further from reality. Nothing could be more indifferent to our national security and ultimate survival. The United States doesn't have a choice as to whether we win or get out of South Vietnam. We have only one course of action in South Vietnam — and that is to win. Withdrawal from South Vietnam under any conditions other than winning the war against Communist aggression would be surrender. Any form of surrender in South Vietnam would be a victory of such magnitude for Communism that it would start a chain reaction which, in turn, would undermine the cause of freedom and the security of the United States.

There is another thing that we Americans should clearly see. We aren't in South Vietnam because we *want* to be there. We are there because the Communists are there, determined to conquer, and to use it as a stepping stone to further aggression. In short, if the Communists weren't there to conquer South Vietnam, we would not find ourselves there fighting to protect it from Communist aggression.

There is another reason, too, why the V.F.W. knows that we must win in South Vietnam. Here again, the reason is very simple — and persuasive. South Vietnam is vital to the security of the United States itself. Briefly here is why:

Communist strategists picked their target well when they launched their attack against South Vietnam. They know that the outer defence line of the United States in Pacific Asia now extends from its northern anchor in South Korea, southwards to Okinawa, Taiwan, the western Philippines, and then to South Vietnam, which is the southern anchor of the line.

Thus, a Red take-over of South Vietnam would, strategically, turn the southern flank of our outer defence line in the Pacific, thus exposing the Philippines, Taiwan, and, eventually, Okinawa and Korea, to increasing Red pressure from the south.

Should this outer defence line in the Western Pacific be outflanked, it would mean that our "retaining wall" against a Communist break-out from the mainland into the fringing islands of Pacific Asia would be destroyed. If this line is broken, there is no fall-back position short of Guam and Hawaii.

In addition to being the southern anchor of our outer defence line in the Western Pacific, South Vietnam is a strategic key to continued Communist conquest of the Southeast Asian peninsula. South Vietnam, in anti-Communist hands, prevents the flow of Communist power southward from Red North Vietnam along the Pacific rim of the Southeast Asian peninsula. Consequently, as long as South Vietnam is controlled by a government friendly to the United States, the Red strategists are largely blocked from linking up mainland Communism with the vast network of islands, which, in turn, stretch eastwards from the Southeast Asian peninsula.

Thus, South Vietnam on the southeast extremity of the peninsula would constitute, if in the Red orbit, the "strategic hinge," linking the southern Pacific islands to Red land power thrusting outward from Eurasia. These islands of the southern Pacific are, in the strategic sense, closely placed stepping-stones, which, if in Red hands, would carry Communism step-by-step towards Australia. A Red attack on Australia would mean a major war.

But South Vietnam has a psychological, as well as strategic meaning. South Vietnam is, in the eyes of the Kremlin, as well as Red China, a clear-cut example of what the Kremlin call a "war of liberation." This is Communism's terminology for wars of aggression through guerrilla action and subversion. In a very real sense, Communism is using South Vietnam as a testing block of United States determination to oppose Communist "wars of liberation."

If the United States does not stand up resolutely in South Vietnam, utilizing whatever military forces and economic assistance is required to whip Communism in this test, then the Red strategists will conclude, logically, from their standpoint, that Red aggression by such means will not be opposed elsewhere. Thus, the Red aggression now pressing so cruelly against the pro-U. S. forces in South Vietnam, will be duplicated and unleashed in other non-Communist areas throughout the world. Again, the broad implications of what may appear to be a highly localized action give that action strategic importance of truly global scope.

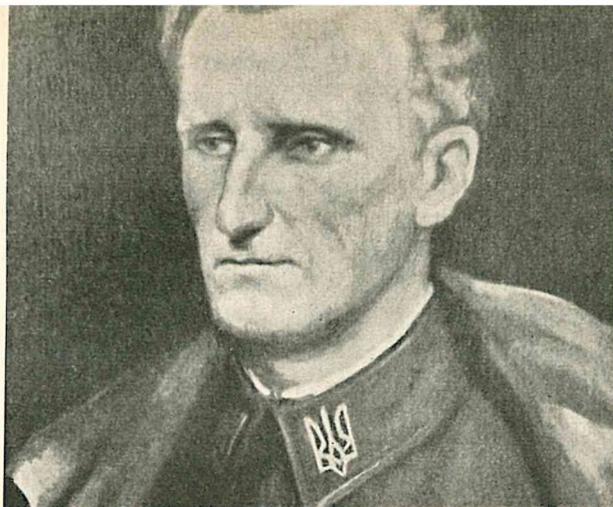
The wisdom of committing U. S. power, economic and military, to resist Red aggression in South Vietnam should be obvious to all with even a casual understanding of the high stakes involved. But, this decision to resist must be matched with the will to win. As in so many instances where Red aggression clashes with freedom, the battle is also one of opposing wills.

We must fight and we must win in South Vietnam. We must do so, in the final analysis, because freedom has no more room for retreat.

Communism uses every type of military effort to advance its forces as well as every kind of propaganda to undermine the determination of the United States to continue its war through to victory over the Red aggression. These are the weapons, military and propaganda, which Communism is now utilizing in South Vietnam.

These are some of the reasons why the V.F.W. knows the United States must win against Communist aggression in South Vietnam.

General Roman Shukhevych - Taras Chuprynka



March 5th marks the anniversary of the day on which the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Lieutenant-General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych), holder of the Golden Cross for Distinguished Services of the UPA and Knight of the Golden Cross for Distinguished Services, was killed in action in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lwiv whilst fighting for the freedom and independence of his Ukrainian fatherland against Russian Bolshevik tyranny, on March 5th, 1950.

Relying entirely on his own strength and on that of his loyal Ukrainian followers, and without any external aid whatsoever, he for many years — despite fierce persecution on the part of Russian Bolshevik terrorists — organised the Ukrainian liberation movement and secretly commanded the heroic resistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which under his leadership became renowned throughout the whole world.

The intrepid conduct of the UPA and its courageous fight in subjugated Ukraine were for the most part inspired by its heroic Commander-in-Chief, who has become the symbol of the Ukrainian fight for freedom. Chuprynka's name will not live on in the history of Ukraine solely as a legend!

In 1943 General Chuprynka also took over the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the revolutionary organization of the Ukrainian people which has never, at any time, made a compromise with any opponent of Ukrainian independence.

General Chuprynka knew that the only way to secure a victory was to rely on one's own forces. For this very reason he called a conference of the subjugated peoples in November 1943, in the forests of Ukraine, for the purpose of setting up a common anti-Bolshevik front. At the conference he addressed those present and said:

"This conference is not only of importance to us because of what it has achieved today for our fight. It has also convinced us that the matter of a common front of the subjugated peoples is not only absolutely essential, but is also a reality. We have chosen the right way. From today our fight for independence is no longer the isolated fight of a single nation, but a revolution in East Europe and Asia for the freedom of all subjugated nations and for a new order in this part of the world."

A Warning From The Grave

(Charles XII and Cardinal Mercier)

“Only where there are graves will there be resurrections.” These words (if I am not mistaken, by F. Nietzsche) have a special import in our tragic epoch — an epoch in which many leaders of the Christian West, unheeding of the testaments of their great dead, are listening, as if enchanted, to the love words of the Muscovite apostles of Satan, in the belief that only by a communication with these “apostles” will the West have peace, prosperity and freedom — a resurrection of the “good old times” . . .

What tragic self-deception! For a nation that considers its graves as non-existent and turns a deaf ear to the testaments of its great dead, there can be no resurrection.

The spirit of one of these dead, a giant, the great Swedish King, Charles XII, and that of his ally, Hetman Mazeppa was recently resurrected, in Stockholm at the time of Khrushchov’s visit, by the representatives of ABN, who, in the name of the Ukrainian people, placed a wreath of flowers on the tomb of the enemy of Tsar Peter I.

The reaction of the Russian press and of the Red leader himself showed ill-concealed fear and anger. They suddenly realized that the dead had risen from their graves. All of a sudden they felt that the flesh and blood resurrection of the seemingly-dead, warlike spirit of occidental chivalry was nonetheless possible. They, the Red leaders in Moscow, know very well that this spirit of the old chivalry was rekindled in the youngest generation in Hungary, in Rumania, in the Baltic states, in the Caucasus and particularly in Ukraine; it was rekindled in the sons and grand-sons of those who almost tumbled the monstrous Muscovite imperium during World War I and World War II.

Here I should like to recall the spirit of another great man of the occident, the spirit of a great fighter for virile Christianity and the freedom of nations — *Cardinal Mercier*: A warning against the false pacifists and pharisees of “co-existence” with the devil of the East.

The A.B.N.’s sphere of fighting activity is all the territory in Europe and Asia which is either ruled or menaced by Bolshevism. A united fighting front against Moscow must be set up on a large scale in all these countries.

Tenth Conference Of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

held in Taipei, Nationalist China from 23rd to 27th November 1964

21 member units of APACL were represented at the 10th Conference of APACL: Australia, the Republic of China, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Japan, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Macao, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Ryukyus, Somalia, Thailand, Turkey, and the Republic of Vietnam.

There were 26 observer-delegations, namely: the All American Conference to Combat Communism, the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN), Belgium, Canada, the International Committee for Information and Social Action (CIAS), the International Conference on Political Warfare of the Soviets (CIGP), the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, the Congo (Leopoldville), England, France, the Free Pacific Association, Germany, the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent, Italy, Kenya, Lebanon, Malagasy, Malta, the Na-

tional Captive Nations Committee (NC-NC), the Union of the Russian Solidarists (NTS), Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

The Australian delegation was led by the member of parliament, Mr. Kevin Cairns, that of Nationalist China by the President of APACL, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, that of India by the leader of the opposition party in parliament, Dahyabhai V. Patel, that of Iran by senator Kazemi, that of Japan by the former ambassador and Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Iguchi Sadao, that of Jordan by the Governor of Amman, Mr. Naif Haddid, that of the Phillipines by the Chairman of Parliament, Mr. Cornelio T. Villarreal and that of South Korea by the former Prime Minister, Mr. Doo Sun Choi.

The former Foreign Minister of Spain, Mr. Alberto Martin Artajo, was present and Senators, Congressmen, Party leaders, Ministers etc. came from various countries.

The oppressed peoples were represented by ABN, whose delegation consisted of the President of the Central Committee of



Welcoming of delegates in Taipei. League President Ku Cheng-kang in centre.

ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, Prof. Dr. Lajos Katona, a Hungarian freedom-fighter, and Mrs. Slawa Stetzko, as secretary. From the Captive Nations Week Committee, an American Organization for the cause of freedom of oppressed peoples, came the Chairman, Prof. Leo Dobrianskyj who is also chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee.

The delegations were met at the airport by the President of the Asian Peoples' An-

ti-Communist League and immediately interviewed by the press, radio and television.

After a wreath had been laid on the Memorial of the Unknown Soldier, a dinner was given by the President of the League, Ku Cheng-kang in honour of the delegates.

On the 23rd November the tenth conference of APACL was officially opened by President Ku Cheng-kang and after his address the first speech was given by the President of the Republic Chiang-kai-shek.



Placing of wreath on the Memorial of the Unknown Soldier

No Power Can Alter Our Decision

President Chiang Kai-shek said to the free nations of Asia that in the common struggle against Communism, final victory can be won "only if we fight together with firm anti-Communist determination and hurl back the enemy with our anti-Communist unity."

As to the part the Republic of China will play in the common struggle, the President said "the Chinese people, whether they are civilian or military, at home or overseas, in free lands or behind the Iron Curtain, are all cognizant of the fact that only through counter-offensive can we destroy the Chinese Communists, save ourselves and our people, ensure peace and stability in Asia and the world, and avert the nuclear holocaust."

"The Republic of China", the President continued, "has suffered the most painful losses and learned the most bloody lessons in the anti-Communist struggle. Confronted by the Chinese Communists and their hold on the mainland, we are dedicating all of our moral courage, wisdom and strength to the cause of national recovery. No threat will be able to shake our faith. No power, can alter our determination".

"In our fight against Communism", President Chiang said, "our morale is high and we are confident of victory. . . What we ask is that the United States no longer impose any restriction or control over the Asian peoples in their anti-Communist actions, and, if possible, give them moral and material support so that those who are now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain can be liberated. That is the only way to move towards exterminating a regime that has brought every evil to our region."

President Chiang said that if the democracies and especially the United States still decline to act and permit Chinese Communists to develop nuclear weapons, the anti-Communist nations and peoples will suffer incalculable calamities in the foreseeable future. They will be either destroyed by Chinese Communist atomic bombs or paralysed by nuclear threats. The prospect of such psychological paralysis is of deep concern to Asians."

Speaking of commando attacks on the Communist-held mainland coast and uprisings on the mainland itself, President Chiang said: "Decisive victories have been scored, one after another. Freedom fighters have risen up on the mainland. Attacks from within and without are beginning to coalesce. Never shall we evade our responsibilities or relax our efforts. At the same time we hope and trust that the free countries and freedom-loving peoples of Asia will cooperate with us closely. . . We Asians share the same fate, which is indivisible. We are well aware that the elimination of Communist evil and the maintenance of regional peace and security must be undertaken through the joint efforts of Asian peoples. From the annihilation of the Chinese Communists on the mainland, we shall proceed to pull down the Iron Curtain in Asia."

Four commissions were set up. The ABN delegation was concerned with general political questions, and problems involving subjugated peoples in the 3rd Commission and with the wording of resolutions in the 4th Commission. The former Korean Premier Mr. Doo Sun Choi and Senator Athi Nappan were the leaders of the 3rd Commission.

During three days the leaders of all member-organizations and observers delivered speeches. ABN's speech caused great interest in the press. Jaroslaw Stetzko was interviewed by the "Hong Kong Times" and on the following day a large article appeared in which many passages of his speech were quoted. The press in Taiwan continually

reported on the Conference and gave much attention to the freedom-struggles of the subjugated peoples. Photographs of Jaroslaw Stetzko and of the German, American, Korean and other delegates were published. Radio "Free China" broadcast an interview in English with Jaroslaw Stetzko and one in French with Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and Prof. Katona, who also speaks Chinese and Turkish. Prof. Katona is ABN's representative in Nationalist China and was one of the freedom-fighters in Budapest in 1956.

The Prime Minister of the Nationalist Chinese Republic C. K. Yen, who spoke at the plenary session, gave a reception in honour of the participants in the Conference.

National Chinese Demands To Free World

The world Communist bloc has come to the brink of disintegration and collapse and the Soviet empire is fraught with contradictions. While the troubles among the international Communist parties are multiplying, the Chinese Communists are making a frenzied effort at the expense of the people under their yoke who are denied food and clothing and whose labour is being exploited. They concentrate the limited resources at their disposal on the explosion of a nuclear device in an attempt to carry out blackmail without and suppression and threat within. Right at the present moment, they are intensifying their infiltration activities in Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia, while giving support to the armed insurrection of the Vietnamese Communists. Thus, they have been the cause not only of the expansion of the bloody conflict in Vietnam and nuclear fallout over the peoples of Asia, but also of world tension and unrest, thereby casting a pall of horror over the future of mankind.

What we expect from the nations of the free world is only to give us their normal support in our effort to destroy the Chinese Communists, not to help them nor to let them grow. For their own sake as well as for the future of mankind, it is hoped that the free nations will at least do the following three things:

1. Not to accord diplomatic recognition to the Peiping regime so as to deny any chance of political blackmail;
2. Not to let the Peiping regime be admitted into the United Nations so as to uphold the spirit of the United Nations Charter and to deprive it of the chance to use this austere body as a tool to camouflage its aggression and enslavement of the Chinese mainland;
3. To stop trade with the Peiping regime so as not to increase its strength for homicide.

The three things enumerated above are passive in nature and can be easily done, because all that is expected of the free nations is simply not to help the Chinese Communists to become stronger. On the positive side, the free nations should do everything possible to raise the living standard of their peoples and to strengthen their own national defence so as to check Communist infiltration, subversion and armed aggression.

Further receptions were given by the Foreign Minister of Taiwan, ShenChang-huan, the leader of the Parliament and the Rector of the university.

At all these receptions two speeches were always given, one from the hosts and one from the delegates.

At the plenary session the delegates and observers delivered their speeches in alphabetical order. There were such important speakers as: the former President of Leba-

non, Mr. Alfred Naccache, the former Spanish Foreign Minister, Martin Artajo, the Chairman of the Parliament of the Philippines Cornelio T. Villareal and the Italian ex-Minister, I. Matteo Lombardo.

The former American Vice-President Nixon also took part in the Conference and made a keen anti-communist speech. The ABN delegation had the opportunity to have a brief discussion with him.

Nixon Against Neutralisation Of Vietnam

This organization is ten years old. I feel some kinship to this organization because it was just eleven years ago that I visited the Asia area for the first time as Vice President of the United States. And I look around this room, and see the countries represented, I find that I have visited every one of these countries since that time, over the past eleven years. In greeting you today I thought it might be of interest to you to have observations of one who eleven years ago came to Asia, who has returned three times since then, and who therefore has perhaps some perspective as to how this great battle between Communism and freedom is going on in Asia today.

I would say first that on the plus side, that in the great battle of ideas, Communism in the past 10 years has been losing. I say that because when I was here 11 years ago, I well remember that in every one of the countries I was visiting, the Communist appeal was basically this: "Turn Communist, and have a better way of life." Today the Communist appeal in Asia is not that, and the Communists can not say, in their propoganda in the Asia, free Asia areas "Turn our way and have a better life." Communism in Asia as well as in the rest of the Communist world, has proved to be a massive failure, and the people in the free nations of Asia are aware of that failure. On the other hand freedom in the free nations represented here at this meeting has proved in varying degrees to be a success, a success in dealing with the problems of people and a success in creating a better way of life, and so this one plus factor is something that all of us can look to with some assurance today. In the battle of ideas, Communism is losing in Asia. I think one other proof of that fact is what is happening in Vietnam.

I recall when I was in Vietnam in 1956 that then the Communist appeal in Vietnam was: "Turn towards us, become Communist and you will have a better way of life." I was in Vietnam this spring; no longer are the Communists making that kind of appeal in Free South Vietnam, because it will not work. The people in South Vietnam know what the conditions are in North Vietnam and in Communist China. And so consequently their appeal is very different. It is "Turn our way, because we are going to win and the forces of freedom will eventually leave;" in other words an appeal to raw power, and nothing else.

Having indicated what has happened on the plus side, let me put the subject in prospective by pointing out what is happening in another area in which we see a greater danger. And I refer to the fact that we are meeting at a time in which the free peoples of Asia probably have the greatest crisis that they have had in these past 10 years. There have been many crises over these past 10 years. I would say that this hour of decision in Asia is the most critical hour that the forces of freedom have faced in these past 10 years. And the reason for that lies presently in the struggle in South Vietnam, which is only a symbol and only a phase of the much larger struggle which affects all of Asia and all of the world, for the matter.

Decisions with regard to South Vietnam must be made. — Since that is the case, these observations I would make: first, there is no possible alternative in

South Vietnam except winning that struggle for freedom in South Vietnam. It is very easy to talk loosely of neutralism or neutralization, of some compromise, of some accommodation, of some negotiation. These are very satisfying words, but on the other hand in dealing with Communism in Asia, and I would say also in the rest of the world, we have learned to our sorrow that neutralization does not mean what it generally has meant in the history of nations when a neutral treaty is agreed to. When you have neutralism where Communists are concerned, it simply means that the free peoples get out, the forces of freedom get out, the Communists stay in, and the Communists take over. Neutralization where the Communists are concerned is simply surrender on the instalment plan and consequently that is no solution for Vietnam. It would be simply another indication, if it were agreed to of a naive attitude on the part of the United States and other nations who would ever agree to it, particularly in view of our very bitter experience in so far as neutralization of Laos was concerned, and so looking at that struggle in Vietnam, we come to the moment of truth. The struggle must be won and whatever is necessary to win it must be done and we must have in mind, too, in that connection, that the people of South Vietnam want freedom. They have their difficulties, of course. Difficulties in so far as their government is concerned. But we must never forget that 200,000 South Vietnamese have died in the struggle for freedom. This proves that they are willing to fight for freedom and they deserve the assistance of other free nations in the struggle for freedom. Let me say, in that connection, that is as we look then at the world today and particularly at the Asian world, once this struggle in South Vietnam is won, and its freedom is assured, we have a very different picture than would otherwise be the case. Because if the struggle for South Vietnam is lost that will be the green light for indirect Communist aggression all over the Asian area, through Africa, through Latin America and other nations that might be targets. If, on the other hand, the struggle is won, that will be a lesson to those who engage in indirect aggression that the free world will not stand by and allow a free people to be taken over by indirect aggression. Now is the time to teach that lesson and teach it there, where the struggle is taking place. I would say finally this: I mentioned a moment ago that the struggle in South Vietnam is only one phase of a much bigger struggle; that battle will be won or it will be lost. I hope, you hope, we all pray that it will be won. But simply because that battle is won does not mean that the struggle with Communism in Asia is over. It will continue to go on. It will continue to go on because it is an unending struggle as long as Communism has the tremendous power centre that it has on the mainland of China. And that is why it is so vitally important that a group like this, a group of Asians with your observers from other nations in the world, continues to lead the fight in your countries, the fight in which Asians will develop the ideological strength, the economic strength, the military strength to resist Communist aggression, direct or indirect, in this part of the world. Because in the final analysis we all know: this is Asia. The future of Asia. The future of Asia belongs to the people of Asia. Those of us from the United States, from Europe, from non-Asian countries, have a great stake in the future of Asia. We have a great interest in it. But we can only be of assistance, if the peoples of Asia want it that way. The leadership more and more must come from Asia.

The Main Topics Of The Conference Were:

1) How to adopt effective measures to deter Communist aggressive expansion in Southeast Asia;

2) How to take advantage of the Moscow-Peiping rift to intensify our struggle against the international Communists;

3) How to stop the Communist trade offensive against the free world and how to carry out strictly the embargo against the Chinese Communist regime;

4) How to consolidate the free nations in Asia and Africa in order to strengthen their anti-Communist cooperation;

5) How to give concrete support to captive nations and peoples in their struggle for national independence and freedom.

The Conference passed a declaration, which we are publishing on page 24.

The ABN delegation proposed a series of resolutions, in particular those on Russian colonialism and the liberation of the subjugated peoples, the condemnation of communist murders on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the murder of Stefan Bandera, on the anti-communist world congress (this resolution was completed by ICDC), on the Berlin Wall and on the anti-communist world conference.

Before the ABN delegation proposed the resolution on the condemnation of Russian colonialism in the commission, they had collected signatures in support from Hong Kong, Malaysia, Thailand, Pakistan, India, the Philippines, Macao, Laos, Australia, the Ryukyus, New Zealand, Vietnam, and Japan. The proposing delegation was the Turkish one. A violent discussion over this resolution flared up in the commission as the ACEN (Vasil Germenji) and the NTS (V. Poremsky) and the League for the Self-determination of Peoples (Dr. de Auer) were sharply critical. It mainly concerned the recognition of the right of the Slovakian and Croatian peoples to freedom and national independence. NTS was against the term "Russian colonialism" and Dr. de Auer wanted "self-determination of peoples" instead of "national independence". Mrs. Slawa Stetzko of the ABN delegation fought these objections in a long argument in which she stressed that the subjugated peoples had won the right to self-determination through their centuries of struggle and bloodshed, and that it was a discrimination to claim the right to self-determination for these peoples instead of national independence. If the free



From the Conference Hall. From right to left: Prof. D. Rowe (USA); Prof. L. Katona, Slawa Stetzko, Jaroslaw Stetzko (ABN); V. Germenji (ACEN).

world does not support the idea of national states, it has no chance of winning the struggle against Russian colonialism and communism in the present era of national liberation movements.

Although the discussions on this resolution lasted two days, it was passed in the commission with the support of the Turkish and American delegations by 14 votes to 4.

On 27th November, before this resolution was passed in the plenary session, the representatives of ACEN and the League for the Right to Self-determination of Peoples left the hall.

It is important to note here that the Presidium of the Conference (National China, the Philippines, Vietnam) repeatedly asked the delegates and observers in the plenary session for objections and views. There was no opposition to the ABN resolution and all other resolutions proposed by ABN were also passed unanimously.

The following Resolutions were passed at the Conference:

Resolution on Preparations for the Convening of a World Conference in support of Captive Nations and Peoples in their Struggle for Freedom and Independence;

Resolution Warning against Communist scholarships in African countries and pro-

posing more free World Educational Assistance;

Resolution urging the free nations of Asia and Africa to strengthen their anti-Communist cooperation;

Resolution urging repatriation of Arab refugees in Palestine;

Resolution urging support of Laos and Vietnam in their anti-Communist struggle;

Resolution on guarding against Chinese Communist efforts to divide the free world by means of trade, economic aid, and tourism;

Resolution supporting India in resisting Chinese Communist aggression;

Resolution on the establishment of an APACL material supply centre to enlarge the scope of anti-Communist publicity;

Resolution opposing United Nations seating of the Chinese Communist regime;

Resolution urging Pakistan to break with Peiping and demonstrate its allegiance to the SEATO Alliance;

Resolution urging free world nations to guard against Chinese Communist sale and smuggling of narcotics;

Resolution appealing to the free world to combat the Chinese Communist intrigue of cultural infiltration;

Resolution urging intensification of the struggle against international Communism



From left to right: Senator F. Tevetoglu (Turkey); Dr. V. Thamavit (Thailand); Prof. M. Brelvi (Pakistan).

to take advantage of the split between Moscow and Peiping;

Resolution on Soviet Russian colonialism and the liberation of subjugated peoples;

Resolution supporting further steps towards the calling of a world anti-Communist congress;

Resolution condemning Communist murders;

Resolution condemning the Berlin Wall;
Resolution establishing a permanent APACL Bureau;
Resolution urging a SEATO peace operations Mission.

The declaration issued by the Conference and the resolutions passed cover the whole complex of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and Peking.



President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek with ABN delegates.

Thanks to ABN and other Western delegations, not only the Red Chinese danger but also that of Moscow was duely emphasized.

Of course Korea, Laos, India, Nationalist China, Pakistan, etc., feel more threatened by Peking than by Moscow. The resolution on the convening of a world conference was energetically supported and completed by Prof. Leo Dobrianskyj, who described in detail the action of "Captive Nations Week" in his address.

It is to be particularly noticed that the American delegation stood very loyally on the side of ABN, although some of the American representatives had been critical of ABN in previous years. The Americans also agreed with us on the danger of Russian imperialism. In Taipei, a front against Moscow emerged in fact just like the one against Peking. Observers had the same

rights as members of the League in the drafting and passing of resolutions.

It is remarkable that the principles of ABN were unanimously accepted by speakers from different countries and continents — and indeed through this new world conference. Many international organizations, comprising 20 member-peoples, e. g. ICDC, CIAS, etc., gave their votes for the ABN resolutions. ABN had been working with APACL for years and had suggested many observers for the Conference, such as the former Spanish Foreign Minister Artajo, the representatives of Malta, Sweden, etc..

The closing speech of the conference was delivered by the Prime Minister of Nationalist China, C. K. Yen.

Together with other delegations the ABN representatives were invited to tea by President and Mrs. Chiang-kai-shek, at which the Chief of Staff was also present. The Pre-

sident was extremely interested in the work of ABN and the liberation struggle of our peoples. He said that he followed developments in our countries with close attention and wished us much success in our struggle.

At the end of the Conference the Parliament gave a banquet at which several hundred guests were present in addition to all participants in the Conference. Jaroslaw Stetzko gave a speech on behalf of the delegates and observers, which was broadcast by radio and television. The Rector of the University of Rome gave the second speech.

Between the plenary sessions and the committees' work the delegates were shown the sights, museums, social arrangements, etc., of Taipei by the organizers of the Conference. The delegates visited an exhibition, a classical Chinese opera and a concert of ancient Chinese music.

After the close of the conference the delegates visited the island of Quemoy in military planes, which is often attacked by the Red Chinese. There we had an opportunity to inspect the fortifications and to convince ourselves of the fighting spirit of the Nationalist Chinese. Air Force manoeuvres were carried out for us, and also the landing on the mainland.

Then the delegates visited various industrial undertakings and coal mines, social services, the work of the provincial government, industrial towns, and modern villages

planned according to the agrarian reform (i. e. the distribution of the land of the big landowners to the peasants). We were shown production tables, medical facilities, schools, etc.. Everything indicated the enormous progress of Nationalist China. The Socialists from Italy and France who were present were favourably impressed.

The German Social Democrat Deputy from Berlin and the former Workuta helper Heinz Gerull of Willy Brand's Government in Berlin publicly expressed their admiration for the social reforms. The participants in the Conference were received enthusiastically by the Chinese youth and the Nationalist Chinese population everywhere. The Chinese showed much interest in the struggle against Communism.

After the Conference, the Chairman of ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, went on to Australia and Mrs. Slawa Stetzko to Japan at the invitation of the Free Asia Association. Prof. Katona remained in Taipei as ABN representative.

All participators were seen off at the airport very cordially by prominent Chinese personalities.

Greetings were sent to the Conference by the Philippine, Vietnamese, and many other heads of state of Asian countries. Numerous ABN branches and Ukrainian organizations also sent warm messages.

Resolution Condemning Communist Murders

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Calling attention to the fifth anniversary of the murder of Stefan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, who was put to death in West Germany by a KGB agent acting on behalf of the Soviet Russian Government and under the specific orders of Shelepin, now a member of the Presidium of the CP of the U.S.S.R.;

Resolves:

To condemn such tactics of murder and assassination, brought to bear against free peoples by the agencies of Communism, and especially against the freedom fighters of subjugated nations who are living in exile;

To urge the free world to take note of these crimes of the Soviet Russian Government and other Communist regimes, and that the perpetrators are increasing their power and standing.

Resolution On Soviet Russian Colonialism And The Liberation Of Subjugated Peoples

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Stipulating that in an era when empires are disintegrating into national states, the Russian empire, consisting of the so-called Soviet Union and its satellite countries, presents a conspicuous example to the contrary;

Noting that the national liberation movements in the Soviet-Russian sphere of influence constitute a decisive factor in the confrontation of Moscow, which is one of the two most important centres of world Communism;

Resolves:

To join in the spirit of the Captive Nations Week resolution of the U.S. Congress, and to express its solidarity with the free aspirations of the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijanian, North Caucasian, Cossackian, Turkestanian (Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadzhiks, Kirghizians, Turkmen) Idel-Uralian, Polish, Slovakian, Czech, Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and other peoples against Communist tyranny and Russian foreign rule, and to urge the re-establishment of their national independence within their ethnographic territories;

To speak out also for the liberation of the Germans, Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese, and the re-unification of countries and peoples divided by Communist aggression.

To warn the Western world against supporting Titoism, which is the Trojan horse of Communism, and to support the re-establishment of the freedom and national independence of the Serbians, Croatians, and Slovenians, who are now condemned to live under Tito's regime of Communist tyranny;

To demand a just peace among all the peoples of the world, a peace which presupposes the liquidation of every form of national subjugation and the realization of indivisible freedom the world over;

To support the anti-Communist freedom movements everywhere in the world — in Africa, where the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) are fighting against Communist conspiracy, and in Cuba, where the people are fighting dictatorship and seeking the re-establishment of independence and freedom;

To urge the establishment of a common front including the peoples subjugated by both Russian and Chinese Communists, and to cooperate with ideologically and politically like-minded forces of the world against the common enemy;

To endorse the mobilization of anti-Communist forces in the free countries against Russian imperialism and Communism, and to promote national liberation revolutions to overthrow the Communist tyranny without atomic war;

To support members of the U.S. Congress in their efforts to establish a standing committee to deal with the problems of peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and by Communism, and to establish a Freedom Academy to serve the cause of national liberation.

Declaration Of The Tenth Conference Of The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League

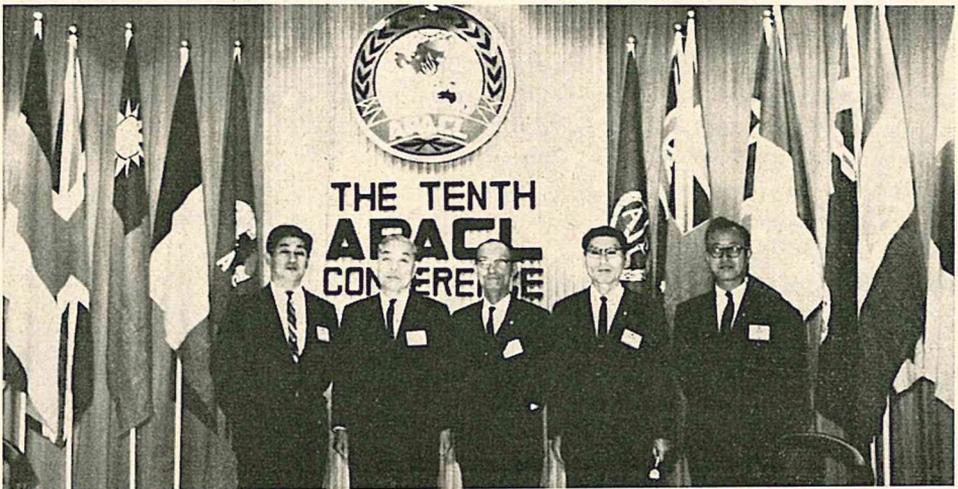
Meeting as we do soon after the ouster of Nikita Khrushchev and the Chinese Communists' first atomic explosion, and faced as we are with momentous changes in the international situation, we, the delegates of APACL member countries from Asia, Africa, and Australia, and observers from all parts of the world, have carefully reviewed our anti-Communist strategy and tactics and are determined to take new actions to speed the victorious conclusion of our anti-Communist struggle.

The conference is deeply impressed by the resoluteness of the Chinese Government and people in their anti-Communist struggle and by their splendid achievements in building up Taiwan as a bastion of freedom. The conference has the highest regard for President Chiang Kai-shek's inspiring leadership of the people of the Republic of China in their defence of freedom and democracy and in their crusade to recover their national territory.

The conference is convinced that the ouster of Khrushchev will lead to the intensification of the internal power struggle in the Kremlin and to a weakening of the

Soviet Russian grip on the European satellite countries. Though both Soviet Russia and the Peiping regime are trying to patch up their differences, it is impossible for them to do so, because their conflict arises from clashing interests and a rivalry for leadership. This shows not only a state of confusion in the Communist camp, but also the inherent weaknesses of international Communism and the accompanying opportunity of the free world to tear down the Iron Curtain and destroy the Communist menace once and for all.

The conference is further convinced that the test explosion of an atomic device by the Chinese Communists does not imply their immediate capability to develop operational nuclear weapons and a delivery system. The Chinese Communists are trying to blackmail the free world and intimidate the democratic nations into convening a summit conference at which the Peiping regime would be represented. Instead of bowing to blackmail, free peoples should denounce the Peiping regime's atomic explosion, which is not only repugnant to the spirit of the international test ban treaty,



Korean delegates at the 10th APACL Conference. From left to right: Prof. Dong Ha Cho; Doo Sun Choi (former Korean Premier); Sang Hoon Kwack (former speaker of National Assembly); Kwan Soo Park (President of Korea Chapter, APACL); Prof. Joon Yup Kim.

but also detrimental to the health of every man, woman, and child in the world, and especially to the people of the Chinese mainland and neighbouring countries.

Asia is the pivotal point of interest to the Chinese Communists. They are engaged in infiltration and subversion in Africa and Latin America, but their main effort is concentrated in Asia. In Vietnam they have been giving increased aid to the Viet Cong. The repeated attacks on U. S. naval vessels in the Gulf of Tonking and the destruction of the Bien Hoa airport by the Viet Cong reflect the expansion of Chinese Communist assistance and have brought a further deterioration of the Vietnam situation. The Chinese Reds also have been backing the Pathet Lao and encouraging them to seize all of Laos. They have been communizing Cambodia and using it as a pawn in assisting the Pathet Lao, the Viet Cong, and the Thai Communists. They have been instigating Indonesia to crush Malaysia and seeking to use Indonesia as a springboard in their drive into the South Pacific to seek possession of Australia and New Zealand. They are continuously probing for chances to embark on military adventures against India and the Republic of Korea, and in the Taiwan Straits. They are offering economic inducements to Japan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and Pakistan and, at the same time, carrying out political infiltration of these countries with the aim of neutralizing and then of communizing them. In all of these efforts, the Chinese Communists have been subjecting free Asian countries to both direct and indirect aggression. It is clear that the Peiping regime is the cause of nearly all the subversion, disturbances, and wars in Asia. Only its destruction can bring peace and security to Asia and the rest of the world. It is to be regretted that there are still some nations and individuals in the free world who are taken in by Communist promises and who entertain dangerous and illusory hopes. Some others are cowed by Communist threats and intimidations into adopting policies of neutrality or non-alignment. Still others are lured by small material inducements and fall victim to Communist tactics of division and exploitation. The

conference calls upon the free world not to mistake the nature of Communism, and to recognize that the Communist aims of communizing the world and enslaving mankind have not changed. Communism changes its tactics but not its ultimate objectives. All free people and nations need to stand firm and strengthen their unity to cope with the Communist offensive.

After a detailed exchange of opinions on the current international situation, the conference expresses admiration and respect for the governments and peoples of Laos and Vietnam in their heroic struggles against the Communists and calls upon the free nations to give them effective assistance. We support the courageous struggles of Malaysia and India for the preservation of their freedom and independence and strongly condemn the Indonesian acts of aggression against Malaysia. We firmly oppose President Charles de Gaulles' plan for the neutralization of Southeast Asia. In our view, this would only pave the way for communization. We applaud and support the assistance the United States is giving to Vietnam in its anti-Communist war. But we also call upon President Lyndon B. Johnson and his administration to reappraise U. S. global policy and especially to take a new look at U. S. anti-Communist strategy in Asia. We urge the United States to abandon its traditional policies of containment and nuclear deterrent, which have been ineffective, and to carry the war into Communist-dominated areas in order to destroy bases of operations that the Communists are using for aggression against their neighbours. In this connection, we hope and trust the United States will not restrict the anti-Communist actions of the free Asian nations in any way. It is our fundamental view that the maintenance of Asian peace and security depends primarily on the consolidation of the anti-Communist struggle of the Asian peoples and countries themselves. Treaties between the United States and the free Asian countries are of great importance but are not sufficient for the resolution of the present crisis in this part of the world. To the end of a united region of greater strength and solidarity, we

call upon the free Asian nations to establish an organization for collective security similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Such an anti-Communist alliance would be an effective instrument to end Communist aggression and expansion in East Asia. This League also endorses efforts to establish an Asian Volunteer Army from various interested countries further to serve the goal of utilizing the combined strength of the Asian peoples to defend their own region. We unalterably oppose the admission of the Peiping regime to the United Nations and call upon member nations to uphold the letter and spirit of the UN Charter by supporting the Republic of China. We also oppose the suggestion of Secretary-General U Thant that non-member Communist countries be invited to send observers to the United Nations. This would amount to back-door admission of dictatorial regimes.

We wish to call attention to international Communism's deceitful use of the media of mass communication and its employment of diplomatic, trade, and information personnel to carry out cultural infiltration and subversive activities through economic inducements and outright bribery. We urge the free nations to be more vigilant and take more effective measures to guard against these dangers, and to strengthen democratic informational and educational efforts so as to consolidate the free ideological front and counteract Communist propaganda. We ask the developed nations not to supply the Communists with industrial equipment and facilities, and especially not to grant terms of deferred payment and thus to strengthen their potential for aggression. Instead, the free nations should tighten their embargo against the Peiping regime and cut off all trade relations with it. The free nations, and especially those of Asia and Africa, should strengthen their economic cooperation and raise their standards of living to counter Communist propaganda, infiltration, and subversion.

In view of the internal conflicts and confusion among the Communists, we should take advantage of the new situation to wage psychological, popular, organization-

al, and political warfare against them. We should quickly organize an international agency to assist enslaved nations and peoples and to unite all forces of freedom in a great crusade to win liberty and independence for all those who are presently shut behind the Iron Curtain. Led by the United States, the free nations should adopt and implement a policy of liberation and give more moral and material assistance to the Republics of China, Korea, and Vietnam so they can tear down the Iron Curtain in Asia. Thus we can destroy the aggressive and tyrannical regime that has been threatening the freedom and security of Asia and making a mockery of world peace. Only if this is done now, before the Chinese Communists have developed atomic weapons, can a worldwide nuclear holocaust be averted.

The Asian peoples' anti-Communist struggle seeks the preservation of their own freedom and the safeguarding of human justice. We are wholly confident that freedom will triumph over slavery and justice over tyranny. We call upon all the peoples of the world who espouse the cause of freedom and justice to unite together, irrespective of race, nationality, religion or occupation, and to fight shoulder to shoulder against the Communists, who are the common enemies of all humankind.

This Declaration is endorsed by the 21 member units of APACL, namely, Australia, the Republic of China, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Japan, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Liberia, Libya, Macao, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Ryukyus, Somali, Thailand, Turkey, and the Republic of Vietnam. Also participating in the deliberations were 26 observers: the All American Conference to Combat Communism, the American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), the Assembly of Captive European Nations (A.C.E.N.), Belgium, Canada, the International Committee for Information and Social Activity (C.I.A.S.), the International Conference on Political Warfare of the Soviets (C.I.G.P.), the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of

Communist China to the United Nations, the Congo (Leopoldville), England, France, the Free Pacific Association, Germany, the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent, Italy, Kenya, Le-

banon, Liberia, Malagasy, Malta, the National Captive Nations Committee (N.C. N.C.), the Union of the Russian Solidarists (N.T.S.), Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.



Delegates viewing the agricultural exhibition in Taipei

Resolution Supporting Operation Of The APACL Freedom Centre

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Recalling its resolute determination to safeguard freedom and democracy by extirpating Communism, as expressed in previous resolutions on the establishment of the APACL Freedom Centre, on the Acceleration of Preparatory Work for the APACL Freedom Centre, and on Finalizing the Establishment of the APACL Freedom Centre and its Operation;

Having received with appreciation the report on the progress of the preparatory work for the APACL Freedom Centre submitted by the Korean delegation;

In hearty appreciation of the unsparing support on the part of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, as well as the wholehearted support from the APACL

member units and observers and other freedom-loving peoples which have enabled the APACL Freedom Centre Preparatory Commission to carry out preparations for the Centre despite various difficulties, and especially for the positive support on the part of the U.S. Congress as exemplified in the speech delivered by Rep. Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on October 2, 1964, the U.S. House of Representatives;

Recognizing the fact that the operation of the APACL Freedom Centre is in the common interest of League member-units and observers in defeating ever-increasing Communist infiltration and indirect aggression and preserving freedom and democracy;

Resolves:

(1) To urge each member-unit and observer to make every effort to implement the previous resolutions of the League in supporting the establishment and operation of the APACL Freedom Centre;

(2) To ask each member-unit and observer to extend further spiritual support and financial assistance to the APACL Freedom Centre;

(3) To publicize the prospectus of the APACL Freedom Centre to ensure the enthusiastic support of the free world;

(4) To express appreciation to the U. S. House of Representatives for its positive support and encouragement and to request the further assistance of the U. S. Congress so that the Freedom Centre may do its full part in promoting the interests, values, and welfare of the free world.



Chinese national costumes exhibited to the participants of the Conference.

Resolution Supporting Further Steps Towards The Calling Of a World Anti-Communist Congress

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Recalling that a Preparatory Conference of the World Anti-Communist Conference was held in Mexico in 1958 in an attempt to find ways of convening a global conference of anti-Communist forces;

Noting that the efforts of the Steering Committee established by the Mexico City conference have not yet produced sufficient momentum to bring the world meeting into being;

Resolves:

To renew its endorsement of a world conference of anti-Communist organizations and individuals;

To urge all member-units of the League and other anti-Communist organizations and individuals to do all within their power to bring such a conference to reality.

Liberty For Political Prisoners Of Cuba Demanded

I am here in representation of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defence of the Continent and also on behalf of the POPULAR ANTI-COMMUNIST FRONT OF MEXICO, which organizations correspond to a big population of more than TWO HUNDRED MILLION of the 21 Latin-American countries.

We want to present here our strong protest against the statement made in Mexico City, two weeks ago, by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, who said to the international and national newspapermen there, that "IN THE NEAREST FUTURE, THE U. S. GOVERNMENT MUST BE MORE OBJECTIVE AND REALISTIC ABOUT THE ADMISSION OF RED CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS."

Also I ask you to be indulgent with me if I demand your solidarity for my dearest colleague, the unfortunate newspaperman from Cuba, Mr. Ernesto de la Fe, our Secretary General of the IACCD, held in prison since January 1959, for the only reason and the terrible "crime" of being one of the main anti-Communist leaders in the Pearl of the Caribbean Sea. He has been tortured by the barbarian Communist agents of Castro Ruz and "Che" Guevara, who were responsible for the big treason, delivering the Republic of Cuba into the hands of Soviet Russia and Red Chinese agents. De la Fe remains at the Isla de Pinos, a big concentration camp in Cuba, in the most deplorable conditions, deliberately aimed to kill him, because they couldn't present any kind of criminal charges. You know perfectly well how the Communists of the whole world respond when one of their party-members is imprisoned or simply submitted to a trial: they cry and make the biggest possible noise, demanding protection and liberty. And we, in this Free World, are indifferent and patient, when one of ours falls into the traps of the Reds.

I ask you to send also a message to the Human Rights Commission of the U.N. and to the same Commission of the O.A.S., in favour of the liberty of all the political prisoners in Cuba.

Since 1958 when we convened the Fourth Anti-Communist Continental Congress in Ciudad Antigua, Guatemala, conditions have become worse in Latin America. International Communism has taken over the Island of Cuba where it has established a military base and a propaganda centre which has sent material throughout the entire continent. Russians and Chinese (from Red China) have trained groups of warriors who have invaded several republics in Central and South America. The commercial interchange between Russia, Red-China, and some Latin-American nations has noticeably increased. In Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru and Venezuela, the recently installed administrations have launched a timid and meagre campaign against Communism; notwithstanding notorious activities of the Cuban, Russian, and Red Chinese agents who work in smooth combination with the native fifth-column in each country.

Ironically we have observed that since 1959, governments and individuals who previously had shown themselves willing to cooperate morally and materially towards the anti-Communist campaign, have now refrained from doing so and have shown great fear of being labelled enemies of Marxism-Leninism; perhaps fearful also of the Communists who are enthroned in public offices and within private firms. Summing up we can say that the resources of the "Alliance for Progress Plan" have favoured left-wing governments and have helped develop the growing State intervention in the national economy, establishing an ever increasing number of state-controlled enterprises which compete in advantageous conditions with private corporations.

(Excerpts from a speech delivered at the 10th APACL Conference)

Cornelio T. Villareal, Speaker, House of Representatives (the Philippines); APACL President for 1965

Struggle For Mind And Heart

In so far as Communism is concerned, the talking stage in our campaign is over. The time for sentiment is past. The moment of action, of swift, determined, concerted action is here. Let us therefore make a bold move because the enemy has long started his work of infiltration, subversion and destruction. In our respective localities let us give the agents and propagandists of Communism no rest. Let us not allow them to regroup their forces nor strengthen their weakening ranks. Let us follow up our gains; let us make use of every advantage we have attained; let us not hesitate, let us not temporize and let us not compromise with the enemy. Let us extend a helping hand to those who have been oppressed and continue to languish under communist slavery.

But as I have repeatedly said in utterances in the past, we cannot wipe out this menace, we cannot hope to win against communism unless the people's faith in their government is implicit. Faith can only be strengthened if the people of a country under Communist attack are contended and happy; if such people have something to look forward to; if there is hope for a better tomorrow, of a happier and better life. The battle against Communism in any land under any flag, has always been the same: **IT IS A STRUGGLE FOR THE MIND AND THE HEART.** If we are to win this battle, it is of utmost importance that we first win the hearts and minds of our respective peoples. We can accomplish this if we who compose this organization will but set the example for the rest of our fellow countrymen — and for all people throughout the world — to follow.

Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own!
Benjamin Franklin

Cooperation And Unity Of Free Countries Required

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League has now come to a successful close. The delegates and observers assembled here, sharing the same purpose in defence of freedom, the same resolute stand against Communism, and the same spirit for cooperation, can well be proud of the following achievements:

First, the Declaration and various resolutions adopted by the 10th Conference have, in general, fully reflected the aspirations of all free peoples in Asia, Australia, Africa and other parts of the world at this momentous time of changes in the world situation.

Secondly, the Conference has made searching review for an anti-Communist strategy for Asia. In urging a more positive American policy and actions in Asia, it has demonstrated fully the determination of the Asian peoples to help themselves. It has strengthened our belief that only through closer unity and the cooperation of all free countries and peoples in Asia can the Red tide be turned, and victory be won in the name of freedom.

Thirdly, the Conference has revised the basic document of the APACL — its Charter. This has better defined our views and objectives in the Asian anti-Communist movement, and pointed out a way for the anti-Communist movement in the future.

Fourthly, an unprecedented number of delegates and observers came to Taipei for the Conference this year. Their presence here undoubtedly boosted the impact of APACL in international affairs. We have also welcomed the admission into APACL of two African nations, Liberia and Somalia, which further widens the foundation of the League.

The conclusion of the Conference, however, signifies only the beginning of real, hard work. I would therefore outline for you the principal directions in which we should all strive:

First, let us carry out the resolutions adopted by the Conference and provide full support for Vietnam's struggle for survival against Communism. We should not only supply the Vietnamese government and people with spiritual and material help, but actually bring the war to the enemy's own front yard.

Secondly, we should devote our best efforts towards cementing the unity of all free Asian peoples, in order to lead to a mutual security organization for East Asia or for all Asian countries.

Thirdly, we should give added momentum to the movement for liberation of peoples behind the Iron Curtain, so as to establish a worldwide organization in support of that goal and accelerate the support given to these peoples in their search for freedom.

Fourthly, we should urge the United States to change her Asian policy, not only to refrain from placing any barrier in the way of positive response taken by Asian peoples in face of Communist threats, but also to support us in removing the root of all troubles in Asia — the Chinese Communist regime.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Time is on the enemy's side. Now is the time for us to fight for justice and for victory. Let us, after the close of the Conference, go back to where we come from and work harder than ever on our own initiative, to overcome any odds against us, so that victory over Communism can be realized at an early date.

Thank you and fare you well.

Jaroslaw Stetzko's Farewell Speech At The Parliamentary Banquet In National China

Hon. Secretary General of the National Assembly, President Ku Cheng-kang, Madame Ku, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen!

It is a great honour and privilege for me to express on behalf of all delegates and observers of the 10th APACL Conference our sincere thanks to Mr. Ku Cheng-kang for this beautiful reception and for the magnificent hospitality which we experienced here on this island of freedom and hope.

Leaving the Republic of China, we shall carry with us into different continents and countries of Europe, America, Africa, Asia and Australia the most profound impressions of the fighting spirit of this island of free and courageous people, and in particular of the armed forces of the Republic of China, of the very progressive social reforms, especially agrarian, and above all of the strong belief of this people in the final victory over Communist tyranny.

Patriotism, social justice, and the liberties of man are the leading ideas of the anti-Communist fight of the Republic of China which has to be supported by the entire free world, in their own interest.

While admiring the great national and social accomplishments of the Government of the Republic of China under the leadership of President Chiang-Kai-shek we shall try to draw the greater attention of the freedom-loving world to the cause of Free China.

We shall not miss any opportunity to oppose the admission of Peiping to the UN, as well as the establishing of any relations with this tyrannic regime by the free countries. We shall always advocate the liberation revolution in support of Mainland-China and granting free aid to land Chinese liberation troops.

We strongly believe that a liberation revolution on the Chinese Mainland, supported technically by the free world, would prevent an atomic war.

Not only the freedom-loving people of the free world support the Republic of China but all the people subjugated by Russian Communism in Europe and Asia stand in the common front with the Chinese people against Communism for national independence, social justice and the freedom of man. Your cause is our cause.

The cause of Free China is the cause of all mankind.

We are sad to leave your country but we believe that we shall be in a short time the guests of the National Assembly of the Republic of China on the commemorating Liberation Day in free Nanking! Long live the Republic of China and the victory over Communism!

Sweden - A Neutral Country Between NATO And The Warsaw Pact

During the last 150 years Sweden has had continuous peace, an advantage which no other European state has been able to enjoy. It is particularly remarkable that our country managed not to be drawn into the two World Wars, 1914—1918 and 1939—1945.

Therefore it is natural that the Swedish people subscribe to the principle of neutrality. We hope that in the event of a third world war, Sweden will be able to preserve its neutrality. Contrary to Denmark and Norway, Sweden has refused to join NATO. When this question was debated in the legislature in 1949 only three deputies in the Lower House (a Conservative, a Liberal and a Social Democrat) supported accession.

An important reason for the refusal to join was our consideration for Finland; the general view was that Sweden's accession would result in aggravating Russian policy in relation to this country, an opinion which may be doubted. Finland was a part of the Swedish Kingdom from the late Middle Ages to 1809; some parts of Finland belonged to Sweden from time to time even earlier. Such a partnership has naturally generated a rather special feeling for our Eastern neighbour. When Finland was invaded by Russia in 1939, a large part of the Swedish population thought that we ought to have gone in on Finland's side, but the government did not want to go as far as a declaration of war on Russia. Nevertheless, large numbers of volunteers streamed out of Sweden into Finland and whole Swedish combat units were set up there. Sweden provided Finland with a considerable amount of war materials and food, which helped Finland to hold out until March 1940.

Sweden is also very interested in the Baltic peoples. Estonia belonged to Sweden for no less than 160 years, from 1561 to 1721; Latvia, north of the lower Düna, for about 100 years, from 1629 to 1721. During the latter half of the years between the two world wars there was an active association between Sweden and the Baltic States, which increased each year. The treacherous Russian occupation of the Baltic states during the last world war, the inhuman removal of over a half million of the inhabitants, the mass-murder, imprisonment and torture of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians evoked indignation and horror in the Swedish people. Quite a considerable number of the citizens of the Baltic States who were fortunate enough to escape from Russian persecution, found their way to Sweden. Most of them are still in our country today and we have received more from the continent. They now number 30,000 Estonians (including 7,500 Estonian Swedes), about 5,500 Latvians, 500—600 Lithuanians. These people are highly respected in Sweden because of their talent, ability, industry and honest and agreeable disposition. They have performed extremely valuable work in various industries and earned good positions in the community. The vast majority of them are now Swedish citizens.

The Baltic exiles have carried out very important work publicising the horrible methods of Soviet-Russian Communism. They have taught the Swedes the Russian Communist mentality. A considerable amount of this work has been done by the Baltic Committee, which has been active since 1943, through meetings, publications, press conferences, etc.. This committee, of which I have had the honour of being Chairman since its foundation, began as a small group of 4 people from the Baltic States and 4 Swedes and has since grown into a large committee, consisting of about 35 Baltic and Swedish members, among whom are about 10 present and former Members of Parliament with the leader of the Liberal Party, Professor Bertil Ohlin, and the former leader of the Conservative Party, Provincial President Jarl Hjalmarson, as members of honour.

How well the Swedish people, especially their press, know the Baltic problems is illustrated by an episode during Khrushchov's visit to Sweden in June 1964. The Russian guest had the bad taste to refer to conditions in the Baltic States in his speech at a reception in the Town Hall given by the Stockholm City Council. In order to illustrate their supposed, advantageous development after Russia's annexation, he particularly relied on the manufacturing industries whose production, he said, had risen 14—15 times from 1940—1963. According to newspaper reports, his pronouncement made no impression on the Swedes present and was received with complete silence. The Swedish press reacted vigorously. His words concealed the criminal and brutal occupation, the massacres and deportations, they said. Not only the conservative press but also the social democratic reacted negatively to the statistics used for this purpose. There are at least 150 measures known and of these only five, all communistic, are in Khrushchov's favour. It was pointed out in the press by Swedes and by Baltic exiles that, firstly, the growth of industry was not nearly as great as Krushchov had claimed and that, secondly, the actual increase which *had* occurred had been achieved at the expense of agriculture, as labour had been drawn away from the fields and agricultural production had undergone a considerable decrease as a result; the arable land has had to suffer a loss of considerably more than a third of its former value and accordingly grain production, for example, has dropped by about a third. Moreover, more than 80 % of the net profits of industry had to be handed over to the Russians.

But we have not only Baltic refugees in Sweden. We have refugees from all the Russian satellites; the biggest group are the Hungarians, about 8,000, then come the Poles, nearly 3,000; and there is even a Ukrainian contingent of about 500. These refugees, too, have played an important part in the formation of the Swedish understanding of the power mentality of Russian Communism. In particular, the suppression of the freedom movement in Hungary in 1956 with the help of Russian troops evoked a great horror in Sweden. These exiles also enjoy great respect in our country.

The Swedes have a long-established mistrust of the Russians, not only of the Russians as a race, but of Russian policy. There are, of course, partly historical reasons for this. Russia has been our arch-enemy, with whom we have waged many wars in the course of the centuries. The memory of the dreadful devastations of the Russians on the east coast of Sweden in 1719—21 is still alive in the people, as towns, castles and farms were recklessly burnt down.. From my childhood in the town of Norrköping, which was devastated by fire in 1719, I remember

how one scolded children who had been guilty of misbehaviour with expressions, which were not at all unusual, such as "take care that the Russians don't come and get you" or "are you completely Russian?" The invasion of Finland in 1808—9, when it was torn from Sweden and united with Russia, can never be forgotten as long as "Sub-Lt. Stal's Tales" of this war, by the great Finno-Swedish poet Runeberg, inspire the Swedes.

The Swedes have always reckoned with the Russian expansionist design even against the West. It was in operation in the Czarist era and is even more so today with the Communist regime. One cannot close one's eyes to the clearly stated aim of world Communism, mastery of the world, although the split between the Soviet Union and China no longer allows them to maintain the claims to a centralized Communist world-power. Sweden must have a realistic view of the following facts: how the Soviet Union has built up a system of naval bases on the Baltic Sea; how their Baltic Fleet is steadily growing; how Russian units are stationed in Polish and East German ports. In 1950 a Russian expert proposed that the Baltic States should ban warships of states outside the Baltic region from the Öresund and the Baltic. This proposal, according to which Russia would have been able to dominate the Baltic Sea even more powerfully than she does now, was naturally opposed by Sweden. In the same year the Soviet Union extended its territorial limits in the Baltic from four to twelve miles. Sweden, Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany protested and claimed that the question should be submitted to the International Court of Justice, but the Russians refused. They have repeatedly arrested Swedish merchant and fishing vessels, which have gone inside the twelve-mile limit. And in 1952 two Swedish aircraft were shot down in the Baltic over international waters. Since 1957 Khrushchov has proposed that the Baltic should be "neutralized", i. e. that the Baltic States should conclude a treaty according to which no acts of war would be allowed in the Baltic, and that all foreign military bases must be withdrawn, that is, the NATO bases in the German Federal Republic, while those of the Russians naturally remain. He subsequently launched this proposal with the designation "The Baltic — a Sea of Peace"; during the so-called Baltic Week which takes place each year in Rostock, Russia, Poland and East Germany publicise this proposal. When he saw that he was having no success with it, Khrushchov came even the Swedish Minister for External Affairs, Östen Undén, who is usually sympathetic to Russian views, has taken a firm, unyielding attitude to this proposal. When he saw that he was having no success with it, Khrushchov came up with a new proposition in 1959: Scandinavia and the Baltic should be a missile and nuclear-weapon free zone. That is that nuclear weapons and offensive missiles may be neither manufactured nor brought in and stored, which has certainly not been the case up to now. Baltic States, however, where Russia has such weapons, should not be included in this zone. In 1961 the Soviet Union exerted pressure on Finland to strengthen the Friendship and Aid Pact of 1948, but in view of the anxiety that that would have caused in the North, the Agreement was limited to an obligation on Finland to give warning if the military situation gave cause for alarm; the claim that the arming of the German Federal Republic meant an increase of the danger of war served as a pretext. Sweden's mistrust of Russia was intensified by the Wennerström scandal of summer 1963: a Swed-

ish colonel who had been for many years in the Russian Intelligence Service and had been secretly rewarded with the rank of a Russian Major-General; this was espionage in association with the Russian Embassy.

The Swedish people have a pronounced antipathy to Communism. At present there are only 7 Communists in the Swedish legislature, 5 out of 232 deputies in the Second Chamber and 2 out of 151 in the First Chamber. After the election for the Second Chamber in September, 1964, the number of Communists rose to 8 of 233 seats, but as the Communists have declared their independence from Moscow and now no longer consider that they have to follow every Communist policy, they appear to be radical Social Democrats.

The attitude of the Swedes to Russian Communism was demonstrated quite clearly during Khrushchov's visit to Sweden last summer. The visit was, of course, designed to create good-will but it failed completely; as in Denmark and Norway, the reception was quite cool. With the exception of Communist circles, this visit was considered as a courtesy visit in response to Prime Minister Erlander's visit to Russia in 1957. In all the conservative press and in many of the Social Democratic papers, too, the comparison was made between the Russian dictatorship and the Swedish democracy.

The coolness with which Khrushchov was received by the Central Committee of the trade unions was particularly remarkable. The Chairman of the Committee, Deputy Arne Geijer, who is President of the Free International Federation of Trade Unions, which opposes the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions, was very brusque and made it clear to Khrushchov that the former organization supported democracy and freedom in opposition to the latter. At a conference for the world press immediately afterwards Geijer emphasized that the Central Committee had not invited Khrushchov, that he had himself asked if he might come and that the meeting had been fruitless.

In order to display the attitude of the Swedes to Communism and Khrushchov the so-called June Committee was created in Sweden in 1964 consisting of Swedish citizens. This was a revival of the so-called August Committee, which was founded in 1959 with regard to Khrushchov's proposed, but later postponed visit fixed for August of that year. In the majority of towns in our country local June Committees were set up. The August Committee of the refugees was also revived in 1964 as a June Committee of Exiles. Both Committees published appeals. The Swedish one was signed by a great number of prominent Swedish personalities. Before the arrival of Khrushchov the Swedish June Committee organized a large meeting in Stockholm, while the local Committees held meetings in their respective towns. The Swedish June Committee together with the Baltic Committee and other Baltic organizations, published several publications, among them a very detailed one "Freedom meets Khrushchov"; the Baltic organizations also published a few themselves. During Khrushchov's visit the Swedish June Committee organized press conferences every day, which were mainly for the foreign press, whose representatives attended in large numbers. At one of these the Baltic problem was discussed; and at another the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Dr. Jaroslaw Stetzko and his wife, who had come to Sweden for Khrushchov's visit, spoke on the Ukrainian question and the Georgian Prince Niko Nakashidze, who had arrived at the same time, spoke on Soviet Russian rule in Georgia.

The Swedish June Committee received special recognition in the conservative press and even the Social Democratic newspapers, which were of course obliged to support the Government. Its activities were very extensively reported in the foreign press, particularly in Germany.

The attitude of the Swedes to Russian Communism is therefore clear. It can be expressed briefly in the following words: Sweden endeavours to remain neutral. But if Sweden is drawn into a war between East and West, it will not be on the wrong side, the Communist side.

Obituary

AKAKI PAPAWA - Georgian Writer And Politician

The famous Georgian writer and politician Dr. Akaki Papawa has died, suddenly, in Buenos Aires. He was the representative of the Georgian National Government-in-Exile for South America.

As a young man he had already acquired a reputation as a theatre critic, novelist and political writer.

He was a member of the Socialist-Federalist Party which, after the independence of the peoples subjugated by the Czarist Russian Empire, stood for the concept of a federation of the peoples of the Caucasus and a union of the Black Sea states, Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Turkey, similar to the European Union of today.

After the re-establishment of Georgia as an independent state he was a member of parliament and of the City Council of the capital Tbilisi. He threw himself into a zealous political and journalistic activity and was a very gifted speaker. The reasons why a Caucasian federation was not founded are firstly the time was too short and, secondly and principally, important external political factors had to be taken into consideration.

After the occupation of Georgia by Russia he left with his family in 1922 and settled in Germany. After the last war he went to Argentina.

He continued his journalistic activity in exile and made numerous contributions to Georgian and foreign language newspapers and periodicals.

His most valuable work, however, was in the field of research in Georgian history and literature. He published several outstanding books and articles which are highly regarded by Georgian scholars in Georgia.

His wife Thamar Papawa is also a well-known writer and her works deal with the role Georgian women in the political life and literature of Georgia. She stood courageously beside her husband and bravely shared the sufferings of life in exile with him.

His whole life was spent in the service of his people. His poems are full of grief, lament and homesickness but never descend to despondency or depression. They contain the warmth of the sun and the beauty of nature in his country and one feels the power of the soul and the spirit. He left this world troubled about the fate of his people yet with a firm belief in its future. Although his grave lies far from his native land his name will live forever in the history of his people.

N. Ekhadieli

Perception From The West

In 1935, the French Academician Jaque Beauville wrote: "The French know Soviet Russia just as little as Russia knows the tsar. This ignorance produces a mysterious attraction to Russia. No medicine can cure this illness. In the soul of every Frenchman — be he bourgeois, worker, peasant or politician — there is a romantic corner that is enthusiastic about everything Slavic. Of a thousand Frenchmen, not a single one would be able to sketch Russia on a piece of paper."

This is a Frenchman's view on the French. The same is also true however for the English, the Americans and above all the Germans. Naturally, all those who have a weakness for Russia regard themselves as great authorities on Russia.

They spend their entire lives in this self-fabricated, idealized conception that they have formed about Russia, and they diligently search for proof that will make this conception credible to themselves and to others. And, of course, they stick faithfully to the idea that Little Mother Russia is and must remain "great and indivisible."

The Western politicians have no understanding for the peoples who were once subjugated by Russia. It was the United States Secretary of State himself who stated that "by tradition" Ukraine belonged to Russia. Had this statement been made by a simple man, a peasant or a worker, it would be somehow understandable, but not when it is made by a presumably educated politician.

As early as 1917—1920, when innumerable Western representatives visited the South of the Russian empire, where the newly formed, so-called free countries were fighting a desperate battle against Communism, they attempted to win these people, who were fighting for their life and their independence, as fighters against the Germans and for the "great indivisible" Russia.

This traditional political folly has been going on now for some 50 years, and if we

don't soon begin to correct it, this blindness will be the cause of the West's fall to Communism. Here in the West, at political rallies, in showy propaganda speeches, freedom and independence are boisterously defended. In actual fact, however, those peoples enslaved by Communism have long since been crossed off the list by the West; only a few individual "fantastic optimists" see a possibility for liberation.

This was the case with Czecho-Slovakia during Hitler's reign; this was the case more recently with Hungary.

On the other hand the West deals the death blow to the Russian-dominated peoples by preserving Communist Russia from disintegration. As can be imagined, this special regard moved Nikita Khrushchov.

One does not hesitate to make "mori-turi" of millions of peoples, if only not to deceive one's own romantic and prettified conceptions.

It might be asked whether this is political short-sightedness, criminal stupidity or simply a boundless naiveté.

Twenty years after the war we have to ask this question: 20 years during which the West has suffered one political defeat after the other; 20 years during which the free world, together with Moscow, has dug the grave, not only of our peoples, but also of its own peoples.

This is a terrible realization — not only for us, but for the West also. "He who plants pumpkins with the devil will be killed with these pumpkins by the devil," says a Serbian proverb.

Ever since 1917, the West has been courting Moscow. This alone has led to Soviet Russia's present strength, the division of Germany, the Berlin Wall of Shame, Communist China and finally Moscow's fortress, Cuba, which, via Sansibar, will carry Moscow's doctrine into Africa and Latin America and firmly establish it there.

So much for Western politicians.

After the last war, hundreds of thousands of anti-Communists were extradited to Moscow and Belgrade by so-called anti-Communists. One cannot but call this proceeding a ghastly crime. The realization that it was leading Western politicians who carried out such "meat deliveries" is horrifying, and it is terrible that during the past twenty years no one has undertaken to punish these mass-murderers. Only some were tried at the Nürnberg Trials — the others escaped. One keeps silent — just as there is silence about Katyn and Vynnytsia.

From this the realization follows that there are no morals, no real human rights. There is only the law of brutal force, which is much to be regretted.

The West diligently practises a sham Christianity. For 50 years now the Com-

munists have been doing everything to uproot religion altogether. Particularly in recent times, this uprooting has been carried out with special severity.

It is better to keep quiet about what the people of the Soviet Union think of Western church-goers. Yes, church-goers only, not Christians, because they extend their hands to those who desecrate our churches. Is this living Christianity? It is bargaining with religion!

What hope is there for us?

Perhaps the West is hoping that the Communists will mutually destroy themselves some day? This is not much. The West would do well to produce better and more intelligent politicians, to base its actions on morals and to succeed in practising real and living Christianity.



Dr. Watanabe, second from the left, Prof. Kitaoka, standing in centre, and other leading members of Free Asia Association, with Mrs. Slawa Stetzko; Tokyo, December 3, 1964.

Dr. N. Procyk Quoted By The Congressional Record

The Congressional Record of 13th January 1965 reports that Mr. Dulski gave a speech before the House of Representatives on 13th January 1965 in which he said that the Ukrainian community in Buffalo had given a banquet for the Mayor, Chester Kowal, the President of the Buffalo Town Council, Chester C. Gorski and Congressman Thaddeus J. Dulski, in honour

of the Ukrainian poet and freedom-fighter Taras Shevchenko.

The main speaker at this banquet was Dr. Nestor Procyk, whose speech Mr. Dulski read out and which was published in the Congressional Record in full. In this speech Dr. Procyk not only praised the work of the three guests of honour but also appealed to all Americans to support the freedom-struggle of the Ukrainians.

The "Daily Telegraph" On Russian Imperialism

For those who have been subjects of Russian oppression at one time or another and who have studied the phenomenon called the Soviet Union at close range and experienced it themselves, it has been a constant disappointment to see how limited is the knowledge of this subject in the editorial offices of the majority of the important newspapers in the Free World.

Even today, in the second half of the twentieth century, the knowledge of the simple geography, not to mention more complicated problems, of the vast territory the other side of the Iron Curtain of most of the so-called experts on Russia in the West is ridiculous, if not shocking. It has been a common thing to read in national newspapers in Britain, for example, about "Ukraine, in the south of Russia", "Turkestan, in Russian Central Asia", "Georgia, Southern Russia" and so on.

Therefore, it has been a very pleasant change to read in London's second most influential newspaper "The Daily Telegraph" sober and well informed notes by columnist Peter Simple (Mr. Michael Wharton in real life). Some of his notes which appeared on various dates in 1964, before the fall of Khrushchov, we reproduce below for our readers' information.

Ridiculing present-day appeasers and champions of co-existence with Russian Communism, he wrote:

"Moral

"We are constantly being told about the dramatic changes which have come and are coming over the international scene. Russia and the West are daily drawing closer together. In Russia itself all is sweetness and light; any little acts of repression which may have occurred there in the past are just an unhappy memory. Only an old fogey like Dr. Adenauer would have the bad taste to refer to them, let alone suggest that Soviet Russia today is anything but a model democracy.

"This view has always been put forward by Communist and fellow-travelling propagandists, on the whole with small success. Now, all at once, it looks as if it is being accepted by the mass of the people in this country. They *want* to believe Communism is harmless, therefore they *will* believe it.

"This alarming phenomenon coincides with the discovery that Russia is militarily less powerful than we thought she was, and that economically the Russian Communist system is in a shaky condition. What is the moral of this? That we should go out of our way to placate Russian Communism? On the contrary, we should adopt, with due caution, a more aggressive and hostile policy towards it, seeing at last, far off, the possibility of its downfall."

In another brief note Peter Simple made the following sharp point:

"Unanswerable

"Part of the Communist Chinese case against which the Russian Communists and their allies purport to argue is that Communism can only come about by violent revolution, never by peaceful transition. Aren't the Chinese right?

"There is not one single example, from the Russian Revolution onwards, of

Communism coming to power by peaceful means or by a free vote of the people . . .

“What have the Russians to say to that?”

When Khrushchov went to Africa to try to lessen the harm Chou En-lai dealt to Russian interests on that continent, Peter Simple wrote:

“Humbug

“Speaking to an appreciative audience in Cairo, Mr. Khrushchov made another of his routine attacks on “imperialism” and promised support for countries trying to free themselves from it. Stale though this hypocrisy is, it is still startling in its enormity.

“Russia is by far the most “imperialist” nation still existing on earth. It holds down, in the last resort by military force, a number of historic European nations. It still occupies all the non-Russian territories in Asia which were conquered under the Tsarist regime. It is continually working to extend its already huge empire.

“All this is perfectly well known. What is strange is that it is so seldom mentioned. It is understandable that “neutralists” should ignore or suppress the facts. But it is extraordinary that the spokesmen of the West should hardly ever trouble to answer Khrushchov’s anti-imperialistic humbug with a few home-truths.”

Commenting on Soviet Union’s refusal to pay its dues to the United Nations, he wrote:

“What Next?

“The Soviet Union will not put up one kopek, one shilling or one cent for unlawful operations against the peace and independence of nations.’ So Mr. Gromyko is reported to have told Mr. Butler during a conversation in Moscow. Mr. Butler’s reaction, if any, is not recorded.

“The Soviet Union, as Gen. de Gaulle said not long ago, is the world’s last remaining empire. It holds sway over something like a dozen historic European nations and numerous non-Russian peoples in Asia. From the first moment of its existence it has been — and is now — conducting elaborate and sustained operations against the peace and independence of almost every nation on earth.

“Inured as Mr. Butler must be to every kind of political humbug, the sheer enormity of Gromyko’s remark must surely have left him stunned and speechless.”

Returning once again to Khrushchov’s visit to Egypt, Peter Simple wrote:

“More Humbug

“At the risk of becoming as big a bore as Mr. Krushchov himself, I will quote a passage in his recent speech to the National Assembly in Cairo, said to have been ‘wildly cheered’.

“The presence of foreign forces in any country,’ he says, ‘is a source of danger.’ Then let him withdraw his own forces from the Eastern European countries where they, and nothing but they, prevent the Russian-imposed Communist Governments from collapsing in something like five minutes.

“That would be a source of danger indeed — danger to Khrushchov, to the

Communist conspiracy he temporarily leads and to its farseeing world aims.”

On July 22, 1964 he made this courageous statement:

“Double Standard

“The new American Republican programme, says a commentator, “includes such fanciful aims as the ‘eventual liberation’ of Ukraine.” What on earth is so fanciful about this?”

“Why should the 40 million Ukrainians who have been struggling for their independence for years have less right to it than the two million people of Sierra Leone or the 800,000 people of Trinidad?”

“When Khrushchov promises Russian help for the ‘colonial peoples’ in what he recently described as their ‘just and sacred wars of national liberation’, nobody seems to find anything fanciful in the idea or find it incompatible with the “peaceful coexistence” we hear so much about.

“But when Goldwater speaks of the ‘eventual liberation’ of the captive nations of Eastern Europe by peaceful means, he is called a ranting warmonger.”

On 19th January 1965, using his poignant satire, Peter Simple wrote in “The Daily Telegraph”:

“Liberation for All

“One argument put forward by Nigel Nicolson in an article on the United Nations in “The Weekend Telegraph” is new even to me (and I thought I knew all the arguments by which progressive thinkers of all parties try to justify the surrender of what remains of European influence in Africa).

“‘We must recognize,’ he says, ‘that young countries are avid for the decolonisation of others, just because it is the subject on which they know most and feel most deeply. By the 1970’s they will turn their attention to the unliberated of eastern Europe and Asia, and Britain’s own record will be held up as an example instead of as a reproach.’

“Are they already throwing up their caps and ringing their bells for joy in Warsaw and Kiev, in Samarkand and Lhasa? Not long to wait now! By 1975, at the latest, the leaders of Kenya and Malawi and liberated Mozambique, using the machinery of the United Nations, will be demanding and obtaining freedom for Poland and Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Tibet.

“Violence will not be necessary. All they will have to do is hold up Britain’s record as an example, if necessary adding the magic words “Britain’s moral leadership of the world”. What can any Communist armies of occupation and police forces do in face of that but disband themselves forthwith and shamble back shamefacedly to their own countries to await their liberation in turn?”

We salute the author of these brief but very eloquent comments on the nature and aims of the Russian Communists. Here he is in complete accord with the ideas which members of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations have been propounding for decades.

I. K.

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

News And Views

ABN Activity In Australia

Report on the Australian trip made by Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of ABN.

After the tenth conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), which lasted from 23rd to 30th November 1964, Jaroslaw Stetzko flew to Australia. He arrived in Sydney on 3rd December and was met at the airport by about 40 members of the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) and about 50 members of ABN in Australia and New Zealand and representatives of Ukrainian organizations. The press, radio and television were also represented and immediately held a long interview with Jaroslaw Stetzko. The following day the Australian newspaper "The Australian" carried a report on the arrival of Jaroslaw Stetzko on the front page and Radio Sydney included this news in all its evening news-casts.

On the second day of his stay the ABN branch for Australia and New Zealand held a meeting for the President of the CCABN with ABN members. About 300 were in the "Croatian House" to hear Jaroslaw Stetzko's speech.

Dr. Untaru (Roumanian), the Chairman of the ABN branch in Australia and New Zealand, concluded his brief introduction with the words: "I defend the interests of the Ukrainian people in the firm belief and conviction that the Ukrainians in the ranks of ABN also defend the interests of my country."

The Croatian Bugaritsch stressed in his speech that ABN defended the rights of the Croatian people at international conferences and because of this he was obliged to represent the interests of the other subjugated peoples.

The Chairman of the "Australian Combatants", General Istek, said that the ideas of ABN corresponded to those of the "Aus-

tralian Combatants" and therefore they supported ABN's struggle.

The editor of the Australian newspaper "Intelligence Review", who had come from Melbourne, said: "The danger for us lies not so much in the strength of Moscow as in the weakness of the Western world. I agree entirely with the basic ideas of Jaroslaw Stetzko's speech."

These basic problems were: the situation in the homeland and the significance of the national freedom uprisings in the struggle against Bolshevism; the resolutions of the recent APACL Conference, particularly that on the disintegration of the USSR and the condemnation of Bolshevik murder; the elements of American policy and the new movement in the Republican Party; the situation in Western Europe and the role of de Gaulle and the conception of victory over Russian imperialism and Communism without recourse to atomic weapons.

On 10th December Jaroslaw Stetzko spoke to the members of the Ukrainian community in Sydney. About 400 Ukrainians, independent of political leanings, were present at this gathering, which was extremely well organized. It was led by the Chairman of the Ukrainian delegation in ABN, Bohdan Gut. The Exarch for the Ukrainians in Australia and New Zealand, Bishop Iwan Praschko, made the following declaration after Jaroslaw Stetzko's speech: "Although I am not formally a member of ABN, nevertheless I feel so in fact. For the ideas for which ABN struggles are the ideas of our people which are blessed by our Catholic Church."

At a meeting of the committee of the Ukrainian community the guest from Europe was informed of the progress and

achievements of the community and was very impressed. The Australian newspapers reported Jaroslav Stetzko's visit in detail.

Jaroslav Stetzko also took part in youth meetings in Sydney and Melbourne and was

warmly greeted by the young people. From Sydney Jaroslav Stetzko went to Melbourne, Adelaide and Canberra and made speeches in each of these towns.

Quotations From The Australian Press

A squad of youths dressed in an army-type uniform welcomed an anti-Communist leader at Sydney Airport yesterday.

There were more than a dozen youths and they wore light shirts, dark grey trousers and tie and a sleeve insignia with the words: Ukrainian Youth Organisation.

They formed a semicircle in the foyer of the international terminal to meet Professor Jaroslav Stetzko, a former Prime Minister of Ukraine and now President of "the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations".

Professor Stetzko said he had come to Australia for a two-week lecture tour.

One proposal recently discussed was for an internationally based volunteer army in the Asian area to fight Communism in North Vietnam, North Korea and mainland China.

Asked what involvement Australia would have in this, Professor Stetzko answered that it was not proposed to send Australian volunteers to Vietnam without the Government's permission.

Duty

The duty of the Australian branch was to use "political persuasion" to teach Australians the dangers of Communism.

This was done by protests at rallies and by strong anti-Communist action in the trade unions.

The President of the Australian branch, Dr. C. Untaru, said the organization has 1800 members in this country.

Members of ABN, according to official notepapers, include the Croatian National Liberation Movement, the Cossack National Liberation Movement, and the Hungarian Mindszenty Movement.

THE AUSTRALIAN, Friday, December 4, 1964

Call For Anti-Red Volunteerers

Australia should support, through its voice in the UN, national liberation movements in countries behind the Iron Curtain such as Ukraine and Georgia, Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko said in Adelaide yesterday.

Mr. Stetzko was Prime Minister of Ukraine for three weeks in 1941 and is visiting Australia as President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

He proposed that all free nations, including Australia, should organise an army of volunteers.

This army should be used to help the people of South Vietnam and Korea, and to enable National China to launch a full-scale invasion of mainland China.

THE AUSTRALIAN, Saturday, December 19, 1964

American Friends Of ABN Meet

New York — Representatives of national groups, including the Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Cossacks, Hungarians, Ukrainians, and Croatians took part in the bi-annual Convention of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which was held in the Hotel Commodore on Saturday, January 16, 1965.

The Convention was opened by a member of the Presidium of the AFABN, Mr. Ante Doshen of Croatian descent. Mr. Ignatius Billinsky, Chairman of the Executive Board, presented a detailed report of the activities of the AFABN, in which he stressed the important publicity work done by the organization in conducting such political actions as the highly successful Political Forum, which was staged in New York in 1963, and which was attended by foreign ambassadors and U. S. Congressmen. Reports were also read by the General Secretary Mr. Charles Andreanszky, financial report, and Mrs. Ulana Celevych, who reported on the activities of the local Branch of AFABN in Chicago, Illinois. Remarks on the importance of the AFABN were presented by the representatives of the national groups: Dr. Nestor Procyk, Ukrainian; Dr. Ivan Docheff, Bulgarian, and Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Hungarian.

Following a discussion, the delegates approved a memorandum to the President of the United States, as well as a number of political resolutions. The following were elected to head the organization for the following two years: Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of the Bulgarian National Front — Chairman of the Executive Board; Mr. Charles Andreanszky — General Secretary; and Mr. Nestor Procyk — Chairman of the Presidium Council.

In the course of the Convention, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations delivered a talk on the topic: "Positive forces in the Free World against Soviet-Russian imperialism." Mr. Stetzko made a stop-over in the U. S., en route to Europe. He was returning from Formosa, where he had taken part in the Congress of the Asian Anti-Communist League.

"Chicago Tribune" On Ukrainian Resistance Movement

— On Sunday, December 20, 1964, *The Chicago Tribune* printed an extensive interview with Mrs. Slawa Stetzko. The interview read, in part, as follows:

"The act of sabotage and the youth represents the resistance movement which embraces hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians inside the Soviet Union who are opposed to their Communist form of government. Sabotage of the wheat shipment is but one of the ways in which Ukrainians are showing their independence of the Red regime, according to Mrs. Slawa Stetzko, a member of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations with headquarters in Munich, which seeks to coordinate anti-Communist organizations throughout the world.."

"Anti-Communist poems and novels glorifying Ukrainian nationalism and institutions are hand-written and circulated, with each recipient making five hand-written copies for further distribution."

A White Ruthenian Voice In The International Forum

On the 5th November 1964, the 15th session of the European Parliament was held in Strasbourg, France. For the first time a representative of the White Ruthenian people, Mr. D. Kosmowych, participated in a session of the European Parliament. For the first time a White Ruthenian voice was heard here in defence of the divine rights of the White Ruthenian people to a free and independent existence.

As he greeted the representatives at the European Parliament on behalf of the White Ruthenian people, Mr. D. Kosmowych stressed the present hard fate of his people who languish under the colonial rule of Moscow.

Our representative expressed his hope that the free world would help the White Ruthenian people to attain their independence. He emphasized that the presence of a White Ruthenian representative at a session of the European Parliament should

be a sign of a closer association between the White Ruthenian people and the peoples united in the European Parliament.

Mr. Kosmowych proclaimed his firm confidence that a time would come when the White Ruthenian people would regain its lost freedom and re-establish its White Ruthenian democratic republic. Then the White Ruthenian people will join the European community of nations as a free member and contribute to the prosperity and to the common good of the people of Europe and of the whole world.

The short address of greeting of the White Ruthenian representative was received with sympathy.

After the session Mr. Kosmowych was questioned by individual representatives on the detailed circumstances of the Red Russian enslavement of the White Ruthenian people and on their struggle for freedom.

Red China Takes Up The National Question In The USSR

In their propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union the Red Chinese very cunningly use the most burning question which is of great importance for the subjugated peoples.

They are plainly asking why the Union republics allow themselves to be put under the care of a guardian. The Soviet Russians are accused of imperialism and colonialism towards the subjugated peoples. The Chinese use arguments which originate in nationalist statements of natives of the subjugated nations in exile.

In October 1964 the news came from London that the Red Chinese had bought up the English edition of the work "Russian Persecution in Ukraine". At the end of the same month it was reported from Poland that the Red Chinese and the Ukrainians in Poland issued enormous numbers of pamphlets, in which they condemned the Soviet Russian deportations of Ukrainians and the Russification of Ukraine.

Recently the Red Chinese went a step further in this direction. They are now

directing radio broadcasts at the Ukrainians who serve in the Soviet Army in the Far East. In good Ukrainian the broadcaster asks: "Ukrainians! Why are you in arms, stationed on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, on the Okhotsk, on the Sahalin and the Kuril Islands? What are you looking for here? What interests you here? You were brought here against your will. Why aren't you on the banks of the Dnjepro, on the Black Sea or the Oziv Sea? Why are occupying soldiers of Russian nationality stationed there? Moscow does all this to destroy everything Ukrainian, to Russify everything, even what has never been, and does not wish to be, Russian."

The Chinese radio adds numerous striking examples of Russian oppression in Ukraine, which took place in the course of past centuries, including Soviet Russian crimes against the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian Communists who revolted against Moscow in the thirties and were exterminated by Stalin are also exposed.

The Chinese have realized that the national question is the most vulnerable point in the Soviet Russian empire.

ABN Representative in the U.S.A. and Canda.

After the conclusion of the anti-Communist conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), Mrs. Slawa Stetzko, went to Tokio for a meeting at the invitation of the Free Asia Association. Mrs. Stetzko returned to Europe via the American continent visiting San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Toronto, Montreal and London.

In all these places meetings were organized with the Ukrainians at which our ABN representative delivered reports on the 10th APACL Conference and spoke about our activity in the international anti-Communist forum.

It is to be noted with appreciation that the leaders of the Ukrainian organizations contributed a great deal to a smooth organization of the meetings in the various places. Our ABN representative had discussions with AFABN and ABN representatives in Chicago, Cleveland and New York. The AFABN branch in Chicago under the leadership of the Croatian representative, Mr. Sharavania did very good work. The very active Ukrainian delegation in AFABN is under the leadership of Mrs. Ulana Celewycz. During Mrs. Stetzko's visit on 20th December 1964 this Ukrainian delegation organized a successful meeting at which, in addition to our representative from Europe, the Director of the Institute for American Strategy, Mr. K. Oaks, gave a speech. An anti-Communist film was also shown. The evening closed with a lottery in which over 1000 dollars was collected for the CC ABN.

In San Francisco Mr. J. Blyshchak organized a meeting for Mrs. Stetzko with Croatians and Estonians and in Los Angeles Mr. B. Hirka arranged one with Ukrainian and Lithuanian representatives.

In Cleveland, where the leader of AFABN is the Cossack representative, Mr. Ivan I. Bezugloff, a reception was given to

which the representatives of Cossack, Ukrainian, Baltic, and Slovakian organizations were invited. The reception was led by the leader of the Ukrainian delegation in AFABN, Dr. S. Wynnytzkyj. After the speech of our CC member a lively discussion took place in which the representatives of all national delegations participated. On its own initiative, Dr. D. Farion's family organized a meeting for Mrs. Stetzko with Ukrainian doctors in Cleveland.

The Ukrainian emigrés in Montreal are generally well organized. The leading personalities of the organizations of the Freedom Front arranged an impressive gathering of several hundred people which included a gratifyingly high percentage of young people. On the same day (27th December), the Women's Organization of SUM and the League for the Freedom of Ukraine gave a reception at which a lively exchange of



Slawa Stetzko with Dr. J. Pronskis, editor of "Draugas", the biggest Lithuanian newspaper.

views with our representative from Europe took place. The leader of ABN in Montreal, Mr. W. Breniawskyj, presided over the gathering and the reception. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation recorded an interview with Mrs. Stetzko which is intended for the broadcasts to the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

During this trip Mrs. Stetzko gave numerous interviews to the national press (Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Japanese and American) and made several radio broadcasts.

Resolutions Accepted At 10th APACL Conference

On Counter-measures to be Taken by the Free World as the Result of the Chinese Communist Atomic Explosion

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Noting the recent Chinese Communist atomic test, which is being used to carry out political blackmail and psychological threats against the free world, with special reference to Asia, Africa, and Latin America;

Considering that the Chinese Communists, pugnacious by nature and obsessed with the ambition to destroy the free peoples, will jeopardize the survival of free mankind, once they possess nuclear weapons, so that the free world should deprive them of any chance to develop nuclear weapons and thus preserve the peace and security of the free world;

Resolves:

(1) To urge freedom and peace-loving countries and peoples to condemn the Chinese Communist atomic explosion and to oppose further tests in conformity with the international test ban treaty;

(2) To support the clear-cut stand taken by the United States and other countries that have refused to be blackmailed into accepting the Chinese Communist call for convening of a nuclear summit conference;

(3) To urge the United States to help the free Asian nations set up a mutual security organization in Asia and the Pacific region without delay to cope with the threat of atomic war that has been stirred up by the Chinese Communists;

(4) To urge all freedom-loving nations to give positive support to the Republic of China in launching counter-attack against the Chinese mainland so as to destroy the Chinese Communist regime and eliminate the threat of nuclear weapons and the peril to free peoples.

Urging All Anti-Communist Nations in Asia to Set Up a Mutual Security Organization

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Considering that all areas of Asia are being subjected to the direct and indirect armed aggression of the Communist bloc and that the threat has become more serious since the recent Chinese Communist explosion of a nuclear device;

Realizing that protection of the freedom and security of Asia is the duty of the governments of the various nations of the region and that the most effective way to combat Communist expansionist aggression depends on Asian anti-Communist solidarity;

Resolves:

(1) To appeal to the governments of the free nations of Asia to strengthen their unity without delay and to establish a mutual security organization at an early date so as to deter the expansionist aggression of the Communist bloc;

(2) To give positive support to the proposal made by the Republic of Korea to hold a Foreign Ministers' Conference of eight nations in April, 1965, and to urge all free nations in Asia to participate;

(3) To appeal to the United States and other democratic nations to extend positive support to the establishment of an Asian mutual security organization;

(4) To call upon member units of the League to urge their parliaments and press to support the Asian mutual security organization.

Opposing The Neutralization Of Vietnam and Southeast Asia

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Noting that recent developments in Southeast Asia, and especially the increasingly pro-Communist attitude of the so-called neutralist governments of Indonesia and Cambodia, have again confirmed that the neutralism of the Communists and pro-Communists is only a bait to lure the peace and freedom-loving people of the world;

Recognizing that the supposedly neutral solution applied in Laos since 1962 has not brought peace but has increased tension

and conflict as North Vietnamese Communists accelerate their penetration in preparation for the occupation of all Laos;

Pointing out that during the last year, the Republic of Vietnam has been subjected to increased penetration and sabotage by Chinese and North Vietnamese Communists, who seek to subvert the revolution of November 11, 1963, in which the Vietnamese people overthrew a feudal and dictatorial regime and since which they have been developing the basis for a truly free and democratic regime;

Noting that meanwhile, through the influence and pressure of the Governments of France and Cambodia, the Communist bloc is trying to influence world opinion and bring about the neutralization of South Vietnam;

Suggesting that were this scheme to succeed, the results would be disastrous for the Vietnamese people, for the future of all Southeast Asia and for world peace, because the scheme of South Vietnam neutralization is only a stage in the aggression of the International Communist bloc;

Resolves:

(1) To denounce this new Communist aggressive masquerading as neutralization;

(2) To protest to the French and Cambodian Governments, citing the disastrous influence of their acts for the people of Asia;

(3) To draw the attention of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization to the scheme for neutralizing South Vietnam and Southeast Asia and of the support for this given by the French Government, a member of SEATO;

(4) To cite the disastrous consequences that such neutralization would visit upon the free world.

On Preparations for the Convening of a World Conference in Support of Captive Nations and Peoples in Their Struggle for Freedom and Independence

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Realizing that now is the most propitious moment for the free world to destroy the Iron Curtain and rescue enslaved peoples;

Noting that peoples behind the Iron Curtain in Asia, Europe, and Cuba have organized anti-Communist revolutionary movements or fled to freedom at the risk of their lives, indicating that the desire for freedom and independence is universal;

Considering the fact that organizations to support captive nations and peoples have been established one after another in different parts of the world, and that a world conference is required to unify these activities and take positive action;

Resolves:

(1) To sponsor the convening of a world conference in support of all captive nations and peoples under the auspices of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League and all relevant international anti-Communist organizations;

(2) To urge that as a prerequisite of such a conference each free Asian parliament follow the example of the Congress of the United States by legislating a Captive Nations Week Resolution modelled on U.S. Public Law 86—90 so as to enable all free Asian peoples to join with the people of the United States in the observance of Captive Nations Week in 1965;

(3) To call upon the Captive Nations Committee of the United States to help prepare for a conference to be held in the United States or elsewhere in the latter part of 1965 or early in 1966;

(4) To prepare a Universal Declaration of Independence and Freedom, to draw up a programme for common action against imperialism and colonialism, and to invite all supporting organizations to the world conference.

Supporting Malaysia in Its Resistance Against Indonesian Aggression

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Considering Indonesia's threat to "crush Malaysia" and the aggressive actions already taken;

Noting that the support given to Indonesia by the Russian and Chinese Communists in the form of military personnel and armaments has threatened the inde-

pendence and freedom of Malaysia and the peace and security of Southeast Asia;

Resolves:

(1) To appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations and to all democratic nations to condemn Indonesia for its aggressive acts against Malaysia and to give Malaysia moral and technical support;

(2) To appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations to condemn both the Russian and Chinese Communists for their support of Indonesia's aggressive acts against Malaysia and to adopt adequate measures of prevention;

(3) To urge all members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization to discuss and plan immediate counter measures to terminate Indonesian aggression against Malaysia so as to preserve the peace and security of Southeast Asia;

(4) To urge the Indonesian people to restrain their government's aggression against Malaysia by informing them that Sukarno's actions have not only paved the way for the Communists in their aggression in the South Pacific but have also accelerated the Sovietization of Indonesia;

(5) To support the solidarity movement of the people of Malaysia in their united resistance to Indonesian aggression as expressed in this cabled message to Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman: "The people of Malaysia, under your Excellency's leader-

ship, are firmly resisting the Indonesian aggression instigated and supported by the Communist bloc. APACL wishes to express its profound admiration for the heroic struggle of you and your people. We shall do our best to support positive and effective assistance to Malaysia."

Calling Attention to the Problem of Cyprus

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Considering that the current crisis in Cyprus constitutes a great danger to the solidarity of the free world as well as for the peace of the Middle East;

Realizing that the Communists are trying to exploit the situation and incite new disturbances;

Noting that the solution of the problem must depend upon maintenance of the constitution and existing treaties of the Republic of Cyprus;

Resolves:

(1) To ask member-units of APACL to urge their governments and peoples and other nations of the free world to help seek a peaceful solution of the Cypriot crisis, and to prevent Communist interference;

(2) To urge that the Cyprus disputants refrain from further violence and bloodshed, and seek solutions through negotiation and under the law.

Condemning The Berlin Wall

Resolution Condemning the Berlin Wall

The 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League;

Noting that the Berlin Wall was constructed by the Communists to prevent the German people from seeking freedom, either temporarily or permanently;

Calling attention to the tragic fact that the Communists have wantonly murdered many who have defied the barrier of the Wall, and sought to flee to freedom over, under or through it;

Resolves:

To urge the free world to terminate its toleration of such a wall of shame, constructed in the heart of Europe;

To propose that the democratic nations consult on practical and realistic means to destroy the Berlin Wall and reopen the road of freedom to the German people.

Letters To ABN

Dear Mr. Hubka:

It was a great pleasure for me to be with you last Sunday evening for the dinner given by the Rochester Chapter of the American Friends of the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations. The words expressed about my Congressional service and efforts to secure the liberation of the Captive Nations were so generous that there is no real way to say how much your tributes mean to me.

I am enclosing a copy of the news release I issued in connection with my remarks at Sunday's dinner in the hope that you will find them useful in your important work.

Again, my thanks for your kindness and thoughtfulness. I look forward to seeing you often in the days ahead.

*Sincerely,
Frank Horton
House of Representatives*

Buenos Aires, 12th December, 1964

Dear Friends,

The FAEDA, the Federation of Democratic and Anti-communist Organizations of Argentina wishes to declare its full support of the obstinate struggle which the free men of the world wage ceaselessly for the self-determination of peoples. The struggle, according to its nature, is a foundation for freedom and independence, and also for the freedom of those noble peoples who are subjugated and held prisoner by the imperialism of Russia, China and Castro.

The democratic and anti-Communist people of Argentina who struggle bravely for the ideals of the FAEDA declare publicly their belief in free mankind; there are thousands with the same feeling, who have set up their homes in the national sector and can meet one another here as if they were in their own countries. Here among the Argentinian people they work and strive ceaselessly for the liberation of their countries. They do this with the approval and consent of the Federal Government, of the active powers of the whole population, of the armed forces, of the security organs and of the liberal and independent forces, that is, of the free and democratic citizens of the Argentinian Republic, so that the confidence in the feelings, troubles and ideals will be kept in mind, that the light and their own bliss and life according to their own opinion will be attained. Many of us who are now struggling with united forces will one day be able to experience great joy when they can see their own countries again in full enjoyment of their civil rights.

We fervently wish them a merry Christmas and a happy New Year and express the hope that we shall be able to continue the struggle with united forces in a world which is full of hope, faith and confidence in a triumph of the free democracies.

Signed by:

*Francisco A. Rizzuto
1. Vicepresident*

*Dr. Basilio Ivanyzky
2. Vicepresident*

*Domingo Waidatt Herrera
Secretary General*

*Dr. Apeles E. Marquez
President*

Dear Dr. Halamay,

The recent visit by the ABN delegation awakened a remarkable interest among the politically conscious Danish youth for the liberation policy of ABN as an alternative to Communist propaganda.

Therefore, the press of this country commented extensively on the fact that the national committee of the Demokratisk Alliance, a powerful youth organization, headed by Soren Steen, placed a wreath before the Soviet Embassy on October 15, in commemoration of Stefan Bandera on the fifth anniversary of his murder by a Soviet agent.

Before the ceremony an article giving information on the murder of Bandera, the activities of Stashynsky and the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people and its spearhead, the UPA, was distributed to the press. This article was used as a basis for many press comments, and the whole action can be termed very successful. Once again the fight of the Ukrainian people has received wide publicity here.

Under separate cover I am sending you a photo taken during the ceremony, where the wreath, placed below the shield of the Soviet Embassy, bears the Ukrainian colours and the following text:

To Stefan Bandera — Murdered By KGB — From the Youth Of Denmark
With best wishes, Sincerely yours, Jens Nielsen

Mrs. Slava Stetzko

Belfast, 16th December, 1964

Dear Madam,

I was very pleased indeed to receive the A.B.N. Correspondence, which has just arrived. I have read several of the articles with the greatest interest, especially the ones entitled "The Fall of the Tyrant" and the "Cyprus Problem", as well as "The Great Dane", whom I knew very well and who invited me to visit Denmark, where I much enjoyed his hospitality.

It is very kind of you to always remember me and I look forward to receiving the number which you send me so regularly.

Again thanking you very heartily, I am

Yours sincerely, Douglas L. Savory

Mr. Lajos Csery, Johannesburg.

Pretoria, 14th September, 1964

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Honourable the Prime Minister I wish to thank you for your letter of September 8, 1964, and enclosures. He wishes me to express his sincere appreciation to you and your organization for your very kind congratulations on his birthday and your goodwill towards him and his Government's policies. He will be glad if you convey his thanks to those on whose behalf you wrote.

The Prime Minister also read with great interest the copy of your letter to the British Ambassador calling for interest in the tragedy of Hungary rather than interference in the operation of the court's combatting crime in South Africa. He hopes that the Hungarians who have adopted South Africa as their new home, will be happy here.

Yours faithfully,

J. F. Barnard, Private Secretary

RECENT DOCUMENTATION

To The People Of The Scandinavian Countries

(Text of the leaflet distributed in Scandinavian countries during Khrushchov's visit there in June, 1964)

In June 1964, Nikita Khrushchov, the dictator of the Russian colonial empire (called the Soviet Union), will "honour" and "favour" Sweden, Norway and Denmark with his visit and bear witness to and aver his "peaceloving policy of good neighbourliness".

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), in which are united the national revolutionary organizations of the nations that are dominated and subjugated by Russia in the present Russian sphere of influence, and which is represented by the men who came out of the fight against the Russian domination in their native countries, feels called upon to direct this appeal to the peoples of the Scandinavian countries as an exhortation and warning.

The dominating view in the Western world is that since the death of Stalin a liberalization is taking place in the Soviet Union. It is believed that owing to this liberalization, a lasting peaceful coexistence of the two worlds will be made possible as time goes on. With respect to this view, however, we must affirm that national imperialistic aims were inherent in Russia's policy from the very beginning, and furthermore that her policy has always been determined by these aims.

With ever greater intensity, it has been Russia's national aim to acquire predominance in the East Sea region and to secure this region for herself permanently, to eliminate the so-called "German danger" permanently, and to establish a secure footing in the Balkans in order to create a free access to the Mediterranean via the Black Sea.

It has also been Russia's eternal ambition to drive out West European influence from Asia and to include this area in her own sphere of influence.

What tsarist Russia did not succeed in doing, Lenin's Bolshevik Russia succeeded in doing: an extension of the Russian imperium to include countries that it never possessed. With the domination of the Baltic states and the incorporation of East Prussia, Russia succeeded in wresting predominance in the East Sea region.

Russia's coexistence policy is a lie and a deception and the greatest swindle and bluff in the history of the world. It is precisely such a policy that Moscow needs, however, until it is economically and militarily strong enough to initiate an offensive farther towards Europe. It will be the Scandinavian countries — Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark — that the Russian hordes will overrun first, in order to break through and occupy the north flank of West European defence. Then Western Europe would be firmly gripped in her clutches and a farther forging ahead on the part of Russia from the Balkans over Yugoslavia to Italy would no longer be preventable.

In terms of West European defence, Finland has already been eliminated, for in matters of foreign policy, she is controlled by Russia and forced to comply with Moscow.

These are the facts that one must keep in mind to avoid nourishing any illusions and to avoid becoming a dupe of the Russian swindle.

Nikita Khrushchov takes every opportunity to disparage Stalin's methods and to assert that he denounces the personal cult and rejects tyranny. But it was not Stalin, but Nikita Khrushchov who flew to Warsaw in October 1956 and threatened military action, should Poland's dependency loosen itself from Russia. It was Nikita Khrushchov, who used Russian tanks to drown the Hungarian national revolution in blood in November 1956 and who ordered thousands of Hungarians to be killed, despite the fact that the Budapest government, under the Communist Nagy, strove for the neutralization of Hungary,

had already proclaimed Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw pact and put itself under the protection of the United Nations. It was Khrushchov who in the fifties allowed the uprisings and strikes of Ukrainian and other prisoners in the Russian concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakstan to be most treacherously crushed.

These facts alone prove that Russia's brutal and tyrannical policy has not changed under Khrushchov.

Who is this Nikita Khrushchov really? Khrushchov is a true Russian, born in the pure Russian district of Kursk, from which, in tsarist times, the most reactionary elements of the Russian Parliament — the Imperial Duma (Council of State) — were elected as delegates, among whom the notorious Markov, the known anti-Semite and ruthless hater of everything that was not Russian.

Supposedly, Khrushchov has denounced Stalin's terror, but one has only to skim over the pages of the Soviet Press of that time to see just what an acquiescent subject of Stalin Khrushchov was, to see how devotedly he valued and praised Stalin's terror measures, how he denounced and cursed the victims (whom he has now rehabilitated!) of Stalin's terror, and how he valued Stalin as the wisest and "greatest leader in world history". Even in Stalin's obituary, which was signed by Khrushchov also, it is stated: "Stalin's immortal name will always live in the hearts of the Soviet peoples and in all progressive mankind." But yet, the corpse of this "great man" he had thrown out of the mausoleum later! Can one trust such a man?

From 1938—1949, as Stalin's most faithful follower, Nikita Khrushchov was the 1st Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the second largest republic of the Soviet Union, and Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. With an iron fist he carried through merciless so-called "purges" there. Thousand upon thousand of Ukrainians were shot, thousand upon thousand were deported to Siberia. In the last war, mass graves containing the corpses of 12,000 Ukrainians were discovered in Vynnytsia, as well as in numerous other Ukrainian cities. These victims had been murdered at the command of the 1st Party Secretary of Soviet Ukraine, Khrushchov. With chemical and bacteriological means he fought the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from 1944—1950! By his orders, the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Stefan Bandera, was also murdered in 1959.

Now this man wants to pose as a "humanitarian" statesman, who is concerned about the peace of the world!

In October 1961, it was Khrushchov who brought forward the thesis regarding the amalgamation of the peoples of the Soviet Union. At the present time this thesis is being realized with true Communist brutality. The smaller countries are being hit by this plan first. Latvia and Estonia are already overpopulated by Russians — the same is true of Georgia and Azerbaijan.

The North Caucasian peoples have already been incorporated into the Russian Soviet Republic, whereby they were not even conceded a formal autonomy. In Turkestan, Russians were resettled en masse, and in some regions, in Kazakstan, for instance, they are already in the majority in comparison to the Turkestanian population.

Thousand upon thousand of people from Ukraine and Byelorussia were deported to Central Asia and Siberia and forced to settle there. In their place Russians are squeezing in everywhere.

On Moscow's instructions, the languages of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union must be "enriched" with Russian expressions of a "scientific", "literary" and "technical" nature, because they have supposedly gained currency all over the world. In all the non-Russian countries of the USSR as well as in the satellite countries, the Russian language is obligatory, because, as it is asserted, these people can acquire culture only with the help of this language.

The economic exploitation of a most vicious colonial sort is being continued in a most cruel perfidious way in our native countries. From all this it can be seen that there can be no talk of a liberalization in the Soviet Union or in its satellites.

In actual fact, the Soviet Union, just as the tsarist empire formerly, is a Russian colonial empire in which foreign nations have been robbed of their national sovereignty and the citizens of their most elementary human rights. It is an empire of brutal slavery. To celebrate the dictator of such an empire is more than a humiliation — it is a disgrace for the Christian-European world!

All colonial empires have already been dissolved. Even Afro-Asian peoples, who have never had an independent state existence, are permitted now to maintain their own national states. The Russian colonial empire — the USSR with its satellites — continues to exist, however — despite the fact that peoples with long cultural heritages have been forced into it, peoples whose national and human freedom has been robbed and which are being raped from day to day! These nations and peoples have an inherent right to be free, and if the peoples of the free world of the West are conscious of their responsibility and self-respect, they must use all their power to stand up for the freedom and independence of these nations.

The free world must not rock itself to sleep in the prosperity of a welfare state and enjoy a deceptively secure life. Every man must be aware of his human responsibilities and stand up for the rights of those whose rights have been robbed. Indifference with respect to those who have been subjugated would be disastrous for you!

The Russian colonial empire must be swept away and dissolved into national, independent, democratic states of the peoples who are now subjugated!

Freedom-loving nations and people of the entire world — unite in the fight against Russian imperialism and Communism for the independence of all nations and for the freedom of all individuals!

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



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RUMFORDSTRASSE 29

Khrushchov Attacks Swedish-Ukrainian Alliance

Mr. Prime Minister,

Distinguished members of the City Council, this reminds me of the members of Lencouncil (the City Council of Leningrad, the translator) or Mosouncil (the City Council of Moscow, the translator).

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Permit me to express a few words of gratitude for the warm reception by which we were met in the City of Göteborg (Gothenburg).

As we were told, the City of Gothenburg was in the beginning — as so many other towns — a fortress. But in the course of time Gothenburg lost its significance as a fortress and developed into an industrial and trading centre. I feel that it is of great significance that Gothenburg acquired world fame thanks to the peaceful activities of its citizens and thanks to its extensive trade relations with other countries. Gothenburg has much in common with our Leningrad. Both have big ports, both are extremely important industrial centres, in particular centres of the shipbuilding industry. Between the Swedish city of Gothenburg and Leningrad friendly relations have developed. We notice with great pleasure that permanent friendly relations have been established between the City Councils of Gothenburg and Leningrad. Recently when I was in Leningrad and met the chairman of the City Council, I had the opportunity to get acquainted with the achievements reached by its citizens. Knowing that I would soon be visiting Sweden and also paying a visit to Gothenburg the citizens of Leningrad asked me to convey to the citizens of Gothenburg, to the sister town of Gothenburg, their warmest and sincere greetings.

I was told, that you, Mr. Mayor, are invited to come and visit Leningrad, and I think you told me that you are contemplating to follow this invitation around the 3rd of August. The citizens of Leningrad are expecting you. Really, they told me! But they also told me that they made it an absolute condition that you must bring

along your wife and daughters. I was instructed to tell you this and now I have fulfilled my orders. The Soviet people feel very strongly that the friendship between our people should not be limited to an exchange of visits between municipal authorities, although of course we greatly welcome these contacts. Our friendship should also find its expression in the exchange of visits between all levels of the population, we want the workers to meet, representatives of the trade unions, graduate students, scientists, people engaged in various cultural activities. The Soviet people is sincerely interested in friendship with the Swedish people, as it is interested in friendship with peoples all over the world, and we notice with great pleasure that this interest is shared by the Swedish people. Indeed, there is no reason whatsoever why there should not be friendly relations between our people. There are no controversial points between us, there are no — nor could there be — any territorial conflicts. True, while staying in your country, I came across one thing that I found rather puzzling. I feel, however, that this dark cloud will disappear and that there will be no thunderstorm after all. There was one dark point in our common history. I had really no intention of mentioning this here, but since you asked me to you have to take the consequences if this rather unpleasant thing is taken up. Charles XII — if I remember correctly he was the King of Sweden — well he felt a desire to taste the Ukrainian "halushky", a Ukrainian national dish. So all of a sudden he appeared as an ally of Mazeppa trying to, . . . well, so to speak starting war with Russia. What all this business led to, you know just as well as I do; it brought death over both our nations. I do not quite remember, perhaps you could help me, but I think Charles XII then fled from Poltava via Turkey together with Mazeppa. Mazeppa was at the time Ukrainian hetman, a sort of tsar. All this belongs to the past and I do not find it at all pleasing to be reminded —

and to remind you — of such unpleasant things.

(Mr. Erlander) This was before the time of our government.

Mr. Khrushchov cont.: Quite true, but now I am going to tell you what happened under this government.

I have several times had the occasion to meet the Swedish Ambassador, Sohlman, who during many years performed valuable work in Moscow, and I once asked him, "Have you really no longing to march on Poltava?" He assured me that this was really the case, and I believed him. But now that I am here in Sweden, I have begun to wonder, if I was not mistaken, when I took him at his word. Swedish newspapers have mentioned that a Ukrainian rascal by name of Stetzko should have appeared here and that he should have put down a wreath at the monument of Charles XII on behalf of the Ukrainians. Now I am wondering: What can that mean? I am now beginning to wonder, if I have not been lured into a trap when I came here since this Stetzko made his appearance here at the same time, perhaps with the intention to take me prisoner so that Sweden can then begin a campaign against Ukraine. Seriously, such things have happened before in history. We know how it ended for Charles XII, Hitler, Napoleon and I think that there is no need to mention more of this. As a guest in your country I here put the question to Prime Minister Erlander. Do you want to conduct a war against the Soviet Union or not? What does this wreath mean, in that case? How am I to explain it when I return home to Moscow? I had the intention to go on holiday after I got home, but now I do not know, if I dare go away. I want a serious answer. Are you going to support Stetzko in a war against the Soviet Union or not? I also laughed heartily when they read that news to me. We used to say that the dead do not rise from their graves and haunt us but sometimes they really do and the present case proves this. But the dead must stay in the cemetery and the business of us who are alive is to live and to work. I will therefore talk about life

and that is what I want to conclude with. Our countries are engaged in a successful trade with one another. Recently we once more ordered a large number of ships in Sweden. This is to the advantage of you as well as us. We get fine ships and you can for this money buy more products you need from us. I today attended the launching of a fine ship. Soon the floating dock will be put in motion. I questioned the Soviet workers and engineers stationed at the shipyard and asked them if they hadn't heard something about Swedish war plans against us and that Stetzko has appeared here. I told them that and they answered, "Who is this Stetzko? What type of animal is that?"

They have never heard about it. And then they said that they would like to return as soon as possible or rather that they wanted to finish their work and said that it is very cold here according to our standards. As we see it people in Sweden have no summer. These workers said so to me. This is because they are from Novorosiysk. And there it is + 40° C. now. There it is 25 — 26° C. in the water now. But here, when these people look at the sea they cower together and shiver. And yesterday it was raining all day long here, they say. This means, that when they return home, they will in spite of this plot that Stetzko has been planning against us and that was to result in a campaign together with the Swedes, nevertheless do everything to choke such a war in its early stage, because the climate is not very good here. It is a cold climate.

I therefore think that you should come to us instead. I think that the Chairman of the City Council shall come with his wife and his daughters. And if he can prove to me that Sweden has no intention of beginning a war against the Soviet Union, I can calmly take my holiday now and then I would like to meet him and his family, where I am having my holiday and we can have a fine time together. We can swim and we can enjoy beautiful nature and the fine climate on the Black Sea. But now we have talked enough about this military subject.

Let us talk about peaceful coexistence instead. I would like to thank the workers

and engineers and the representatives of business circles in particular those who we are doing business with, because they are the smartest of all. They know jolly well who they are dealing with. There have never been any protests against our firm, we have always paid in time and our possibilities are still growing. We grow and develop from year to year, and he who is doing business with us is not going to starve, and in his enterprise there will be no unutilized capacities, they will have enough work to do.

I also want to thank you for these gifts we received which will remind us of this visit, I wish to thank in particular you, Mr. Chairman, for the wonderful luncheon — you call it luncheon, we should call it

a proper dinner, you know — thank you so much for the souvenirs my wife and I were given and would like to give you this as a souvenir — Muscovite sights, here you see St. Basil cathedral. Come and visit Moscow so that you can compare and see for yourself whether this is correct or not. Because, you know, when I look at some of your paintings, I am not quite sure whether it is supposed to be a lion or a dog. With us they paint so that you know at first sight what it represents.

I wish the City of Gothenburg further success in her peaceful development and her citizens I wish health, happiness and prosperity.

To the friendship between our peoples.

WHO IS KHRUSHCHOV

(Text of the leaflet distributed in Australia in 1964)

The man who wants to sit down and talk peace and promote trade with the free world?

He bossed a genocide that took an estimated six to seven million Ukrainians.

He personally engineered the systematic starvation of millions of Ukrainians.

He participated in the slaughter of 80 per cent of Ukraine's intellectuals, directed the secret police murder of 400,000 political foes.

He uprooted the Catholic Church in Ukraine, erased 4,400 churches, and closed 127 monasteries. Today the church does not exist in Ukraine.

He was confronted in 1956 with a Hungarian freedom uprising, the first to contest his authority. His reaction was similar to his performance in Ukraine.

1. 30,000 Hungarians were killed during and after the revolt.

2. He ordered the deportation of 12,000 persons to the Soviet Union.

3. He imprisoned hundreds of thousands in Hungary.

4. He confined 15,000 to slave labour camps.

Authorised by: Council of the Independent Hungarian Freedomfighters in Australia.

Why Did The KGB Plan To Murder Jaroslav Stetzko

In May 1959, Bohdan Stashynsky, the killer of the late OUN Leader, Stepan Bandera, received orders from his Berlin-Karls-horst KGB chief, Sergey, to start tracking down Jaroslav Stetzko. Stashynsky knew perfectly well what Sergey had in mind and did not need any explanations. Details about the ABN President were known to him from his KGB training. He knew that Jaroslav Stetzko was Prime-Minister of Ukraine and that he occupied the first place after the OUN Leader. For KGB, Stetzko and Bandera were equal in their political importance: Bandera was considered the chief ideologist of the OUN and Stetzko — the chairman of the Ukrainian government. The Muscovite overlords considered Col. Yevhen Konovalets, Stepan Bandera, Jaroslav Stetzko, and Col. Melnyk symbols of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, and they knew about their popularity in Ukraine. However, the KGB did not count Col. Melnyk among dangerous enemies of the Muscovite imperialism as he was not engaged in active politics, being not a politician at all, but only a soldier in an advanced age. For these reasons, he ceased being the object of interest for Muscovite security organs.

While issuing orders to Stashynsky of shadowing Stetzko and giving him Stetzko's residence and passport aliases as acquired from one of his agents, Sergey expressed his indignation at Stetzko's visit to Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa. He was irritated by the fact that Stetzko conducted his visit in Formosa as an official visit by a statesman. Sergey regarded this fact as outrageous; in his opinion Stetzko could act in Formosa only as representative of an emigré "clique", but not as a chairman of an official mission.

In May 1959, Stashynsky observed the premises of Jaroslav Stetzko in person; he made a photograph of all inscriptions on the door, and reported everything to Sergey in detail. It was obvious to Stashynsky that Stetzko was scheduled by the KGB to become the next victim of Muscovite killings as similar preparation and investigations

were also made in the case of Dr. Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera.

Stashynsky knew that Stetzko was the ABN President maintaining numerous connections in different countries and carrying on an extensive political action in the countries where Ukrainians were living and in Formosa. At the training courses of the KGB, which were attended by this Muscovite agent, the case of Jaroslav Stetzko and the liberation struggle of the OUN were elucidated from political and historical points of view. For Muscovite security organs, Stetzko and Bandera always represented a unity: both for years having extensively carried on the struggle for the proclaimed aim of Ukrainian independence, and both having been wellknown in Ukraine as freedom-fighters for this reason. In the Soviet Union, and, particularly, in Ukraine the name of a personality has its meaning and if, e. g., in Ukraine, stated Stashynsky, an appeal signed by Stetzko were put in circulation, every one would connect with this name the ideas of freedom and independence. In opinion of the KGB, and of the Ukrainians themselves, history of the recent decades was made in Ukraine by Col. Yevhen Konovalets, Col. Andriy Melnyk, Stepan Bandera, Jaroslav Stetzko, and with such men as Jaroslav Stetzko living, the case of Ukrainian independence seemed to everybody in Ukraine as being continuously actual and no need for losing the hope in final liberation of the Ukrainian people from Muscovite enslavement was being felt.

According to depositions by Stashynsky, the KGB believes in final victory by the Soviet Union in the internal-political struggle against the national-liberation movement of Ukraine on condition, however, that the Ukrainians lose their "symbols". It is for this reason that the Muscovite security organs continue attempts at the physical liquidation of prominent Ukrainian political leaders living beyond the borders of Ukraine.

Stashynsky envisaged the evident danger

to himself for his being the same person who was to trace addresses, to conduct investigations, and to assassinate. However, the KGB was mostly concerned with the circumstance of having the fewest number of people involved in the killings. Accordingly, Stashynsky was strictly forbidden to mention the names of Bandera, Rebet or Stetzko to anybody with the exception of Sergey. He had also no accomplices while executing attempts upon Rebet or Bandera, and he is sure that no assassin will have any accomplices in the future. The attempt on the life of Jaroslav Stetzko was not executed at that time because it was still premature, simultaneous attempt upon Stepan Bandera would have aroused suspicions. All dignitaries of the KGB including Shelepin were unanimous in their opinion that it was necessary to wait until "the grass grew on Bandera's grave." Stashynsky was firmly convinced that he would have got orders to kill Stetzko in winter of 1961/1962 if his wife arrived in Moscow as it was consistently urged by the KGB.

According to Stashynsky, it is difficult to avoid an attempt on life in the long run if it is planned by the KGB. However, he believes that its execution could be made more difficult if some precautions were consistently taken, as, e. g., changing names and surnames every three years; frequent changing of residence, and changing at least by leading persons of the OUN, of the countries of residence. Their passport aliases and surnames should correspond to the most popular surnames used in respective countries. Aliases and addresses cannot be entered into any address- or telephone books because the latter are the most important source of information for the KGB organs. Any prohibition by the police organs to disclose the addresses, has no importance at all because Soviet agents would never try to find them out by consulting the police. According to Stashynsky, Bandera's address was established with the help of a telephone book where his surname was entered as Popel (Slavonic surname) and the first name was not even changed.

In addition to pistols shooting potassium cyanide, which were successfully applied in

the case of assassinations of Dr. Lev Rebet and Stefan Bandera, the KGB organs practice mailing packages with high explosives which tear up victims trying to open them. Also a poisoned needle has been used, which is being shot from a "pistol" with the help of condensed air and which leaves no traces.

On the basis of the fact that Sergey showed him a picture of an unknown person whom he identified as Stepan Bandera, Stashynsky arrived at a conclusion that previously another KGB agent had been preoccupied with the Bandera case.

Stashynsky was also cognizant of the fact that the "Committee for Return to Fatherland" functioning in East Berlin, was subordinated to respective department of the KGB, which was dealing with the emigrés.

BOOK - REVIEWS

Roger Cosyns-Verhaegen, *Théorie de l'Action Subversive*, Brussels, Editions du Pé-nant, 1963, 35 pp.

The author goes back to the communist revolution in Czecho-Slovakia in 1948 to attempt to demonstrate in this pamphlet the extremely dangerous subversive activity of communism which very often precedes the open violent war of world communism controlled by the Russians. In this he has fully succeeded.

The most important stages of communist subversive activity appear, according to the author, as follows: —

(1) A subversive action which is carried out by a political faction on its account;

(2) A subversive action which is carried out by a political faction on behalf of a foreign Power;

(3) A subversive activity which is carried out by a political faction on its own account and on behalf of a foreign state simultaneously, whereby the latter rewards this faction by intervening at a given moment for the purpose of helping the political faction concerned to procure the seizure of power

in its own country. The author discusses these stages in great detail in the following pages (p. 11 et seq.).

The publication is very elucidating with regard to the ruthless communist subversion in the countries of the free world and therefore makes a very valuable contribution to the struggle against world communism directed very cunningly by the Red Russians.

In conclusion Mr. Cosyns-Verhaegen quotes from Homer's Iliad: "The struggle for one's country provides the best antidote against any evil." W. Kapotiwskyj

Peter J. Huxley-Blythe, *The East Came West*, published by The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho (USA), 1964. 225 pages. Price 5.00 dollars.

During World War II, the Cossackian army fought against Communist Russia. The book under review presents a shocking description of how the British and the Americans surrendered the Cossacks with women and children who sought asylum in the West into the hands of the Bolsheviks — how they drove these people directly into Stalin's fire. The scenes in which the Cossacks are described before and during the time they were being surrendered are gripping: in Lienz, Peggetz, Spittal and Klagenfurt where women and children threw themselves into the Drava to escape being killed by the KGB. Neither urgent prayers, nor memorandums to the English King and the American President could help; in accordance with the Yalta agreement, these people were mercilessly given over to the Russians. First the officers were surrendered and later the Cossackian civilians. According to the documents which the author quotes:

12 generals were brought to Moscow, 120 officers did not make it as far as Graz, 1,030 officers left Graz, but did not make it as far as Vienna, 983 officers reached Vienna and then disappeared, 16 officers were released from medical supervision by the English on May 28, 1945, 5 escaped from the camp Spittal, 4 committed suicide in Spittal, 4 fled between Spittal and Judenburg, 2 committed suicide in the

transport vehicle before they reached the bridge of Judenburg (page 140).

Throughout the book it is evident that the author writes with a feeling of great inner commiseration for the Cossackian tragedy. Nonetheless, the book is not without pro-Russian tendencies. For the author there are Russians only in the Soviet Union. He does not understand that the other nations in the Soviet Union not only want to rid themselves of Communism, but also of their Russian occupants. For him, the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union are solely a discovery of Rosenberg. The truth of the matter, however, is that these nations existed not only before Rosenberg, but even before the Russian nation was formed. Since, for the author, the Ukrainians, Georgians and Turkestanians are not separate nations, he is all the realism — the so-called "indivisible Russians." "The truth is that the Cossacks were and are Russians." (page 43)

It is no wonder, therefore, that Huxley-Blythe, who speaks out for Russian imperialism — the so-called "indivisible Russia" — was not only awarded a special badge and certificate in acknowledgment of his work for Russia (as distinct from the Soviet Union) by a Russian anti-Communist movement in 1957, but was also paid the unique compliment of being asked to be a member of this organization.

Slawa Stetzko

Hans-Georg Kemnitzer: *Nitschewo*, linen, 310 pp., published by Verlag fuer Volkstum und Zeitgeschichte, Vlotho, 1964,

Nitschewo — that is no-mans-land, the endless stretches of Siberia, into which a transport train with German prisoners of war travels; that is the boundless anonymity, in which every single individual of the thousands of forced labourers of every nationality sinks in Siberia.

The author, who describes his experiences in a gripping, novel-like factual report, is compelled by an iron-willed determination not to perish in the nameless endlessness of Siberia and therefore he simulates blindness over night. Summoning all his still remaining forces, he actually succeeds in deceiv-

ing not only the doctors, but the NKWD officers as well, and is finally allowed to return to his native country.

The whole Golgatha of a prison-existence again stands before us in over-dimensional clarity — all the tortures, privations, devilries, sicknesses, hunger, death, filth and despair. Gripping in its powerlessness is the cry of one prisoner: "They should know that they cannot tread upon us with impunity. Today half of humanity already bears the scars of their whips. We will join together — we, their victims. And all the dead whom they have on their conscience, all those who have been murdered, expelled, banished, deported — all of them will rise up one day and march with us."

With infinite tenderness, Kemnitzer tells of the small consolations and palliations, which gave them the strength to hope and to bear their lot there under those conditions. For example, an old piano, a page of the Gospel and the words of Nietzsche: "Not much longer must you thirst, my scorched heart. The breadth of unknown lips is touching me. The great coldness comes. Be strong, my brave heart. Ask not — why."

The simple sentence spoken, by one of the soldiers dying on a transport train returning to Germany, without wanting to produce an effect of pathos is also deeply moving: "You know, as bitter as it was, it was beautiful, nonetheless God in Heaven loves those most tenderly who, like he, died once on the cross."

It is good and valuable that this book is being published right at this moment, 20 years after the end of the war: in the hour of coexistence, of forgetfulness, of material surfeit. Kemnitzer concludes with the words: "Heavenly Father", a voice in me called like the sound of an organ, "thanks be to Your Grace that has lead us so far. It was a severe judgement that You held with us. In accordance with Your unknowable decree, the evil ones enslaved the good. But now in Your eternal justice and goodness, You again give us freedom and with it the inner peace and a common fatherland. Praises be to You! But as far as they are concerned, they who enslaved

and tortured us, they knew exactly what they were doing. And therefore, we beg You, o Lord, do not forgive them!"

Angelika v. Schuckmann

Roger Cosyns-Verhaegen, *La Guerre Subversive*, Brussels, 1963, 73 pp.

This publication has had a large success because the author tackles a subject which must interest everybody very much, in this world divided by Russian communist subversive activity. We have, in fact, to deal with a new form of warfare. This is very closely connected with ideological wars which have become more cruel than ever before. Man is considered as a psychological as well as a physical entity in these wars.

Mr. Cosyns-Verhaegen gives us a thorough, synthetic analysis of this extremely obscure phenomenon which is discussed in detail from the philosophical, political, military, and technical points of view. For the author deals with subversive warfare not merely as the instrument of an exclusive ideology but also as a specific strategy which produces an independent reality and irrespective of whether we are concerned with its offensive or defensive sides.

Despite the relative brevity of the contents the author has managed to cover all the signs of the subversive war which give us a clear insight into the subversive machinations of the communist world conspiracy. Mr. Cosyns-Verhaegen has set out for us the most important fundamental principles of a subversive war worked out in Moscow and waged bitterly under orders from the Kremlin.

According to the author, the subversive war has four phases, namely: —

(1) Ideological Offensive, which through its constant propaganda seeks to overthrow the customary legitimate government of the country;

(2) Subversive Action, including a universal action which disregards the law of the country, but for the time being still shrinks from acts of violence;

(3) Guerilla Warfare, including terrorism in town and country to defeat the legal Armed Forces of the country, and

(4) the Seizure of Power, the forcible Establishment of a new Government and the consolidation of the new communist regime.
Tchernivchanyn

Walter Kolarz: "*Die Religionen in der Sowjet Union — Überleben in Anpassung und Widerstand*", with 36 plates, translated from the English by H. Schmidthüs, Verlag Herder, Freiburg/Breisgau, 1963, 540 pp.

The author has used plenty of rare, contradictory sources and combined the evidence with great patience and fairness. After years of laborious critical work, collecting, sorting and interpreting, he has now undoubtedly produced the most comprehensive and scientifically authentic reference work on this subject.

"Throughout the whole history of the Soviet Union religion has remained the most visible alternative to communism. It is the only opponent of communism that was able to preserve at least a part of its institutional forms," notes Kolarz in his introduction. And later: "The extent of the survival of religion in Russia cannot be expressed in figures. Religion lives on in the hearts of men who believe in God. It lives in prayer and pious thoughts."

In the chapter "The struggle for national Orthodox Churches" the author devotes a long section to the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in which he says, inter alia, "The Autocephalic Church of Soviet Ukraine has existed formally since 1921 when an All-Ukrainian Church Assembly met in Kyiv. The members of the Sobor were no doubt honestly convinced that they were performing a great act of national emancipation when they freed the Ukrainian National Church from Muscovite chains. The statutes made it clear that the Sobor acted under wordly influence, as it not only established a national church but one with modernistic theology. At all levels, the lay element prevailed over the clerical. A large part of the activity of the new church was aimed at filling the religious life with nationalist spirit. The anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko,

the Ukrainian national poet, was taken into the church calendar and the concept of 'Mother Ukraine' was even used lithurgically. The Ukrainian language became a fetish of the new church. Instead of being an accessory it attained the rank of an absolute value." Kolarz concludes: "Ukrainian church autonomy from Moscow will always be the aspiration of Ukrainian nationalism and always remain a political more than a religious claim. The purely religious question of autocephalism is secondary. The primary spiritual need of Ukraine is the freedom of religious practice."

In the chapter on the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, Kolarz emphasises the exceeding importance of the Metropolitan Sheptetzkyj. "He personally pursued no ambition and no aims which were not the ambition and aims of Rome. The Holy See had given him extraordinary and unprecedented full power of canonical jurisdiction over all catholics of the Eastern rite. Pope Pius X granted Sheptetzkyj the full powers of a patriarch for a sixth of the globe. His mission was not national but supra-national and the Metropolitan was indeed a cosmopolitan not a nationalist." And at another place: "Sheptetzkyj as a Prince of the Catholic Church, was naturally an opponent of the Nazi paganism and racial doctrines and as a Ukrainian he was disappointed in Hitler's Germany right from the beginning of the occupation. He had supported Jaroslaw Stetzko, who had been prime-minister of the short-lived Ukrainian government between the Soviet withdrawal and the German takeover. Stetzko's removal and arrest by the Germans was at the same time an affront to the Metropolitan who had been Stetzko's main support. From then on, relations between Sheptetzkyj and the German rulers were difficult."

Kolarz deals fully not only with the large religions in the Soviet Union such as the Russian Orthodox Church, the national Orthodox Churches, Catholicism and the Protestant churches, but also with Islam, Buddhism, the Armenian Church, the purely Russian sects and Judzism.

In his last chapter, "The Responsibility of the Western World", the author concludes with the words: "The inability of the West to live according to its religious standards is the surest way of allowing Communism to spread to other parts of the world before it has completely exhausted its energy in the country of its origin."

A. v. S.

J. Y. Calvez and R. Vezeau, *Socialisme et Socialisation*, CIPA, Rome, 1964, 86 pp.

The confusion of the people, which brought with it the recent social revolutions in Eastern Europe, especially in post-Czarist Russia, induced the responsible ecclesiastic, particularly Catholic, bodies to analyse the social problems of the last century extremely conscientiously in order to show that up to that time social mass movements had not always found the right path.

The Papal Encyclicals, especially since Leo XIII, instruct us on this subject. One should control the social claims of the masses prudently and not rashly to the detriment of the whole of mankind. Pope John XXIII in "Mater et Magistra" and "Pacem in Terris" provides us with a few hints with regard to our attitude towards modern (so-called democratic) socialism.

The book contains three essays: on socialism in general, on socialisation, and on the future of the social movement in the newly devised forms of the state adopted by the independent states of Africa. It is interesting that socialism in Africa is by no means going along the path of deformed Marxist socialism as it is preached by the Russian authorities in the Kremlin or by the Red Chinese.

The publication is worth reading. W. K. Salvador Diaz-Verson: *Canibales del Siglo XX*, Miami, 1962, 123 pp.

The author is deeply shocked by the cruelties of the communist rulers in Cuba, to which he is devoted with a special love and affection, and calls the communists "cannibals of the twentieth century" who immediately butcher all reasonable men who stand in the way of these barbarian "man-eaters". The publication contains a complete list of the names of wellknown

patriots who have fallen as victims of Castro's regime.

In one chapter of this interesting and sorrowful book, the author writes solely of the terror, blood and death, of the horrible deeds which smoothed the way to the seizure of power by the Castro regime in Cuba.

The red inquisition is particularly loathsome, as one learns from the book. Many of those who helped Castro were later murdered by him.

The present situation in Cuba is so clearly described that one easily recognises the extremely depressed state of Cuba under communist despotism. Without the help of Moscow, the centre of the communist world conspiracy, Castro's regime could certainly not remain in power.

The author is firmly convinced in spite of the depressing situation in Cuba that the communist regime in this unfortunate country will not last forever and that the Cuban people will soon be able to attain again the freedom for which they passionately yearn.

The book is extremely interesting with regard to the vivid description of communist atrocities and should be read by everyone who understands Spanish.

W. Iwoniwskyj

Communist Aggression against the Republic of Viet-Nam, Saigon, July 1964

This fully illustrated account of dreadful atrocities committed, and still being committed, by the North Vietnamese communists, at the instigation of Peking, in South Vietnam was kindly passed to us by the Vietnamese Embassy in London. It should convince the horrified reader how far the incensed and degenerate communist fanatics can go to smother the freedom of a free people in blood.

The book provides extensive evidence on communist aggression against the democratic republic of Vietnam. There are also numerous texts of statements and memoranda issued by the South Vietnamese Government and of many notes of protest from the Vietnamese Communications officers to the General Secretariat of the In-

ternational Control Commission, which accuse the communists of breaking the Geneva Agreement of 1954.

The government and people of Vietnam are nevertheless firmly resolved to defend freedom in southeast Asia and to check the advance of Communist China and its satellite North Vietnam. The freedom-loving western world should grant the young republic of Vietnam every possible material and moral assistance. For freedom is indivisible under present political conditions; what is perpetrated by the barbarous Red soldiers in the remotest corner of the earth concerns us all.

W.L.

Salvador Diaz-Verson: *Cuando la Razon se Vuelve Inutil*, Ediciones Botas, Mexico, 1962, 156 pp.

Yes, the author is right when he indicates fairly clearly in the title of the book that such dreadful things can only happen when men lose their reason. The book deals with the tragedy of the good-natured Cuban people who have allowed themselves to be enslaved by the ruthless activity of the amoral communists in Cuba, whose numbers moreover are not very large, with Fidel Castro at the top. Diaz-Verson quotes new facts which are intended to illustrate the process of the tragedy in Cuba more clearly and to point out the ominous reaction of communist activity in the island in the Caribbean Sea.

Mr. Salvador Diaz-Verson is a well-known author who has made himself an expert in communist affairs and dedicated his life to this study in order to reveal to the people of the free world the true nature of so-called Marxism-Leninism with its alleged "social justice" and to instruct them with regard to the dangers for western civilization which this Marxism-Leninism brings with it. For communism endeavours to lead the masses astray with its seductive rallying slogans which are never sincerely believed and to deceive the intellectuals in order to prepare the way for the seizure of power by the criminal communist oligarchy.

Through cunning and infamous agitation, needless to say at the instigation and

under the direction of Moscow, Cuba has become a satellite of Moscow in the western hemisphere and threatens North as well as Latin America through its subversive activity. The Cuban press was standardised on the Russian model. Countless intellectuals were either shot or languish in prison in the Caribbean island controlled by Fidel Castro. Even the Catholic Church in Cuba was not spared by the communists. Many churches were closed and the pastoral activity of the clergy was made more difficult or impossible.

The author describes the past of a few of the supporters of the Castro regime to demonstrate the moral depravity of the Red Cuban satrapan. At the same time he refers to the untruthfulness of the Russian communist rulers who strive to impress upon the ignorant masses far and wide that "socialism is synonymous with freedom, security and prosperity". Unfortunately, there are no voices raised to contradict the lies of Russian imperialism (p. 154). Perhaps one ought to shout at the lying communists:

"Communism means slavery, socialism indescribable poverty, hunger, a lack of progress, the employment of violence and godlessness." (p. 155).

The book is certainly worth reading as it depicts the indescribable poverty of the masses and the amoral untruthfulness of the supporters of communism, wherever it may be, with extreme logic, to warn mankind of communist corruption.

Unfortunately, concludes the author, up to now man's reason has failed.

W. Tchurkatchyk

Freiherr zu Guttenberg: *"Wenn der Westen will"*, a plea for a courageous policy, Seewald-Verlag, Stuttgart, 1964, 238 pp., DM 16.80.

Scarcely any of the numerous books on Bonn's foreign policy has been awaited by the public with as much suspense as this one by the well-known CSU federal deputy Freiherr zu Guttenberg, of whom an important German newspaper wrote: "There are still politicians in Germany-deputies with education, with taste, with

determination, with disregard for themselves (and not only for others)."

First the author states that we are in the Cold War: "The history of the Cold War is a series of crises and the common root of these crises is the attempt of the communists to spread the world-revolution." Guttenberg points out in particular that communism has not changed: "The communists employ the 'hot and cold bath cure'. Phases of 'détente' and 'peaceful co-existence' follow threat and extortion. In fact, up to the present there has not been one single sign that the communists have given up their aim as formulated by Bucharin: 'with regard to the bourgeois state we know only one duty: to blow it up.'"

"It is a complete illusion to believe that Soviet society is already in the process of reverting to a bourgeois state. One ought to be on one's guard against believing with open impatience that it is already a step forward when cannibals eat with knives and forks."

"The argument that the free Germans could best display their friendly feelings towards the neighbouring peoples in the East if their official representatives exchange handshakes with the authorities there, has never appeared particularly convincing to me. I cannot perceive a special sign of German friendship to the Hungarian people in a 'cordial' meeting of a German diplomat with Mr. Kadar, the executor of the bloodbath in Budapest in 1956."

"The allies of the free world in Eastern Europe are the oppressed not the oppressors. There must never be a general Western policy which gives the East European peoples the impression that they are forgotten and written off. The Western world

cannot betray the ethical and political principles which constitute its essence."

The author does not believe that one should support the Russians against the Chinese, as the Americans do who see in Russia the lesser evil. Guttenberg thinks rather that the Russians' embarrassment gives the West an offensive policy. He maintains that the West should constantly confront the Soviet Union with demands such as the abolition of the orders to shoot at the wall, freedom of movement in Berlin and Germany, etc., for "the Germans should not be persuaded that a policy of appeasement is a movement in the direction of re-unification. All the proposals of this policy of appeasement bear the mark of Cain of the status quo."

"The military balance of power is insufficient. It must be supplemented by the balance of political pressure. The determination to restore freedom, wherever the people wish it, must oppose the expansionist design of communism."

Guttenberg concludes this courageous, brilliantly written book with the words: "The West holds all the trumps in its hand. Its economic power is infinitely superior to that of the other side; its military strength exceeds that of its opponents many times over; its concepts are the source of tremendous progress. But above all, even on the other side of the Iron Curtain the people are on the side of the West."

Everything is ready to guarantee the victory of freedom: ideas, men, knowledge, goods, and weapons. The main thing is to use all this at the right time, in the right way and for the right purpose. The scales will tilt in favour of freedom — if the West is willing." A. v. S.

The A.B.N. has set itself the following task:

To restore the national state independence of all nations subjugated by Bolshevist Russia, in accordance with ethnographic principles in the U.S.S.R. and the so-called satellite states; to abolish all artificially created state systems, which have been set up against the wish of the nations concerned; to enable all persons who have been forcibly expelled or deported to return to their native country.

Jaroslav Stetzko in USA

On his return journey from Asia Jaroslav Stetzko visited several towns in the USA. He gave speeches and press conferences in San Francisco and Los Angeles. On 11th January he made a speech in the Senate in Phoenix, Arizona, which was recorded in the Senate records. He gave a press conference to the Press Club, made a radio broadcast of 30 minutes and was interviewed on television.

In Denver he spoke before the Senate where there were about 70 listeners. Radio

Denver invited him to a discussion on American foreign policy. The Governor of Colorado received him cordially.

In Ohama, Nebraska, the American Catholic press invited him to a two-hour interview. From there the President of CC ABN went to New York where he attended the annual conference of AFABN and gave an address.

In Philadelphia he spoke at a press conference of American journalists. Jaroslav Stetzko is now visiting Canada.

Russia Intensifies Anti-Religious Propaganda

The intensification of the anti-religious campaign in every centre has been proclaimed by "Pravda", as necessary to endeavour to eradicate God from the minds of the people, through a programme of atheistic education.

After emphasizing that the religious prejudices "cannot be eliminated by means of government measures," Pravda explained the atheist educational plan, drawn up by the ideological commission of the party, under the presidency of Leonide Ilyichev.

The programme is as follows:

Organization of an "Institute of Scientific Atheism."

Specialization in "High Studies on Atheism," by a group of History and Philosophy students.

Establishment of Seminaries of studies, as well as correspondence schools, to spread these teachings.

A prize will be awarded to the best film on anti-religious themes.

Pravda strongly disapproves that a great part of the Soviet population is still loyal to the religious faith, and stated that it is time to "eradicate these beliefs of the past."

The new campaign emphasized that the Soviet drive against God has been a failure, up to now.

The A.B.N. supports the cause of peace and freedom, prosperity and security, freedom from fear and need for the whole world, independence and equality of rights for all nations. Not only Bolshevism must be destroyed in order to achieve these aims, but the Russian empire, the hotbed of imperialist world-aggression, must also be disintegrated.

Statement Of Senator Dirksen

On January 26th, the Hon. Everett M. Dirksen, U.S. Senator from Illinois, introduced a resolution calling for the withdrawal of Soviet Russian occupation troops from Ukraine and all other captive nations behind the Iron Curtain and appealed to the United Nations to conduct free elections under its direct supervision. He also called on the Soviet Union to return "all citizens of said captive nations to their homelands from places of exile in Siberia" and from prison and concentration camps throughout the USSR.

Senator Dirksen introduced his resolution (which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations) when he made a statement in honour of the 47th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence.

Text Of Sen. Dirksen's Resolution

Whereas the Communist regime of the Soviet Union did not come to power in the Eastern European countries by legal or democratic processes, but has flouted even the solemn assurances and agreements entered into at the Yalta Conference of February 1945; and

Whereas the Soviet Union has denied self-determination by free election in those countries, resorting not only to heavily manned occupational forces, but also to genocidal activities in the cases of the many countries known as captive nations; and

Whereas the sovereignty and independence of the former free governments of those captive nations under the yoke of Soviet Communism were duly recognized and continue to be given recognition and moral support; and

Whereas the suppression of human freedoms and the denial of free trade and communications with other sovereign countries present a threat to peace, intolerable either

to the United States, other free nations, or the international law agencies; and

Whereas the Governments and peoples of said captive nations now under the yoke of Soviet Communism have always been in close relation with the United States and constantly continue to prove their belief in democracy through the work and blood of their peoples: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (The House of Representatives Concurring)

That the President is hereby requested to take such action as may be necessary to bring before the United Nations for its consideration the question of the forceful incorporation into the Soviet Union of the following captive nations and peoples now behind the so-called Iron Curtain: Ukrainians, Turkestanis, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Albanians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, Czechoslovakians*, Rumanians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, Poles, and East Germans; and a resolution declaring that -

(a) the Soviet Union shall withdraw all Soviet troops, agents, colonists, and controls from said captive nations; (b) the Soviet Union shall return all citizens of said captive nations to their homelands from places of exile in Siberia, and dispersion in prisons and slave labour camps throughout the Soviet Union; and (c) the United Nations should conduct free elections in said captive nations under the direct supervision of the United Nations and sit in judgment on the Communist counterparts of the Nazi war criminals convicted at the Nuremberg trials.

* In our opinion it would be more correct to state "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" instead of Yugoslavs, and "Czechs and Slovaks" instead of Czechoslovakians.

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by Jaroslav Stetzko

*

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*

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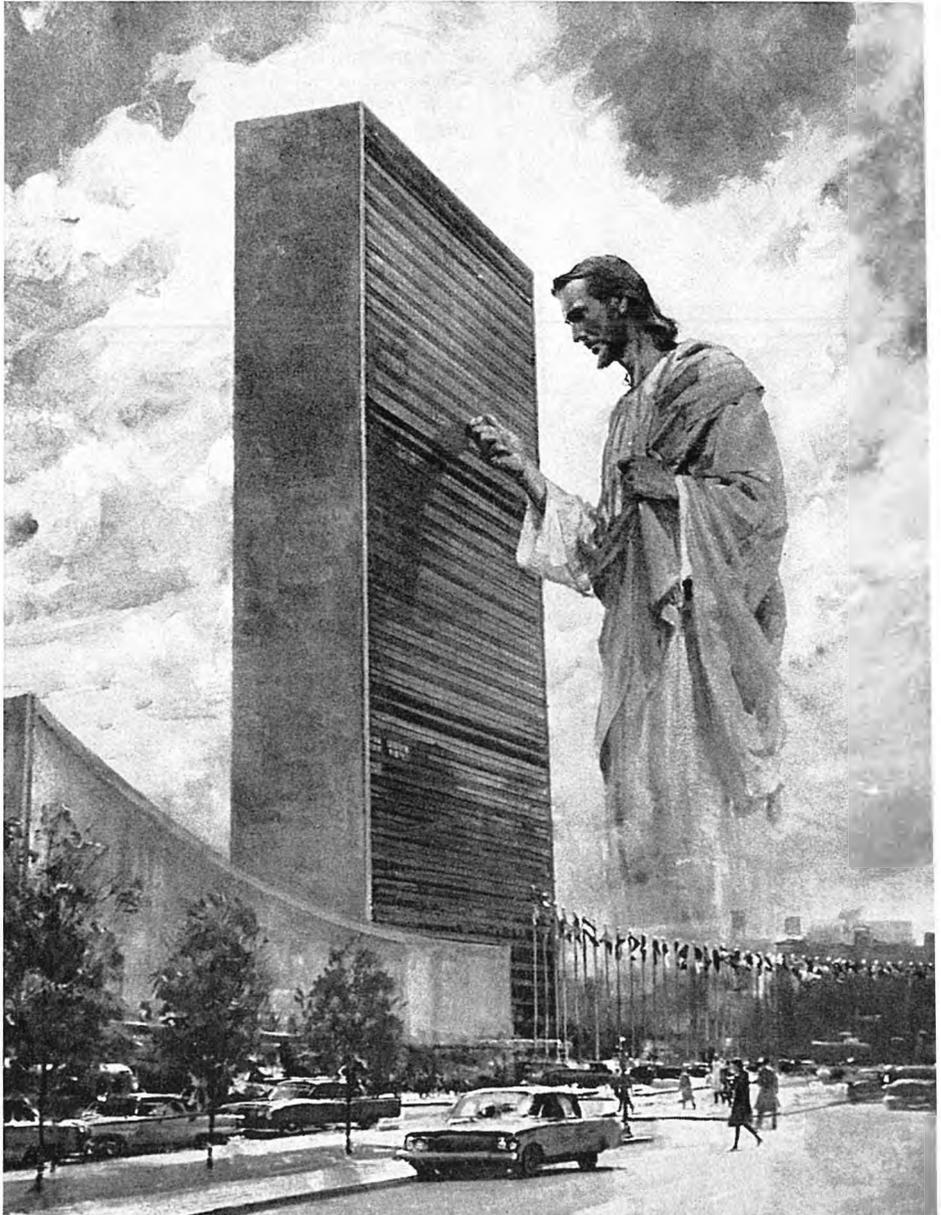
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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



"The modern mind has been closed to God for a long time, but it seems now that God is finding His way back as He did at the beginning of Christian history — coming through closed doors."

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen

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UN, USSR, ABN

Today we all agree that the three men who tried to put the world in order after the war in 1945 in Yalta threw it into chaos. Of these three men, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, the first was possessed by the devil; the second was a sick man who thought he could succeed together with Stalin in creating a new world of peace and democracy; and the third admitted after uselessly wasted time that the policy of the Western Allies after the war had been a complete fiasco. The war had been won but the peace lost and instead of an era of "peace" and "friendship" chaos emerged.

The successors of these three men tried in vain to master this chaos, the West through the United Nations and Moscow through the USSR. The West wants to tame the Soviet Russian devil by appeasement and Moscow wants to implant a strong injection of its ideas in the West by appeasement in order to make Europe and America a defenceless victim of Communism by means of civil wars.

What role then was destined for Europe in this conception, with Ukraine as the most advanced outpost against Russian Eurasia?

A supporter of Western "democracy" revealed this in the Weinbaum newspaper *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* of the 24th December 1964: "Whatever intentions these countries have and whatever their theoretical arguments are, in the critical moment they will be forced to join one of the world-powers: either the Americans, the Russians or the Chinese, according to their situation whether they lie in Europe, Africa or Asia."

Apart from the Chinese, let us examine what the conceptions of the two worlds which claim to rule the world or at least one half of it bring for us in Europe.

That the USSR is neither a union of states, nor a republic, nor a federal state but rather, as Shevchenko said, a federation of subjugated peoples who are imprisoned in one common prison, is just as clear as the fact that the Soviet Union is about to disintegrate and that the subjugated peoples in the USSR, the satellite states, indeed even the former comrades of the Third International led by it, are in revolt against it. It is also undeniable that the Soviet Union brings nothing more than lies, moral subversion and oppression into the world. In this system the centrifugal forces obviously outweigh the forces which hold it together. In the second power-centre, the USA, too, the same situation exists. Central and South America (Panama, Cuba, etc.), Asia (Korea, Vietnam), Africa and the rest of Western Europe (French-German rapprochement, President de Gaulle's actions) are withdrawing from its leadership and care. The USA is slowly returning to isolationism.

Roosevelt's invention, the United Nations, is moving quickly towards its downfall. Some nations which ought to be represented there are not. Instead their places are taken by Russian governors under false labels.

The United Nations is not united. It is split, in the General Assembly as well as in the world arena where the United Nations often fight. The UN cannot get a hearing even among the small nations. Its prestige is sinking especially when

uncovered business sometimes comes to light behind its policy, for example in Africa.

The UN is losing its prestige particularly because of its attitude to national questions. In its attacks against colonialism the UN completely forgets the rights of the nations subjugated by Moscow. And not only the rights of Ukraine but also those of the satellite states, for example, Hungary, during the revolt, and divided Germany. Its co-operation with other "United Nations", the USSR, exercises a fatal influence on its prestige. The creators of the United Nations paid very little respect to the nation as such even in Yalta. Churchill, who together with Stalin with pencil in hand calculated the influence of the Great Powers in Europe, privately admitted himself that to rule the future of millions of men in this way was cynicism.

Like many other actions of the UN this probably happened under the influence of the vision that many "democratic" circles of the West saw an embryo of the so-called "world government" in the UN. These circles dreamt of a "world federation of nations", of a "dynamic democracy", of a "world brotherhood of peoples". They longed to liberate the world from "religious disunion", from "national exclusivity", from "Russian bias", in dreaming of a "world government" with an international army and police force.

In order to attain this all nations would have to become "democratic", Tito's Yugoslavia, France under Blum or Torez, the Congo, Madagascar, and even any independent state of African tribes.

All "Fascist nations", that is, those that do not wish coexistence with Communism and do not believe in Marx, ought to have themselves re-christened on this model. That is the unconditional demand of these "democrats" who for decades have kept Spain under economic embargo, or with the help of the UN have waged war on Portugal or even Ukraine when they put it on the index as a "criminal nation" simply because under Petlura and also during the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), under Chmelnytskyj or the Gonta revolt it did not want to put itself under the yoke of greedy foreign intruders. Recently Mr. Spaak even expressed his displeasure that there was a re-awakening of nationalism in France under de Gaulle and in divided Germany.

All the powers, in which the "democrats" or Bolsheviks sow the centres for the creation of order in the world, lose their masks. Some of them openly chose the devil as spiritual founder and protector. Others sought peaceful co-existence with him, as was the case two decades ago in Yalta, with the difference that on the one hand they are losing their beautiful masks today and, on the other hand, their efforts to regulate the world end in a fiasco. The USSR and the UN are already living corpses.

Ukraine is a nation which was the first to rise up against the Muscovite hordes 300 years ago and also the first to do so after 1917. Now it revolts against the powerless ideas of misleading internationalism of all kinds, against misleading "democracy" which seeks a union with Communism and theism, against the advance guard of the devil in the Kremlin. It raises the banner of an uncompromising war, moral and physical, the banner of nationalism, the banner of the former Cossack knights "against the devil — the cross, against the enemy — the sword!"

In recent years a new power, ABN, has entered the international arena in place

of the bankrupt forces of the USSR and the United Nations. Its Ukrainian members perform a great service in this respect. They are a challenge to all the dark powers in our dark and dishonourable days, to all those who help these powers, to bring men and nations into slavery and turn the world into a madhouse.

ABN's path is also a path of union, the union of those who took the field to destroy Communism, to abolish materialism, atheism and the Muscovite hordes, a union of men of free spirit of various nations with the purpose of wide-spread action in the sphere of international politics.

But the idea of a union of the nationalists with those "democrats", socialists or national Communists who sit down at a "round table" over the graves of millions of victims in Ukraine, over the graves of the fighters for our truth, with murderers and hangmen to try to reach peace, is still-born.

The path of nationalism is another. Union? Yes! But not with the capitulators. Union only with like-minded men of free spirit, men with the antiplebeian spirit of Shevchenko, with the spirit of the martyrs of the Soviet Russian and other concentration-camps, with the spirit of the UPA, with the spirit of our ancient heritage, with the spirit of free men, but not with the spirit of the lackeys of Moscow.

Historical Facts On The Freedom-Struggle Of Ukraine

Two documents of great political importance for the Ukrainian people and for the whole of Eastern Europe are associated with the 22nd January 1918, and the 22nd January 1919. On the former date, the Ukrainian Central Council in Kyiv proclaimed the sovereignty and independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. Almost three weeks later, on 9th February 1918, Ukraine signed the Peace Treaty with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk. Ukraine's path to the re-establishment of its independence was nevertheless troublesome, a path on which Ukraine had to make countless sacrifices before and after 22nd January 1918.

Ukraine came under Russian rule in the 17th century. Moscow took the Treaty of Perejaslav in 1654 as a pretext to seize Ukraine. After this Moscow shared the provinces of Ukraine with Poland for more than a century until, with the partition of Poland, the whole of Eastern Ukraine came under Russian occupation.

Throughout two centuries Ukraine undertook several attempts to free itself from Russia. There were countless insurrections and wars which were put down in bloodshed by Russia, and also countless draconian measures to prevent all further attempts at liberation from Russia. The Russian Central State believed itself the conqueror of Ukraine and in the 1880's even forbade the Ukrainian language by decree. Yet like the mythical sphinx the Ukrainian nation arose again after every defeat and relied continually on its divine right to self-determination without shrinking from pain and sacrifice. Thus it was after the bloody defeat in the Battle of Poltava in 1709. Thus it was also in the First World War, after the fall of the Czar in February 1917.

The First World War eased the situation in the Russian Czarist empire. This resulted in new opportunities for the national forces in Ukraine to give fresh impetus to their ideas. After the fall of the Czar, Ukrainian national thought

took concrete forms. In April 1917, the Ukrainian Central Council was formed in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, composed of national Ukrainian organizations. Several congresses of various Ukrainian organizations followed, such as the soldiers' congress and the farmers' congress, at which the demand for independence became louder and louder. These congresses sent their permanent delegates to the Central Council which then proclaimed itself the Ukrainian Provisional Parliament and in June 1918, issued its first manifesto.

Gradually the authority of the Ukrainian Central Council grew. The national minorities in Ukraine, such as the Russians, Poles and Jews, also sent their delegates to the Central Council. It created the General Secretariate with the authority of a government and thus took the practical government power in the country into its hands. But all this did not happen without the opposition of the Provisional Central Government of Russia. The Russian Central Government accepted these steps to self-determination taken by Ukraine only tentatively, with reservation and because of the creation of a *fait accompli* by the Ukrainians, but had no political basis and especially no power to intervene.

When the Bolshevik Revolution was successful in Russia in November 1917, the Ukrainian Central Council proclaimed its Third Manifesto, in which it invoked the independence of the Ukrainian people as a nation. The Bolsheviks wanted to force Ukraine to submit to the Council of People's Commissars in Petersburg as a central government of Russia. The Ukrainian Central Council refused to recognize that body as the competent authority in Ukraine. The latter negotiated a cease-fire with the Central Powers and sent its delegation to the Peace Conference in Brest-Litovsk. The Ukrainian Central Council decided to do likewise.

The Central Powers and also the Soviet Russian delegation, led by Leo Trotsky, recognized the Ukrainian delegation as having equal rights to attend the Conference. Despite this recognition Soviet Russia did everything possible, including threats, and finally armed force, to seize Ukraine. On 22nd January 1918, the Ukrainian Central Council proclaimed its Fourth Manifesto.

With this proclamation Ukraine broke all political ties with Russia. The new Ukrainian state was recognized by the Central Powers (Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey) *de jure* and by France and the United Kingdom *de facto*.

The Fourth Manifesto contained four important resolutions: the Declaration of Independence; the demand for a peace treaty; the declaration of a defensive war against Soviet Russia; and social and economic statements.

The Central Powers signed a Peace Treaty with Ukraine on 9th February 1918. The Soviet Russian Government then broke off the peace negotiations but returned to the conference table at Brest-Litovsk and signed the Peace Treaty with the Central Powers on 3rd March 1918. In this treaty the Soviet Government recognized the Treaty of 9th February.

Despite the termination of the war in Eastern Europe, the Central Powers were unable to win the war in Western Europe. On 11th November 1918, this war too came to an end.

When the Austrian Empire split up into various separate states, the Ukrainians in the Western provinces of Ukraine proclaimed their national independence.

On 1st November 1918, Ukrainian military units occupied the capital of Western Ukraine, Lviv, and the Ukrainian Central Council proclaimed the independence of Western Ukraine. Two months later, the Central Council decided to unite Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian National Republic.

On 22nd January 1919, in Sofia Square in Kyiv, before an enormous gathering of people and a parade of military units, in the presence of diplomatic representatives of other states, the reunification of Ukraine was proclaimed by the delegates from Western Ukraine and the government of the National Ukrainian Republic. The Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic made the proclamation which read in part as follows:

“In the name of the Ukrainian National Republic the Directorate proclaims this great event in the history of our Ukrainian country to the entire Ukrainian people:

On 3rd January 1919, in the town of Stanislaviv, the Ukrainian National Council of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, as the representative of the will of all the Ukrainians of the former Austrian Empire and as their highest legislative body, ceremonially proclaimed the union of the West Ukrainian National Republic with the Ukrainian National Republic in one sovereign National Republic.

Welcoming this historic step of our Western brothers with great joy, the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic decided to accept this union and to put it into effect according to the agreements which are contained in the decision of the Ukrainian National Council of 3rd January 1919.”

The outcome of the war is well known. The Bolsheviks re-established the former Czarist empire by force of arms and after the Second World War even enlarged it. But this does not diminish the extreme importance of these two documents of the independence and reunification of Ukraine. Through them the Ukrainian nation has clearly recognized the way into the future for all the coming generations. And in the near future the independence and reunification of Ukraine, proclaimed in these documents, will be re-established in their entirety. And all other subjugated nations of Eastern Europe will travel along the same path. This is inevitable.



*from left to right:
J. J. Dworak,
Lord Mayor
of Omaha,
Jaroslaw
Stetzko,
President of
ABN,
Colonel Stahl,
Rev. Father
V. Wozniak.*

Russian Attacks On The Georgian People

When the resolution on the peoples subjugated by Russia was discussed at the 10th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League in Taipei-Formosa in November 1964, and the re-establishment of the independent states of these peoples was demanded, the Russian observer came out with a provocative proposal. This Russian representative was from the Russian organization, NTS, which has its headquarters in Frankfurt and is an open supporter of Russian chauvinist imperialist thought.

This NTS representative proposed to mention the Buriats and Abkhasians also in the resolution, for if the Georgians and Idel-Uralians were to have the right to independent states, these peoples had it too. Of course he did not succeed in having his proposal adopted as the ABN representatives vehemently repelled this mean provocation.

It should be noted that this Russian demanded an independent state for the Buriats but did not mention Siberia. Yet Siberia declared its independence in 1917/18 and the Siberians have never considered themselves as Russians.

Moreover, the Russians will not be asked whether Siberia is to become an independent state one day. Just as the USA and Canada emerged out of the English colonies in North America as independent states, Siberia too will become a separate state, which will be composed of the various nationalities that have settled there, again just like North America. This historical process is inevitable and the Russians will not be in a position to prevent it. But that is just by the way! We shall now return to our subject.

But what happened at the Conference was not a coincidence. It was premeditated and intentional.

Firstly, the Russian representative wanted to make the resolution on the dissolution of the Russian empire and the re-establishment of the independence of the peoples subjugated in this empire look ridiculous by demanding an equal right to an independent state for the small nomadic tribe of the Buriats and equating them with the civilized nation of the Abkhasians, whose country in any case forms part of Georgia.

Secondly, this happened in the normal course of events. We have often stressed and shown that all Russians, whether in Russia or not, are in agreement to preserve the Russian empire with its enormous power in order to be dominant in the world. Moscow's co-operation with the Russians outside Russia appeared clearly in this speech by the NTS representative.

However here is the main point, the previous history of the matter and the aims pursued by Moscow.

As is well known, two autonomous republics, Abkhasia and Adshara, were artificially created by Moscow in Georgia and inside the country there is an Ossetian Autonomous Region (there is also a region of the same name in North Caucasus). All this was done to divide Georgia. Immediately after the occupation of Georgia Moscow ceded three large areas of the country to Turkey.

Adshara lies on the south-western shore of the Black Sea. Its capital is Batumi.

The Adsharans are of pure Georgian race. The author of this article belongs to the same tribe of Gurians as the Adsharans, with the difference that the Adsharans are Mohammedans. Furthermore, they speak the same dialect as the Gurians. Their written language is Georgian and they have the same family names as those in use in Guria.

The Ossets are farm-labourers who in the course of time moved from North Caucasus and gradually settled in this region.

But what is now Abkhasia and who are the Abkhasians?

Abkhasia is the country on the northern shores of the Black Sea. Its capital is Sukhumi. It was part of the old Kolchis (the old name for West Georgia) and Jason landed here with his argonauts, stole the Golden Fleece and abducted Medea.

Abkhasia is the Riviera of the Black Sea, with the well-known health resorts of Sotschi and Gagri where the Moscow Party bosses relax.

The Russians had always intended to Russianize this Georgian country ethnographically and in the time of the Czars settled on confiscated land. Russian millionaires built their palatial villas here. Communist Russia continued this old Russian policy. One part of the country, Dshigethi, with the town of Sotschi, was joined to North Caucasus and thus incorporated into the Russian SFSR.

But Moscow was not satisfied with this and wanted to take over the whole of Abkhasia.

Moscow gave the Russian scientists the task of "scientifically" investigating the ethnographic and national peculiarities of the Abkhasians in order to "prove" that Abkhasia neither politically nor historically belonged to Georgia.

But they miscalculated enormously.

They encountered violent opposition from the Georgians and received a shattering rebuff.

All Georgian scholars, historians, ethnographers, geographers and philologists, sprang up unanimously and gave them a scathing reply, stating clearly that the Russian "scientific" arguments were only lies and deceit. They proved, not only on the basis of Georgian historical facts but also with foreign sources from the works of ancient Greek, ancient Persian, Roman and Byzantine historians, geographers, writers and ecclesiastics, that Abkhasia had been an integral part of Georgia from time immemorial.

It may be that the Abkhasians, as regards their origin, are related to the Circassians, but from the earliest times they have formed one community with the Georgians, have been united with them politically in one state and for centuries have shared the same common historical fate.

The great work of the historian P. Ingorokwa *Georgi Mertschule* (Tbilisi, 1954, 888 pp. + 0120) was particularly important against this Russian claim.

It deals with the life and works of the Georgian historian and canonist who lived in the tenth century.

But in his work Ingorokwa describes in detail the state, territory, provinces, races, the monarchical family and the origin of the Kingdom of Georgia.

Georgi Mertschule was an Abkhasian and laid the foundation of the idea of a Georgian national state. He precisely defined the concept of Georgia in one sentence: "Where prayers are said in Georgian and the Holy Sacrament is given in

Georgian — that is Georgia!" The ecclesiastical, official and written language of the Abkhassians was always Georgian.

In the decrees of the Church Council of 1103 under King David, at which all the Abkhassian archbishops and bishops were represented, it was stipulated in paragraph 1 that "the waters and countries populated by related Georgian tribes are Georgia".

There was also a time when the whole of Western Georgia was called Abkhasia. The initiative for a union of all the principalities in one kingdom came from Abkhasia. This was accomplished in the tenth century under the Bagrationi dynasty. The mother of the first king was an Abkhassian princess. And from then on the Georgian kings had the title, "King of Abkhasia and Karthlia". The latter was the territorial name of East Georgia. The Karthlians were the leading race, hence the Georgian name for Georgia *Sakharthwelo*. Their dialect became the written and official language of the Georgians. This first king of Georgia was buried in Abkhasia in the Bedia Convent. In Soviet Georgia the convent and the royal grave are preserved as ancient monuments.

The Russians claim that Abkhasia does not belong to Georgia.

But not only the scholars resisted this. Even the Georgian Communists decisively repulsed the provocative falsifications of the Russian scientists.

The young Georgian Communist scholar, D. Mtchedlichwill, wrote as follows in the organ of the Georgian Writers' Union *Mnathobi*, (No. 2, February 1957, published in Tbilisi) in a leading article entitled "The New Soviet Socialist Georgia": "A true patriot is one who, by his activity on his native soil or on foreign soil, establishes the name of his people and proudly bears the fame of his native country aloft to cold and grim heights. A true patriot is one who does not spare his life — a life which is only given to us human beings once — for his native country and his people.

We are definitely opposed to every form of pseudo-patriotism, to the exaggeration and glorification of individual historical facts and persons, to the deification of kings and upholders of feudal rights. Our history does not need glorifying, for it is, in any case, glorious and illustrious! The history of our people has been one of trouble, but it has been glorious. Hence, there is no need for exaggeration in this respect.

But we refuse to let certain research scholars disparage the entirety of our nation and the historical truth of its unity in the name of science and cast a shadow on the history of our people. This cannot be tolerated." In such a courageous way scholars in Tbilisi defend the unity of the Georgian nation! This was indeed a clearly expressed opinion and the gentlemen in the Kremlin took the hint; they were forced to retreat and abandoned their intentions.

Thus the Russians were repulsed and silenced. But they would not have been Russians and Communists if they had given up their criminal plan. They adopted a new course and tried to get others to speak for them, persons and organizations controlled by them. Thus the campaign was carried into foreign countries.

For this purpose an article appeared in the weekly magazine *Caucasian Review* (No. 7, in 1958) under the pseudonym "T. Abkhazian", prepared by the American Institute for the Study of the USSR, München, entitled "Literature on

Abkhasia and the Abkhasian-Abazinians". The author, a questionable scholar, affirms, however, that this ancient Georgian tribe of the Abkhasians was not Georgian at all, but only conquered by the Georgians in the tenth century and incorporated into territory of the latter.

There we have it! The appropriate answer was given to him by the Georgian historian Mindia Laschauri in his book *Against the Misrepresentation of the History of the Georgian People*.¹ For certain reasons it appeared in Russian. The author is an emigrant from the time of the last war and studied at the university in Soviet Georgia. He tore "Mr. Abkhazian's" pseudo-scientific proposition to shreds, using not only the investigations of Georgian scholars but also those made by German, French and even old Russian scholars, referring to Greek, Persian, Roman and other sources. He scientifically exposed "Mr. Abkhazian" as an illiterate and unmasked the provocative propaganda tendencies of his statements.

Before this, an article had appeared in the periodical *The Armenian Review*, which is published in the USA, under the pseudonym "Khurdian". In this article eleven ancient Georgian provinces were described as Armenian and in addition it was also affirmed that practically all the famous Georgian writers, poets, statesmen, etc., were Armenians and that the latter had brought civilization to the Georgians.

We have given our answer to both of these and shown where these provocations come from.² The NTS representative at the APAAC Conference was motivated by the same source.

Thus Moscow tries to carry out its plans in a refined way.

In November 1906, the famous Belgian expert on public international law and member of the Appeal Court and International Court of Justice at The Hague, Ernest Nys, gave an opinion on the position of Georgia in public international law, in which he said that "the claims of the Russian Government rest on tricks, fraud and treachery and these are their 'legal principles'. Russian control in Georgia consists of an abominable suppression of all that constitutes the existence and *raison d'être* of a nation. The Russian government endeavours to overthrow the concepts of public international law in order to bring their own barbaric concepts into force in the West."

Whether monarchical or Bolshevik, Russia is and was barbaric and brutal. Its legal concepts are completely devoid of ethical principles and are based on brute force.

¹ See the review of this book in *ABN Correspondence*, No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 1960

² See our article in *ABN Correspondence*, No. 7/8, July 1959

The A.B.N. has set itself the following task:

To restore the national state independence of all nations subjugated by Bolshevist Russia, in accordance with ethnographic principles in the U.S.S.R. and the so-called satellite states; to abolish all artificially created state systems, which have been set up against the wish of the nations concerned; to enable all persons who have been forcibly expelled or deported to return to their native country.

Freedom And Independence For Slovakia

(An Appeal from the Slovak Liberation Council on the occasion of March 14th)

On March 14th, 1965, Slovaks in the countries of the Free World as well as the enslaved Slovak population in Czecho-Slovakia will commemorate the 26th anniversary of Slovakia's Declaration of Independence. The commemoration will coincide this year with the 20th anniversary of the Russian occupation and restoration of the Czech rule over Slovakia.

At the end of the Second World War, among other nations of Central and Eastern Europe, the Slovaks also were robbed of their right to freedom and independence, and Moscow used the occupation in order to restore Czecho-Slovakia by attaching Slovakia to Bohemia and Moravia, not only against the will of the people but also in violation of the principles of International Law. At the same time Moscow imposed the Communist system upon the Slovak people and incorporated Slovakia into the Soviet sphere of influence.

The Iron Curtain prevents the Slovak people not only from communicating with the Free World, but also from claiming their rights through democratically elected representatives. Therefore, Slovaks in the Free World, represented by the Slovak Liberation Council, protest again, on this occasion, against the foreign rule and Communist system imposed upon the Slovak people and appeal to the free nations for moral and political support of Slovakia's struggle for freedom and independence.

The Slovaks have been subjugated at a time when Great Britain, France, Belgium and Holland decided to open the way to independence for their former colonies. The subjugation of Slovakia is, therefore, felt as a humiliation of one of the oldest peoples in Central Europe, for whom independence became a matter of human dignity. With her population of 4,300,000 Slovakia has more inhabitants than 50 members of the United Nations and the area of Slovakia is larger than the territory of 17 members of the United Nations. To deprive Slovakia of the rights which have been granted to the peoples of Asia and Africa is a violation of the principles which are the foundation of decent life and progress for human society.

In order to obtain freedom for Slovakia we demand the withdrawal from Slovakia of all foreign military and semi-military units, as well as secret or uniformed police agents kept in Slovakia by foreign powers.

A free and independent Slovakia is a prerequisite of justice and of peaceful co-operation among the nations of Central Europe. It is also in the interest of all free and independent nations. The larger the basis of freedom, the stronger will be the foundations of liberty among the nations enjoying freedom at the present time.

For the Slovak Liberation Council

J. M. Kirschbaum, Ph. D.

President
of the Assembly

F. Durcansky LL.D.

President
of the Executive Committee

Rumania Today

A few months ago almost all the Western newspapers wrote long articles on emancipation and a supposed liberalization in Rumania. This well-directed campaign seems to have faded away now yet there are still enough industrialists, people who sign contracts and journalists of the "great independent press" who, after spending a few days in Rumania, feel obliged to declare that "things have changed" in our country, that the present rulers were relaxing and going their own way, but that to achieve a real liberalization and national independence the West must of course contribute more to the industrialization of the country and to the consolidation of the regime.

In reality a liberalization in Rumania is out of the question. As for the flirtation with many capitalist countries and the French films which are being shown in Bucharest, the Rumanian who had more time for dancing formerly, when he lived more happily than now, has found the right expression for the situation: "Lenin's Tango". As is known, the tango consists of two steps forward and one step back, the direction of the couple remaining the same, that is forwards. When the Rumanian sees in front of the Lido Hotel in Bucharest the luxurious cars which bring a new Western delegation to a cocktail party, he shakes his head, sighs and says: "Lenin's Tango". And he murmurs this too when he sees the coloured portraits of Brigitte Bardot and Charles Aznavour or the enormous advertisements: "Visit Paris! Come to Saint Tropez! The Château of the Loire Await you!".

Who is to visit Paris? Who is lucky enough to get a passport and who can pay the fare when the monthly salary of a doctor is £ 30?

A liberalization would be possible only if the rulers decided to commit political suicide with the whole burden of the attendant risks. In other words, liberalization would be possible only if the Party worked for its own dissolution and the overthrow of its own government.

In order to understand the truth of this assertion one must know something of the way in which a human being is forced to live in a so-called People's Democracy:

Whether weaver, turner, collectivised peasant, teacher, university professor or civil servant, every individual is exposed to constant pressure and observation to such an extent that he mistrusts everyone else. Everybody, whether Party member or not, is watched at work by three kinds of organizations: (1) the Party organization; (2) the so-called mass organizations; and (3) *three different intelligence agencies*, which exist in every undertaking under the cloak of other duties.

The Party organization which covers all Party members of the respective undertaking and is directed from one office has control over practically the entire personnel of the undertaking for everyone is obliged to attend the Party courses and seminars. The Party organization is also concerned with production problems and is empowered to involve itself in all the affairs of the undertaking. In order to discuss errors and deficiencies in production the Party organization convenes a meeting of the whole personnel which always results in criticism of a few em-

ployees. So everybody is frightened of these meetings because nobody knows whether he will not himself be the object of an attack.

Then there is a large number of "mass organizations" which see that everyone is constantly "busy" and nobody has time to amuse himself or even to think. In every undertaking there are: the trade union, the U.T.M. (the Young Communists' Organization), ARLUS (the organization for friendly relations with the Soviet Union), A.S.I.T. (scientific organization of engineers and technicians), A.V.S.A.P. (organization for sport and defence of the country), the Organization of "Democratic Women", the Red Cross (all women are obliged to attend Red Cross courses) and the so-called Action Committee for Peace. No day passes without a summons to a meeting, demonstration or other activity of one of these organizations to fill up the leisure time of the staff.

To poison the atmosphere in the undertaking there are the three undercover intelligence agencies (1) Serviciul Cadre, i. e. personnel service, (2) the "M" Office and (3) the Special Bureau.

The Personnel Service gathers all possible data on the past and the present life of every individual. It must know what everyone has in his wardrobe at home, the employee, his wife and children, what he ate yesterday, who he went to the cinema with, what kind of books he reads, and what he talks about with his neighbour on the stairs. Every fact is carefully noted; whether it comes from friends or enemies, relatives, school-mates, or from his own children. A dossier is put together from these facts which accompanies a person in this People's Democracy throughout his whole life, goes from job to job, from town to town. New pages are constantly added and if he ever appears before a court the sentence weighs just as much as this dossier of the "Personnel Service" . . .

The "M" Bureau is the eye of the Ministry of the Armed Forces, for in a People's Democracy the army must be everywhere. Antimilitarism is practised only in the capitalist countries. The "M" Bureau tests the reliability of the population, whether they can keep a secret and whether they can really fulfill their duties in case of war.

The Special Bureau is the eye of the Ministry of Interior. It is not hard to guess what kind of tasks it carries out.

All three organs are led by officers of the State Security Service and have countless informers and agents in every undertaking. The workers and clerks only suspect who these informers are, yet they are often right because the informers are almost always recruited from the same category. They are not men of "healthy social origin" but mostly members of the upper classes, intellectuals, well educated men, who know how to flatter and master their role as spies extremely well.

One can defend oneself against this net of spies with only one weapon, *silence*. There is silence at mealtimes, in the breaks at work or school, in the tram. Nobody trusts anybody else!

It would be nice if one could remain silent in the Party history courses, too, in the seminars, or at the factory meetings. But there silence is not a virtue. Those who are always silent get a bad mark and in the long run must be prepared for trouble. One must therefore ask leave to speak and say something in which one does not believe and profess something which one loathes . . . This conforms to the

concept of the Party, for in this way everyone is depersonalised and made into a perfect robot.

And when one finally gets home one must be careful to watch out that the door is well closed so that no one hears what one says to one's wife and also whether there is not a school-friend of one's son, who is a candidate for a stripe in the Young Communists, paying a visit.

So when the word "liberalization" occurs in Rumania one only laughs bitterly. Certainly, a relaxation started a few months ago and the activity of the "mass-organizations", but not that of the police, has eased up a little. But people in Rumania have already experienced such "relaxations". There was one for example after the removal of Anna Pauker and Vasile Luca. But what came afterwards? A new period of oppression, with persecutions and mass arrests.

Mistrust is general, for everybody knows that after every "relaxation" the screw is more firmly tightened. So the Lenin Tango is danced!

And therefore there is silence, even in the forward step of this tango.

Ion V. Emilian

Adenauer On Khrushchov

In an interview with the weekly *Candide* the former Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer revealed his views on the "Khrushchov Mystery" and Soviet politics. The following excerpts are taken from the published interview.

If you want to know what I think of the Soviet methods and the confidence one can have in their leaders listen to this story:

During the visit to Moscow in 1955 we had our three meals every day together, Germans and Russians at the same table. One morning at breakfast — which was a proper meal — I saw that the waiter who filled my glass was not the same as the one who filled the glasses of my neighbours, Bulganin and Khrushchov. So at a suitable moment I asked to see the bottle they had been served from. It only contained water but it had a fine label which was intended to make me believe that they were drinking white wine just like me.

You see, it is always the same. The story of the breakfast applies to all Soviet politics . . .

Do you know that Khrushchov was the bloodiest executioner of Ukraine? He could not be trusted in anything. He went his way, with fatherly expression, it is true, but with a very definite aim . . .

Do you believe that Khrushchov was different from Stalin and that he liberalized the Soviet regime? If the methods appear to have changed, the aim, nevertheless, remains the same . . .

What do we know about the deportations to Siberia and whether it is different from what it was before the war? How do you know that Malenkov is still alive or even Khrushchov? . . .

There are strange goings-on there at the moment. Hardly has Khrushchov disappeared than a plane which is transporting 16 generals who are friends of his crashes in Yugoslavia only a few kilometers from Belgrade Airport which is besides particularly well lit.

Der Spiegel No. 44/64

Ready To Defend Freedom Of All

Less than 1% of the population of Berlin is now Communist. They can enjoy all the advantages that our free institutions permit to everybody. You will ask me why that is so?

Well, we in Berlin have witnessed fourteen years of Nazi-Dictatorship. For almost 20 years we have got first-hand knowledge of what Communist oppression means. We have before our eyes the Wall built by the Communist regime and we are constantly confronted by the problems it presents to us. The sufferings, to which our brothers and sisters, on the other side of the Wall, are subjected, are horrible. It must be our chief concern to pierce that wall and employ every means that may promise success. We believe that our struggle against the existence of the Wall, and our ultimate success, is a precondition for the victory of the free peoples against world Communism. We feel that world Communism is like an illness. And against illness the right kind of medicine must be applied at the right time and, if necessary, repeatedly. Only in that way can it be overcome! Some of our political leaders understand that and act accordingly. But there are others who behave like primitive medicine-men. They seem to perform nonsensical political dances before our eyes. Such so-called politicians only betray themselves and their respective peoples. Every attempt to achieve what is called ideological co-existence will only bring advantage to the Communist side. Every attempt to lessen tension will only be used against us. Every business transaction will help the Communist side. Every recognition will only enhance their prestige.

A policy of so-called co-existence will strengthen the dictatorships and will cause great pains to the oppressed peoples. This is a great lesson that has been taught to us since the end of the First World War! Communism is to my mind the great spiritual malady that has attacked the brains of men, and I dare to submit that some of the so-called educated are sometimes more affected by it than the great mass of the population.

Responsible statesmen and politicians should seriously ponder whether the cure should not begin with ourselves. Wherever the free peoples of the world have been able to overcome Communist infection from within they have succeeded in becoming immune.

In Germany too, Communism constituted not only a great external, but also an internal menace. If we have been able to overcome that menace it was because we have come to recognize the great importance of human values. We began to have confidence in one another. We tried to rebuild our economy by combining our efforts, by hard work and good sense.

Employers and workers recognized that a new social spirit was necessary, that the old-aged and those in need had a moral right to love, help and material assistance. It was also felt that the young generation should have the sympathy and understanding of the older for their aspirations.

There are still many deficiencies that will have to be overcome and many tasks that await their solution in my country. The present economic prosperity should not deceive us. Not everything that shines is pure gold, says a German proverb. But I think I may say this: We shall endeavour to the best of our

abilities to improve what is bad and first of all to try to improve our own faults and deficiencies.

The big political parties in Germany today, the Trade Unions, the churches, our scientists and humanists, in spite of many differences, are agreed among one another on the important questions of our free society. They cooperate with each other and they are proud to contribute to the maintenance of that society.

We are definitely committed to the free world as a whole, we are ready to defend the freedom of all and to assist those peoples which from an economic point of view seem to be less fortunate and to try to improve their standard of living.

We do not feel justified in extending advice as to how other nations should cope with their problems. But we can assure, the free nations of Asia and all over the world of our deep felt sympathies, of our friendly understanding and of our solidarity.

E. Sharnowski (Berlin)

Manila, April 1965

To All International Organizations:

The free world believes that the split between Moscow and Peiping is deep and permanent. If the free world wishes to remain free, all the uncommitted nations and all the free peoples on the face of the earth should take advantage of the cleavage now existing between the Russians and the Chinese Reds.

The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League now wishes to request that your organization enlist itself on our side so that we may make common cause against the Communists in all parts of the world.

Communism can only make a rapid, relentless advance if all their satellites are united. Once they are split, they cannot move forward. The myth of Communism's being a monolithic structure will be proven absolutely false.

Therefore, we suggest that your organization conduct rallies and publish articles and feature stories regarding the split between Moscow and Peiping. It should be made clear to all your members that Soviet Russia wants to conquer the whole world through peaceful coexistence. On the other hand, the same objective is being pursued by Red China through violence and bloodshed.

In either case, if we do not move, our goose is cooked. The free world must move forward and expose the evil that is Communism which seeks to conquer us all either through parliamentary and peaceful struggle or through violence.

Please urge all your members to write and speak about this cleavage between Moscow and Peiping in all your mass media.

Let us all fight for a better free world.

*Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League
Jose Ma. Hernandez
Secretary-General*

Russianization Of The Baltic States

The three Baltic states are today part of the Soviet empire. They have not only been deprived of their political independence but also their whole intellectual life has been subordinated to Russian imperialist interests.

The Soviets maintain that the aim of their nationality policy, that is Moscow's policy towards the various races of the Communist empire, is the promotion of an all-round development of their national cultures. If, however, one examines this policy a little more closely, the exact opposite emerges, that is, a tendency to fuse the individual nations of the Soviet Union with their various languages and their own cultural aspirations into a single homogeneous, Russian speaking population mass. This ultimate aim is clearly to be perceived in the programme of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Baltic races — Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians — have always belonged, as far back as the investigation of their history goes, to the Western cultural orbit and have always strongly opposed Eastern influences. For this reason these people are today exposed to the most violent Russification attempts.

Interbreeding

One of the measures of the Soviet Russianization policy is interbreeding. In the former free states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania it is carried out in the following way:

Russians have been settled in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the past ten years in large numbers. In 1962 a summary of the figures of the last census appeared in Moscow. This stated that in 1959 240,000 Russians, and 64,000 Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and natives of other parts of the Soviet Union were living in Estonia, a total of 304,000 foreigners in a population of 1,197,000, which means that a quarter of

the population were immigrants from the Soviet Union.

In Latvia in 1959 there were 795,000 foreigners or 38% of a population of about 2 million. Of these 550,000 were Russians.

In Lithuania the number of Russian settlers was smaller; it amounted to 8.5%. Altogether in 1959 the three Baltic states had 1,041,000 Russian immigrants from the Soviet Union. The total population of these states is about 6 million.

Newspapers and other accessible Soviet information sources show that the proportion of Russians has increased sharply since 1959. Many industrial towns, such as Kohtla-Järve in the slate oil district of North Estonia, which has expanded enormously during the past five years, and the old border town of Narwa, count as Russian towns today due to their large Russian population. Their town councils, police and various administrative bodies show predominantly Russian names.

Almost half the population of the Estonian capital Tallinn (Reval) and its new suburbs is Russian. The same situation prevails in Latvia's capital Riga.

If the Russian immigration continues at the same rate, the racial composition of the population of the three former Baltic free states will change so that their original inhabitants will be in a minority in their own country.

This is not a theoretical speculation. The facts prove how obvious a development of this kind is if it is not checked.

Soviet demographic statistics show furthermore that among the Russian immigrants in the Baltic states the most vital age-group, 20—39, is most strongly represented and in the industrial towns, where most of the immigrants have settled, Russian children and youths in the age-group 10—19 amount to 35% of the native children of the same age group in Estonia and 47% in Lithuania, according to the census of 1959. The percentage of children from

0 to 9 was even greater: in Estonian towns 50% and Latvian towns 57% of the total number of children of this age.

In Estonia 35% and in Latvia 38% of all primary and secondary schools are now Russian schools.

Who are the Russians who come to the Baltic States?

The largest group consists of industrial workers. They can immigrate unhindered and are encouraged to do so. They come willingly. Living conditions in the Baltic states are better than in Russian provincial towns. Soviet economic statistics show that more consumer goods are bought per capita in the Baltic industrial towns than in Russian towns with the same population. This means that earnings are also higher. The construction of many large industrial plants, which produce exclusively for Moscow's planned economy, offers plenty of work. A month ago the building of a large imitation leather factory was begun in the university town of Tartu (Dorpat). This is attracting a considerable number of Russian workers.

Engineers, technicians, book-keepers, accountants and other specialists are being seconded from Russia to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. They come with their families, often with all their relations. The entire shipping and railway network is manned by the Russians. An army of so-called political workers, Party officials, agitators and propagandists, has been sent from Russia to the Baltic states to supervise the conversion of the natives to a Communist society.

The teachers in the numerous Russian schools come from Russia. Many of them sit on the education committees and direct not only the education in the Russian schools in the Baltic countries but also the native system. Russian writers, artists and intellectuals have settled in the Baltic countries. Groups of students on grants are being sent to Baltic universities. Work and housing is to be provided for Red Army soldiers demobilized in the Baltic states.

The influx of Russians continues and the next census will show a considerably greater

proportion of Russians in the population if one considers that the healthiest have streamed in and continue to do so and that in 1959 half of the children in the age-group 0—9 in Estonian and Latvian towns were of Russian origin.

The appearance of the Baltic states has radically changed during the past years. The most invasions of the Russians, who bring their own way of life and customs with them which differ essentially from those of the native inhabitants, are changing the appearance of the Baltic countries. The Russian impression is being heightened by the fact that Russian names are being given to streets, squares, libraries and schools. Finally, one might mention all the Russian culture and ideas that accost one on the radio and television, in the theatre and cinema, through the loudspeakers on the street-corner and in the printed word. Thus it is no wonder that Estonians, Latvians and Lithunians, although still in a numerical majority, no longer feel quite at home in their own country.

Russianization of culture

Simultaneously with the encouragement of emigration and the Russianization of the outward appearance of the non-Russian Baltic states, the Soviet rulers use all conceivable means to suppress all the national aspirations of the intellectual life of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians. A Soviet Russian meaning is being forced on music, literature, the creative arts, academic activity and the educational system.

The history of the Baltic peoples is being taught in the schools not as an independent subject but merely in relation to Russian history. The Lithuanian Communist Minister of Education Gedwila justifies it as follows:

“... in order to understand the historic friendship between our nation and the Russian people better.”

The historic friendship with the Russian people is a slogan which is frequently used in the propaganda in favour of a pro-Russian attitude for the Baltic peoples. The history of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian peoples has been re-written by the So-

viet historians in the spirit of this "friendship" and Russian "brotherly aid", although historical facts prove exactly the contrary.

In the falsification of history, in the name of the alleged "historic friendship", everything is allowed.

A few years ago, just before Christmas, the Communist officials in the Lithuanian village of Veziacai received an order to remove the picture of Saint Kasimir from the high altar of the church. They did it. Why is Saint Kasimir, the patron saint of the Lithuanian Catholics so odious to the Communists? Because he does not fit into the history reassessed by the Soviet Russianization specialists. An old legend tells in fact how in 1518 Saint Kasimir helped the Lithuanians to beat the Russians at Polozk. The chapel in the cathedral at Wilnius with the relics of the saint was closed in 1952. The worship of Kasimir has increased considerably in Lithuania since the Second World War. The most recent history of the three Baltic peoples, their period of independence, is presented as if there could have been no other solution but to call for help from the Soviets and the Russian brother-race.

One finds not a single word in the new history books about the secret agreement between Hitler and Stalin on the eve of the Second World War by which the three Baltic free states were ceded to the Soviet Union.

One could give countless examples to illustrate how not only history but also literary classics and old folksongs have been reassessed according to Marxist principles in the spirit of the "historic friendship", as this procedure is called in the Soviet language. The aim is to accelerate the Russianization of the Baltic peoples.

The Schools

The syllabus and school-books are so designed that a systematic indoctrination of the children with the foreign culture begins in the first year of school. Throughout their entire schooling, primary school 8 years and secondary school 2 years, it is impressed upon them that they are descendants of a

small and poor race, who could scarcely exist without "brotherly aid" from the great Russian people, let alone foster their national culture. Therefore they must assiduously learn the Russian language and the teachers must make every effort to instruct them in it and to make their pupils acquainted with the fruits of progressive Russian science, literature and art. They are reminded of this at the beginning of every school year and are often rebuked during the course for unsatisfactory results.

Not only the text-books for the Russian language but also those for the other school subjects, including the mother tongue, are used for the purpose of Russianization. Here is an example from the Estonian grammar for the eighth school year, an exercise in sentence construction:

"The Soviet peoples are building Communism and their common language is Russian. Russian science is the most progressive in the whole world. Soviet science which is based on the elements of Russian science, has taken a leading place in the whole world. How can one reach the peaks of this science without knowing Russian? Therefore it must be learnt thoroughly."

This is in a text-book which is to teach Estonian children their mother tongue.

In all three Baltic countries there are numerous Russian schools; in Latvia 38% and in Estonia 35% of all primary and secondary schools are for Russian children. A new type of school, a mixed school for Russian and native children, was introduced as an experiment a few years ago. The children of the same school district — Russian and native — must attend a common school, but work in separate groups with their own teachers. The lessons are common and given in Russian only in certain subjects. This method is used from the first year. As the six- or seven-year-old Baltic children can scarcely speak Russian they begin with common singing and handwork lessons. Thus the first songs that the native children learn in these lessons are Russian.

The mixed Russian-Estonian schools were highly praised by the Moscow Russianization specialists in January this year. It was emphasized that the Estonian children in

the mixed schools were getting used to using Russian as a colloquial language. New ultra-modern school buildings are being built for the mixed schools and it is assumed that they mark a preparatory stage in the introduction of Russian as the teaching language also in the native schools. It should be noted that in the Finno-Karelian schools all the teaching has been given in Russian since 1954. Finnish appears in the syllabus as an optional subject and even then not in all schools. Thus it can be seen how far the Russianization of the native inhabitants of the Finno-Karelian so-called Autonomous Soviet Republic has progressed.

Russian Literature

The bookshops are full of Russian literature, in the original and in translation. Only a few so-called progressive works of Western literature and technical books reach readers in the Baltic states and even these are Russian translations. The libraries have comprehensive Russian departments but the collections of Western literature in the original language have not been replenished since the Soviet occupation. If an Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian wants to read a new Western novel today he cannot buy it nor order it. The only possibility of reading the book is to borrow it from the Moscow international Central Library. The request, however, will be granted only if the book is necessary for an obviously scientific work.

In the three Baltic capitals, Tallinn, Riga and Kaunas, no Western books, newspapers or periodicals are sold. Nor can one find any records or musical scores. In the local literary periodicals no new Western books are reviewed. If mentioned at all, they are flatly condemned as degenerate literature.

The Baltic Sea, formerly a means of communication between the free peoples, has become a dark moat. Nothing that might arouse the Baltic peoples is allowed to get through to them for that would impede Russianization.

National culture is being destroyed

Individual timid attempts to be frank, either in poetry or music, are ruthlessly

suppressed by the Party ideologists. The sinners are reminded that one is a child of one's great fatherland and may have no cultural aspirations of one's own. The different nations of the Soviet Union must use their intellectual riches in one and the same direction in order to create a unified Soviet culture. Today this is demanded of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians as well as the other subjugated peoples of the Union. The ultimate goal of a uniform Soviet Russian culture is expected to be attained through the Russianization of these peoples.

The Estonian Communist writer and member of the Lenin Prize Award Committee, Johannes Semper, made the following remark in March 1964:

"The problems of Estonian literature can no longer differ from those of Soviet literature as a whole and they are laid down by the Party and government."

This was his answer to the question asked by the newspaper of the Estonian Komsomol as to whether Estonian literature had its own problems and what these problems were. The ideological monthly of the Lithuanian Communists *Komunistas* emphasized the standardization attitude even more strongly. It said in October 1962 that it was completely false that Lithuanian literature was still trying to preserve its own national character. *Komunistas* warned the literary critics "to give up this false national attitude and to stop using the expression 'Lithuanian literature'". For there is only one single Soviet literature. Allegiance to their own classics is branded as "fetishism" by the organ of the Lithuanian Communists and it promises to make an end of it.

These examples certainly prove that the Baltic peoples can obtain no stimulus for the preservation of their intellectual reputation from their own standardized literature.

Many more examples of the Soviet Russianization policy in the former Baltic free states could be given, but I hope that the above facts will suffice to give readers a true picture of how the riches of their own national culture are being taken away from the three Baltic peoples and how their

creative minds are being steered into a foreign Soviet Russian path.

To summarize the above thesis I should like to stress the following:

- (1) The mass invasion of Russians of the most viable age-group, which is encouraged by the Moscow government and the Communist Party;
- (2) The Russianization of the schools;
- (3) The forcing of a Russian Communist interpretation of culture;
- (4) The Marxist reassessment, that is, falsification of history.

The result of all this could be that the mental attitude of the rising generation of the three Baltic peoples will change in the near future and they will lose the will to resist Russianization and standardization.

In the second half of the last century the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians demonstrated a very strong resistance to Czarist Russianization attempts, a resistance which grew into a movement for political independence. Today, however, the coercive measures are much crueler. All resistance, even passive, can be and is broken with force.

The question arises: What will become of the former outposts of Western culture and the Western way of life when the Russianization process is carried out?

The question can be answered in the following way:

When the three Baltic countries are completely Russianized they will become a dependable outpost of Communist ideology and Russian thought. Furthermore, the former defence posts of Western culture will become a base for the unhindered spreading of political Communism to the West. Such a base is certainly the aim of Russianizing these countries, which are to serve as a basis of attack against Germany and Scandinavia. I should like to remind readers of the pronouncement of the organ of the Soviet Russian Government *Izvestija* of the 26th December 1918. At that time, when the Baltic peoples were defending their newly-attained independence against the Red Army, *Izvestija* said:

"Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania stand in Russia's path to Western Europe. They se-

parate revolutionary Germany from Soviet Russia . . . The conquest of the Baltic countries will enable Soviet Russia to carry the revolution to Scandinavia."

This way is now free. It only remains to indoctrinate the non-Russian Baltic peoples as obedient servants of the interests of the Great Russian Communist empire.

Appeasement Of The Farmers In Ukraine?

One of the measures of the new rulers in the Kremlin after the overthrow of Khrushchov was the enlargement of the area of land reserved for their own needs for the collective farmers in Ukraine. At the same time they were allowed to keep a larger number of domestic animals for their own use. The kolkhozes received instructions to provide for the housing and feeding of these animals in the private possession of the farmers if need be.

According to the latest information this special concession has only been granted to the collective farmers in Ukraine. The other countries in the Soviet Union were not included in the new regulation.

From this the question arises, what do the new rulers in the Kremlin hope to achieve by granting this concession? Do they want to appease the Ukrainian farmers because they fear that Ukraine may take the confusion in the Kremlin as an occasion for a new revolt? Or is it an experiment like many others which Moscow has carried out in Ukraine? Then this experiment can still be cancelled on the grounds that the "bourgeois nationalists" in Ukraine wanted to exploit the concession for themselves.

Dr. Ivan Serbesoff (England) is appointed as the Representative of the Bulgarian National Front, Headquarters in New York, to the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Munich, Germany.

Senator Dodd Urges Prompt Ratification Of Genocide Convention

On March 11, before the Conference of the Committee on the Human Rights and Genocide Convention, in Washington Senator Dodd (D.-Conn.) urged prompt action by the Senate to ratify the U.N. Genocide Convention and three other U.N. Conventions dealing with slavery, forced labor, and the rights of women. Senator Dodd said that "our entire moral position, and our claim to leadership in the fight for freedom and justice and human decency, is prejudiced by our failure to ratify" these conventions. He expressed his conviction that the overwhelming majority of the American people favor the ratification of the U.N. Conventions, and that the Senate would ratify by a very substantial majority "given the necessary leadership and given a patient exposition of the facts".

Senator Dodd pointed out that "the death of Nazism did not necessarily mean that we had put an end to the problem of genocide". Communist totalitarianism, like Nazi totalitarianism, uses genocide as an instrument of policy.

For me the Genocide Convention has a special personal meaning because as Executive Trial Counsel at Nuremberg I had spread before me, in nightmarish detail, the whole incredible story of Nazi barbarism, of its fiendish persecution of the Jewish people, and of the gas chambers and crematoria that snuffed out the lives of more than five million Jews, of millions of Ukrainians, Poles and other Europeans.

The convicted Nazis were charged with crimes against humanity. The word "genocide" had not yet come into common usage at that time. But to a very large degree this is what the Nuremberg trial was about. For the first time there were spread on the record of an international tribunal the details of massive crimes involving millions of victims — crimes perpetrated not against individuals but against entire peoples and ethnic groups.

While I was at Nuremberg I learned about other acts of genocide that were not made part of the trial record.

I learned of the mass deportations of the Volga Germans and the Kalmuks and the Chechens and other Soviet minority people during the war years.

I learned the true facts about the massacre in the Katyn Forest of 10,000 Polish officers who had been prisoners of the Soviets.

I learned of the mass deportations of scores of thousands of intellectuals and community leaders from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in the period following the Soviet occupation.

I learned, in short, that Communist totalitarianism, like Nazi totalitarianism, uses genocide as an instrument of policy, and that the death of Nazism did not necessarily mean that we had put an end to the problem of genocide.

Although 67 nations have ratified the Genocide Convention, it has, by and large, remained ineffective and inoperative and without the necessary authority because the United States has thus far refused to add its ratification.

The years that have elapsed have witnessed situations where genocide has unquestionably been perpetrated and other situations where there was strong *prima facie* evidence of genocide.

In the case of Hungary, the massacre of 25,000 Hungarian freedom-fighters by the Red Army and the subsequent mass execution and imprisonment of scores of

thousands of Hungarian intellectuals, brought the charge from many quarters that the Soviets were guilty of genocide.

One year later, the Chinese Communists crushed the Tibetan revolution with such ruthless measures that the International Commission of Jurists, in its report on the question of Tibet, made the unequivocal statement that Red China had been guilty of the crime of genocide.

In recent years, we have witnessed in the Soviet Union a systematic campaign against the Jewish minority and the Jewish religion. While there have been no mass killings of Jews, it is clear that the objective of this campaign is the early and total ablation of the Jewish religion and of Yiddish culture. Is this genocide within the meaning of convention? This is a matter that might have to be decided by some properly constituted authority. But certainly the allegation of genocide in this case merits the most careful consideration.

Needless to say, the Communists are clever enough to make use of our failure for the purpose of challenging our commitment to freedom and blackening our reputation.

Dr. D. Donzow

A Warning From The Graves

(Charles XII and Cardinal Mercier)

“Only where there are graves will there be resurrections.” These words (if I am not mistaken, by F. Nietzsche) have a special import in our tragic epoch — an epoch in which many leaders of the Christian West, unheeding of the testaments of their great dead, are listening, as if enchanted, to the love words of the Muscovite apostles of Satan, in the belief that only by a communication with these “apostles” will the West have peace, prosperity and freedom — a resurrection of the “good old times” . . .

What tragic self-deception! For a nation that considers its graves as non-existent and turns a deaf ear to the testaments of its great dead, there can be no resurrection.

The spirit of one of these dead, a giant, the great Swedish King, Charles XII, and that of his ally, Hetman Mazepa was recently resurrected, in Stockholm at the time of Khrushchov’s visit, by the representatives of ABN, who, in the name of the Ukrainian people, placed a wreath of flowers on the tomb of the enemy of Tsar Peter I.

The reaction of the Russian press and of the Red leader himself showed ill-concealed fear and anger. They suddenly realized that the dead had risen from their graves. All of a sudden they felt that the flesh and blood resurrection of the seemingly-dead, warlike spirit of occidental chivalry was nonetheless possible. They, the Red leaders in Moscow, know very well that this spirit of the old chivalry was rekindled in the youngest generation in Hungary, in Rumania, in the Baltic states, in the Caucasus and particularly in Ukraine; it was rekindled in the sons and grand-sons of those who almost tumbled the monstrous Muscovite imperium during World War I and World War II.

Here I should like to recall the spirit of another great man of the Occident, that of Cardinal Mercier, famous for his courageous resistance to the German conquest of Belgium in the First World War. At the time, he wrote and preached the following: "Justice and honour are more valuable than life . . . The recognition of the absolute necessity to subordinate everything to the law, to justice, to order and to truth, is synonymous with the recognition of God . . ."

Patriotism is sanctified. Every attack on the national honour is a kind of sacrilege . . . What is charity? Those who die to save their brothers, to defend the churches and altars of their country, embody the highest form of charity . . .

If war is a punishment, it is also a means of cleansing the soul. It helps the soul to reach the heights of patriotism and Christian altruism. The ideal good and the law are higher than all the comforts of life. He who hears the voice of God in his heart should not regard earthly goods as the most important thing."

To the question: "Why does God expose us to the danger of dreadful losses of men and goods during a war or a revolution?" the Cardinal replied: "Utilitarianism must not become a standard of public obligation, in its Christian meaning, for the individual nor for a community." Quoting St. Thomas of Aquinas, Cardinal Mercier said: "To revenge a crime committed against the general public is a virtue. To bring the guilty into the dock, to put men and things in their due places, means indeed to create a certain order; it means to create peace on the basis of justice. For how can one love order, without hating disorder?"

This is the answer to our sophists, the opponents of the "hate-complex"! And for the "peace-loving" sophists, who desire an "understanding" with the devil, he says: "To desire peace means to destroy that which makes it impossible." For "even if such a revenge on the part of the general public might irritate the sensitivity of a weakened spirit, it would still remain the expression of the law of the highest charity and of ardent devotion.

It is necessary to sacrifice everything in order to defend that which cannot be weighed nor bought in figures."

Mercier defined them as law, honour, peace and freedom.

"The struggle for these idealist values is full of 'austere beauty'. For the world does not always live in peace. God sometimes reveals himself to man in nature, in harmony, in peace as in the fiery passage of the sun through the universe. Sometimes his voice is powerful and threatening like a thunderstroke or the explosion of a bomb, like a thunderstorm at which the earth trembles. In each case, however, it is the voice of God."

"The punishment of an act of violence and armed defence against it, have become inevitable for the restoration of the balance of power."

"It is not enough merely to say that peace for its own sake is necessary at all cost; for that would mean accepting justice and injustice, truth and lies, with the same indifference. It would be cowardice and dishonesty."

Cardinal Mercier thundered courageous words at the pharisees of "humane-ness" and "all-forgiveness":

"I would not be worthy of a bishop's ring, and still less of the cross that I wear if, under the influence of human feelings, I was afraid to say that a violated right is no right. The desire to revenge evil out of respect for order and justice is a virtuous act."

And in defence of those who are attacked by the fainthearted pharisees because they fight passionately against violence and evil, Cardinal Mercier said:

“For can one demand that the desire to avenge evil should be free of all passion? No, said St. Thomas of Aquinas, on the contrary! If the moral side in the struggle is irreproachable then passion becomes a means of strengthening the will” . . . The most important thing is to keep “the soul strong, which is the highest virtue of Christianity”.

We are not always commanded to forgive. “Attacks on public order may not go unpunished. A ruler who continually pardons criminals endangers public security. Nations that forgive injustice are not worthy of freedom.”

Christian charity? Certainly, but “a prudent kindness towards our neighbour often advises us to be strict towards him. We should keep in mind not his comfort but his real needs.”

The tasks of the Church? “The Church should not restrict itself in its means of defence against the wolves that destroy the souls of its flock. It should oppose robbers and tyrants who inflict physical torment on its subjects.”

Charity? Yes! “There is no Christian justice without charity; there is no charity without justice; and because just retaliation is part of the virtue of justice there is no charity without just retaliation.”

In the epoch-making time in which we live the eternal conflict between two opposed forces threatens us — “the forces of the Archangel Michael” that crush the “idol of the materialist world and cast it down from the throne” and the “forces of evil spirits”, the forces of “hell” and its “carrion crows” (from Shevchenko’s poem *Welykyj Ljoch*).

The first power aims at the union of men with the “chivalrous spirit” of which Cardinal Mercier spoke after the First World War and Bishop Fulton Sheen after the Second. The task of these forces is to organize in one separate order and to declare themselves “non-conformists”. A special kind of this “non-conformism” is absolutely necessary today, he writes, namely the opposition of the good forces against such an accumulation of evil, otherwise this swamp of evil will throw culture and even the nation itself into the abyss. For there is a great danger that the quantitative will swallow the qualitative. Our era is nothing more than a gradual decline for the benefit of the masses or rather of those who are not capable of leadership as they are only fit to follow something. In short this is a time of adventurers, renegades and swindlers. “A dead body is swept away by the current. Only a living organism can swim against it. Only a worm likes a rotten apple, a man not at all.”

This rotten apple is actually the Communist doctrine, the doctrine of Russian Messianism and its devoted servants within the Western “democratic Mafia”. As the Communists have a fairly small number of corrupt individuals to corrupt the masses, the youth leaders should create a powerful army, with capable and naturally-gifted leaders, who would be not at all inclined to fall down on their knees before false gods (*The Montreal Star*, 25th July 1964) — youth leaders who would not perform the work of these gods nor enter into any agreements with them. They would not do so with their deluded or dishonoured priests nor with the misled, deceived, intimidated and corrupt masses.

As for Ukraine, that is, the Ukraine which fights for freedom, it proclaims: Nonconformism! Not Peace! But the sword!

The fire must not be lit in the dirty pool of "union" with the spiritually castrated. The Cross and not the Hammer and Sickle; life and not hunger and death! A clear 'Yes!' to the latter and a 'No' to the former! A return from the gangrenous world of Russian Messianism, of the untruthful and demoralised "democratic" Mafia of the West to the eternal truths of the chivalrous Occident, to the formation of a new ruling elite on the model of the old chivalry of Ukraine.

The younger generation in Ukraine which remembers simply the Second World War (or perhaps does not know this war at all) is growing up in another atmosphere: Scorn for the devilish creed and the Messianism of their Russian older brothers, scorn for the degenerate cadres of tyranny. This new generation is growing up with its new creed, the belief in an uprising in the near future of the Ukraine of *yesterday* which will become the fact of *tomorrow*. This is a generation which is not prepared to recognize the complete insult of *contemporary* Ukraine. The sign under which this new Ukraine raises its head is no longer the sickle but the cross. Not Peace, but the sword! No agreement with the Russian or Chosarish hordes but a call to fight against them in the name of a great mission of our eternal Kyiv, for the rescue of the Christian culture of the West and particularly of its battle column, Ukraine.

- Sources: 1.) *Lettres de S.E. le Cardinal Mercier, 1914—1918, Bruxelles.*
2.) *La Correspondance de S.E. le Cardinal Mercier.*
3.) *A mes Seminaristes, par S. E. le Cardinal Mercier.*

Desecration Of Soldiers Graves In Lviv

From the capital of West Ukraine, Lviv, the news has reached us that the Russians have levelled out the graves of dead Ukrainian soldiers in the "Janiwskyj" Cemetery. These soldiers died during the First World War in the struggle against Polish and Russian conquerors and found their last rest in separate sections of the cemeteries in Lviv. They were members of various military units (the Ukrainian Sitsch Riflery, Ukrainian Galician Army and the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic). The section of soldiers' graves in the

"Janiwskyj" Cemetery was particularly well preserved. There were stone soldiers' crosses on individual graves and in the middle was the grave of General Myron Tarnavsky, the Commander-in-Chief of the West Ukrainian Army.

Moscow annihilated the graves just at the time of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the first Ukrainian military units. It is not known what has happened to the military graves in other cemeteries in Lviv or whether they have suffered the same fate as those in the "Janiwskyj" Cemetery.

Beware Of Russian "Peaceful Coexistence"

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 to 30 years. To win, we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

Dimitry Z. Manuilsky, Lenin School of Political Warfare, Moscow, 1930

Subversion Disguised As “Cultural Exchange”

The Ukrainian political organizations abroad remain as usual a thorn in the flesh for Moscow. Moscow is always using new methods in the struggle against these organizations and their activity, from insults and accusations of “crimes” still committed at home to assassinations of leading politicians abroad. Nevertheless, the insults and accusations practised for decades have not produced the desired result. For the émigrés remain immune and have moreover already enlightened the Western world with regard to the truth of Russian statements. Finally, Moscow too has realized that its methods must be changed and has seized on an apparent liberalization in the USSR and cultural subversion abroad.

Society for Cultural Relations

The filthy insults and slander against all the Ukrainian politicians abroad lasted until 1960. On 1st November 1960, the Soviet Russian National Security Service (KGB) created the “Society for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad”. Famous Ukrainian writers, musicians, scientists and artists became members of this body “voluntarily”. Since then Moscow has only insulted and slandered individual groups and persons abroad while trying to convert the main body of the overseas Ukrainians thus causing dissension in their ranks. On 1st November 1960, the “Society” started the publication of a newspaper called *News from Ukraine expressly* intended for Ukrainians abroad. This paper was sent to people’s homes against their will. It was no use returning it as it always came again.

When the overseas Ukrainians ignored this novelty Moscow tried other methods. A “Cultural Exchange” Treaty was signed with various Western states which provided the KGB with a pretext for travelling abroad with groups of artists. One remembers the groups of dancers and singers that performed in Western towns. In Moscow they publicised the tours of the Soviet Ukrainian dancers and singers.

Tour of a Group in the USA and Canada

When it was learnt in 1963, that the Ukrainians in the USA were to erect a memorial to the great Ukrainian poet T. Shevchenko on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of his birth in 1964, a group of 34 “creative artists” in Soviet Ukraine wrote an open letter to the Memorial Committee in the USA, demanding to be invited to the unveiling of the memorial. Among the 34 “creative artists” were some members of the “Society for Cultural Relations”. The Memorial Committee refused this request. But a few voices were raised among the American Ukrainians in favour of such an invitation. These were mostly so-called “progressives”, a group of old-established Ukrainians in Canada and the USA, who are infected with Communism. A few individual “realists”, as they like to call themselves, associated themselves with the progressists. But nothing came of this for the Memorial Committee did not invite the “creative artists” from Soviet Ukraine.

This infuriated Moscow, especially as the unveiling of the memorial was a great triumph for Ukrainian national ideals since about 100,000 Ukrainians attended the celebrations.

Yet the Russians did not give up. In December 1964, a group of 21 "creative artists" from Soviet Ukraine appeared in the USA and Canada led by Kateryna Kolossowa, an educational expert on the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine. As regards the professions of the members of this group, they formed a motley bunch: 3 writers, a literary critic, a painter, a film-director, 3 musicians, 2 actors, 3 doctors, the director of a museum, etc.. They were almost all members of the Communist Party; a few of them were even deputies in the highest Soviet in Ukraine; some of them had received decorations. In short, all were reliable people for the Communist Party. Among them were seven women.

The group tried to get into conversation with Ukrainian organizations and individual personalities in the cultural circles of the USA and Canada. Unannounced and uninvited the "creative artists" knocked on the doors and demanded admission.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America warned the Ukrainian community about meetings with this group and this warning was on the whole heeded, apart of course from the "progressists" and "realists", who welcomed the "creative artists" with open arms. In Canada the group had a meeting with a few representatives of the Ukrainian community, to the indignation of the community and of the whole world.

Most of the Ukrainians flatly boycotted this group, but the "creative artists" at least succeeded in temporarily diverting the Ukrainians in North America from their main task and occupying them with secondary matters.

What did the "Creative Artists" Carry in their Luggage?

The group brought with them in their luggage plenty of offers of co-operation. The Communists want to persuade the Ukrainian scientists and artists in exile to publish their works in the press in Soviet Ukraine and in return to allow the works of the "creative artists" of Soviet Ukraine to be published in the periodicals of the Ukrainians abroad. There were plenty of other "proposals" that were all designed to cause a deep split in the political activity of the Ukrainians abroad.

The Ukrainian Resistance Continues

Ukrainian resistance continues unceasingly in all spheres of life. All attempts to break this resistance have failed, notwithstanding the cruelty with which the conquerors have tried to kill it. We received further proof of this recently.

From an absolutely reliable source we have received the news that in autumn 1959, the KGB discovered a bunker in Pidhajczyky, near Lviv, in which seven Ukrainian resistance fighters were hidden. In the course of the struggle all seven were killed.

A year before that, the district leader of the OUN (the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) was killed in the fight in the Solowitch Forest. Showtjanskyj Antin, who had served a ten-year sentence of imprisonment, also fell in this struggle.

Thus bunkers, resistance fighters and leaders of OUN groups are proof of the armed struggle. The news provides us with countless proofs of the active and passive resistance of the Ukrainian people very often. It really embraces all branches of life — at work, on building-sites, on the farms, in literature, art, etc..

Orthodox Church Condemns Communism

At an Assembly held on October 31st in Melbourne, presided over by His Grace Serbian Orthodox Bishop Dionisije, Head of the Serbian Orthodox Diocese for the USA and Canada, and attended by the delegates of fourteen long established Serbian Orthodox Church Communities and eight national organizations a resolution was adopted, from which we are quoting the excerpts:

— *We welcome all efforts of the free and democratic country of Australia, which are directed towards the achievement of her internal and external prosperity, her struggle against world Communism, for the preservation of Christian principles, and democracy, for the benefit of the whole of humanity.*

We call upon all Orthodox Serbs, men and women, who live in Australia, to do their utmost to uphold those principles, and safeguard the integrity and constitution of the country, which is now their new homeland, and to which they owe their allegiance.

— *We repudiate and condemn the teaching, theory, and practice of world Communism, and once again, we invite all Serbs to engage themselves in the defence of the holy Orthodox faith, freedom, justice and democracy.*

— *We do not recognize the establishment of the Communist dictatorship within enslaved Yugoslavia, and particularly over the Serbian people, and we refuse and deny any co-operation with the representatives of Communist Yugoslavia.*

— *It is a proven fact, that, within the Communist world, behind the Iron Curtain, as well as in our enslaved homeland, there are no personal, economical, religious and political liberties, therefore we consider it our solemn duty to condemn the slavery to which our Orthodox Church is subjected, by the criminal Communistic dictatorship.*

— *We recognize and adopt the Resolution of the Tenth Church National Sabor (Assembly) of the Serbian Orthodox Diocese of the USA and Canada, held in August and November 1963 in the Serbian Orthodox Monastery of "St. Sava", Libertyville, Ill., USA, and we also recognize the Right Rev. Bishop Dionisije as her legal Bishop and Head.*

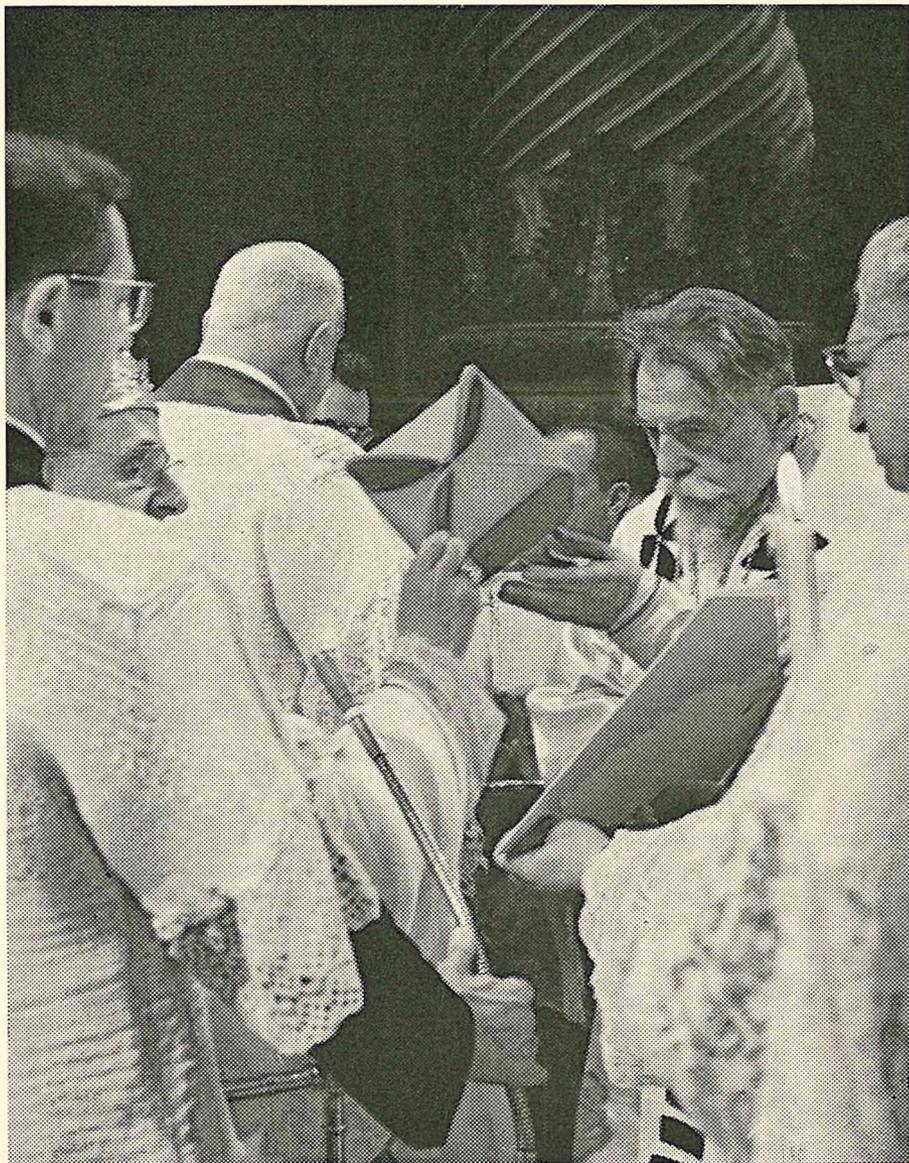
We consider any accusation against Bishop Dionisije to be false and fictitious, and his dismissal and removal contrary to the canons and laws of the Church as it is obvious that these were fabrications to the order of the Communist regime of Tito. It is contrary to the rules of the Church, and against the interests, unity and integrity of the Serbian Church, and her divine mission amongst the Serbian people.

— *The Free Serbian Orthodox Church — Diocese in Australia and New Zealand has now been established, which will set up a spiritual and constitutional tie with the Serbian Orthodox Diocese in the USA and Canada, with special rules related to Church life in Australia.*

By forming the Free Serbian Orthodox Church Diocese in Australia and New Zealand, in accordance with the Constitution adopted by the Tenth National Church Assembly of 1963 in the USA, we do not separate ourselves spiritually and nationally from the holy Orthodox Church, but remain indeed, in dog-

matical, spiritual, liturgical and national unity with our Serbian people. We do not accept orders and instructions from Belgrade, as it is very obvious that such orders are influenced and enforced by the Communist authorities.

We Orthodox Serbs feel deeply sympathetic towards the sufferings of the Mother Church in Yugoslavia, and we pray that the Lord may help her to survive, until the time, when the Serbian Church and people are liberated from Communist oppression, and when we shall rejoin in one administrative unity.



His Holiness Pope Paul VI bestows the cardinal's hat to Joseph Slipy, Great Archbishop and Metropolitan of Lviv (Ukraine).

Regrettable Policy

We have often asked why the American press conceals the great economic and social progress of the Chiang-Kai-shek government on the island of Taiwan. The answer to this question is depressing. The American press pursues this policy of silence simply because Washington's official policy is based on co-existence with the USSR and the government keeps in view an eventual co-existence policy with Communist China. While such a policy exists, praise of free, democratic, nationalist China would only provoke the USSR and Red China.

Recently, however, we noticed a sudden change in the American press in this respect. In January it suddenly began to praise the achievements of the Chiang-Kai-shek government and one asks oneself: why this sudden change of attitude?

The answer probably lies in the great defeat of American policy in Vietnam and Laos and the recent exit of Indonesia from the United Nations.

The State Department has probably not ignored the words of the Japanese Prime Minister, Sato, when he said frankly: "Western logic and Western policy are of no use in Asian countries." We take it that Sato meant American logic and policy. He also added that the American press had suddenly begun to praise the Chiang-Kai-shek government and had not forgotten to emphasize Uncle Sam's aid as the Americans had given 1,400 million dollars out of their own pockets. In order to see what the American press writes about Taiwan we give some reports which appeared in the press between 10th and 17th January.

The press reports enthusiastically that the economic wealth of the population of Taiwan has reached a record level. Economists who have visited Formosa recently have confirmed this. They were astonished by the extraordinary achievements of the Chiang-Kai-shek government. They also confirmed with regard to industry and agriculture particularly that American money in National China was not only wasted but well used and that it had not gone into the pockets of clerks and officials as in other Asian countries.

The press furthermore confirms that the Chiang-Kai-shek government has raised the standard of living of the population enormously. After these reports, which were designed to prepare the American reader for further positive news, it was reported that the State Department had been pleasantly surprised by this progress and had decided to inform the whole world and particularly Asia about it. The Federal Agency of International Development has allocated 25,000 dollars for this purpose. It is to be used mainly for the publication of brochures and the organization of lectures on the economic situation of Taiwan and the prosperity of the population which it has reached in the last 15 years. In these brochures and lectures the difference between Taiwan as it is now and as it was after the war was lost is to be emphasized. Taiwan's situation is compared with the state of poverty which so many other peoples of East Asia are in and the high level of social justice is praised.

The American press also reports that the government has decided to give further economic aid to the Chiang-Kai-shek government on 30th June 1965.

From this report it is not clear whether this grant of financial aid was decided by the American government or whether Chiang-Kai-shek has refused it. It is generally considered that it was Chiang-Kai-shek who renounced financial support for he must have learnt himself, just like the Japanese Prime Minister, that "Western logic and Western policy are of no use to the Asian countries".

In reviewing this change in the appraisal of National China by the American press, we ask ourselves whether this move has come too late. Would it not have been better to have sent not only economists but also students and politicians from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Indonesia and other Asian countries to Taiwan ten years ago in order to show them what has been achieved there with the help of foreign aid? Would it not have been better to have taken Chiang-Kai-shek's advice to heart twenty years ago?

Our answer is that it is all too late. It is just as late as it was too early to eliminate Prime Minister Tshombe politically at the instigation of the Americans and then to help him to become Prime Minister in the Congo again. It is also too late because in Africa and almost all Asian countries the windows of American Embassies are being broken by demonstrators and the buildings of American institutions are being set on fire. When we think of American policy in Asia we must confess that it has been very inconsistent and changeable, that the people have not understood this policy and that it is not good for them.

Asia has been understood by one American only, namely General McArthur. It is he that Asia has to thank for the fact that there are such outposts against Communism as Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines and Korea. The realization of his other plans was frustrated. The tree was cut down before it bore fruit. The result: millions of dollars thrown away in the swamps and jungles of Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Cambodia, and Indonesia — money from which the enemy profited. But most costly of all — the lives of thousands of the best American soldiers.

When we consider American policy in Asia, we must automatically also consider the United States' Western policy, which ought really to be called its European policy. As one can see, American policy in Europe makes less and less sense. For example, de Gaulle is disgusted by it. It is a policy which one can only regret. As for their East European policy, one would have to be God to understand it and to find any purpose in it whatsoever. At the same time, when thanks to US efforts a dozen new states in Asia and a new one every day in Africa are being born, Washington regards Georgia, Ukraine and other "Soviet Republics" as historical territory of Russia and compares them with Texas or Nevada. The USA covers its own eyes and the eyes of other countries of the free world with unusual energy and does not want to see the age-old struggle of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia which they wage for the freedom and independence of their states. For present American policy holds the view that the Mau-Mau had a right to their own state, but not the Georgians or the Ukrainians. The USA which in the course of its historical development must have taken millions of people from Eastern Europe, among them hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, prevents its own citizens of East European descent from speaking when they plead for justice for their former homeland. This accusation is not empty words. It suffices to consider present-day official radio broadcasts.

The broadcasts for Orthodox Christians in the USSR are particularly astonish-

ing and incomprehensible. They are limited to prayers and sermons, and this is just at a time when these people in the USSR want to hear not simply dry sermons but well-founded arguments about their brothers in the free world who enjoy full freedom in their religious life.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, during the thousand years of its existence, has always lived with the joys and cares of its own nation. The history of the Ukrainian people is evidence of this. Our church is not indifferent to the fate of the USA, whose citizens we have become.

Our church experiences the cares and the prosperity of America with great interest. We include its reactions to everything that happens in the world, that is, in Soviet and American policy, in the category of processes which have an influence on the human soul and, therefore, the church above all should make these reactions its concern.

Hon. John Henry Okwanyo, M. P., Kenya.

Kenya Against Neutralism

My country, Kenya, has just obtained its independence under the direction of the father of our nation, Jomo Kenyatta.

We are endeavouring to gain an equal position with the other members of the United Nations and to enjoy complete independence in the management of our own affairs.

We do not want to pursue a neutral nor a negative policy, but a positive one in order to further what we consider just and disapprove of what we do not like. That does not mean that in our economic affairs or in other spheres of action we shall adopt an attitude of "for" or "against". It does mean, however, that in the jargon of today we shall not align ourselves with one or other of the groups of forces at present but shall try to maintain an amicable attitude and a spirit of co-operation with the small and the large countries.

A few months ago this creed was brought and is still being brought to the workers in Central and East Africa by the Communists. If I may give as examples the recent revolution in East Africa, political agitation in Malawi and the state of war in the Congo (Léopoldville). There is no need for me to mention the importance of Central and East Africa menaced by the Communists, nor do I need to emphasize the efforts and the pressure which they will put on our governments in order to influence them. We promise to maintain and safeguard our liberty and we fully recognize that we cannot do so better than by the campaign and propaganda against Communism. We must

1. educate our people in being capable of judging for themselves which is the good and which is the bad; and
2. increase economic growth so that our people cannot be bought cheaply because they are poor and starving.

It is in this state of mind that we invite our friends who have sympathy for our liberty to stretch out their hands to us.

We fully appreciate the aid which will be given by a few countries here, but we need more.

Koreans Fighting For Unification

In Korea, the Third Republic was firmly established through a nation-wide general election which was held in a genuinely free atmosphere and with secret ballots in December 1963. The new government put all its efforts into improving living standards and increasing the people's incomes by stabilizing the political situation and accelerating industrial growth.

As it was clearly stated in the report of the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to the 19th General Assembly of the United Nations, Korea has faced the problem of disposing of 300,000 tons of surplus grain which was created by increased productivity and opening new farm lands under Korea's new positive agricultural policy. The manufacturing industry also made great progress and showed a 14.9% growth rate during the past year. Korea quadrupled its exports over 1961 and the G.N.P. growth rate of Korea for the past year was a respectable 5.9%. The main driving force behind this tremendous economic growth is the conviction of the people that one of the best ways to eliminate Communism is to accomplish better economic development. For this purpose all the Koreans are united as one under the considerate but strong anti-Communist leadership of our president, Chung Hi Park.

The Koreans have lived on the Korean Peninsula through 5,000 years of history. They have lived together as one homogeneous race under a single government since Korea was unified 1,400 years ago. It is a great tragedy that this country is now divided by Communist imperialism. Mindful of this tragic situation, the United Nations has been trying to help the Koreans to achieve peaceful unification ever since 1948, but all these fine efforts could not produce the desired result because of the Communist opposition. This is all well understood by the Koreans, and they hate the Communists more for it.

In this rapidly changing world, the issue of Korean unification has been getting more attention. The Communists have been advocating peaceful unification, direct negotiation between the Republic of Korea and the Communists in the northern part of Korea, the exchange of cultural activities, and even the federation of Korea. Those who are ignorant of the nature of Communist tactics suggest the neutralization of Korea. We, the people of the Republic of Korea, are well aware of the fact that these proposals have been made in bad faith with the aim of communizing the whole of Korea. You have my assurance that Communist propaganda gets nowhere in our country. We have experienced the tragic occupation by the Korean Communists during the Korean War and we know what the Communists really are.

We reject all other proposals and uphold the official position of the Republic of Korea with respect to the unification of Korea. First, the Republic of Korea seeks the unification of the country through peaceful means; second, it believes that the unification of Korea should be based on the principle of self-determination, the holding of free elections throughout Korea in proportion to the indigenous population; third, the Republic of Korea desires that the United Na-

tions, as an impartial guarantor of international peace and security, supervise and observe these nation-wide elections. These principles, supported by the overwhelming majority of the Member States, constitute also the United Nations' formula for the unification of Korea.

The Korea chapter of APACL assisted its government in enacting the "Law concerning the establishment of the Korea Chapter of Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League" in 1963 to insure more effective operation of the Korea chapter. We have also succeeded, through the good offices of the Korean government, in including anti-Communist lectures in the regular curriculum of each school and in including this subject in the civil service examination. Efforts are also made to place more emphasis on the anti-Communist spirit in the fields of literature, art and drama.

The APACL Korea chapter has observed nation-wide ceremonies, such as Anti-Communist Students' Day, Freedom Day and Captive Nations Week, and sponsored lectures and forums designed to reveal the danger of subversive Communism. Our anti-Communist lecture series, which is held every Saturday, is most eagerly attended by the younger generation. The number of educational lectures and anti-Communist speeches sponsored by the Korea chapter during the past year added up to over 500 and more than a million people attended them. It is my firm conviction that these activities are laying a solid foundation for the democratic unification of Korea.

Dr. V. Thamavit

Thailand's Problems

Of Thailand I would like to report to you that the Prime Minister, Marshal Thanom Kitikachorn, is anti-Communist. He represents the Thai people's attitude and public opinion that the Communists are dangerous to the Kingdom, tradition, family system, and freedom of the Thai people.

In the year 1958, it was he, who sponsored the APACL conference in Bangkok.

Internally, Thailand, under Field Marshal Thanom, is as stable as ever. The population of 30 million are 78% Buddhist, 10% Christian, 8% Islamic and 4% miscellaneous. The King upholds Buddhism; Buddhism is the state religion; and there is freedom of worship. There is never a conflict between religious groups in Thailand. Economically, Thailand is under a free-enterprise system. And the present government aims to invite more foreign investment into the country. The present budget is 11,240 million Baht. That is a billion Baht more than last year. The World Bank considers Thailand's finance very sound.

Thus, all in all, I venture to say that the Communists in Thailand are hardly developing. Impossible! The country and the government are quite stable. However the greatest danger is the penetration of Communism from the outside. There are troubles in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia and Burma. And it is not hard to predict that if Laos and South Vietnam fell into Communist hands, Thailand would be the next victim. And the whole of South East Asia would be communized.

Fortunately, in the North Vietnam and South Vietnam conflicts, the American Government is firm in fighting against the Communists. The American Air Force bombed North Vietnam Air-bases and installations. It aroused world public opinion, and strengthened the *will* to fight of the free people of the free world. The same is true in Laos. *Only the firmness and willingness to fight against the Communists in every way will be able to stop Communist expansion.*

All in all, I conclude that if the free countries would like to be free, they would have to be well united with one another. Unity of the free world means *strength* to combat the Communists.

I would like to suggest ways and means of fighting the Communists successfully:

1. To establish a strong middle class within a country. The stronger, the middle class, the more stable the country.

2. To eliminate corruption within the regime; honest government is a great policy for all.

3. To introduce a Democratic government everywhere. For the free Democratic government is the best government for human beings. Dictatorship produces misuse of power and corruption.

4. In order to win the "Cold War" against the Communists, the anti-Communist movement must be a national one, nonpartisan, that is free men of all parties and creeds.

5. Finally, all the free countries, which want to remain *free*, must unite. Unity means strength; and only strength and firmness will prevent war. And certainly, the unity of the free world will be victorious over Communism.

Those are my suggestions: five principles to defeat the Communists. And I venture to say that if we can follow these 5 principles to the letter, we shall definitely win the Cold War. If we win the Cold War, there will be no need to fight the *Hot War*. Thus, freedom, peace, and happiness could be attained *everywhere*.

J. S. Ahmed Afrab

Somali Defends Ukraine

The Somali African Union is firmly opposed to the Communist ideology of Soviet Russia who has the ambition to dominate the whole world. The whole of Eastern Europe, Siberia, Ukraine, East Berlin, Cuba and a large part of Asia are under the Soviet domination. Soviet Russia exploits the national sentiment to impose a new kind of colonialism on those nations considered to be underdeveloped, politically and economically, such as the new African nations. But we Africans will resist Soviet penetration and subversion, and I express my belief that the united peoples of Africa and Asia can fight Soviet imperialism. The present situation on the China mainland, in Korea and Vietnam must be put an end to by destroying the Communist puppet regimes there. And at the same time the new African nations need your friendship and assistance in their struggle against Communism and Communists. Therefore, I eagerly hope that you understand the threat and the real danger of Soviet imperialism. Should we decide to act, we should unite ourselves first, union makes force.

Real Nuclear Capability Of Red China!

The Chinese Communists succeeded in exploding an experimental atomic bomb. They tried to blackmail and bluff the Asian nations before they had the atomic bomb and now their pressure on other Asian nations is expected to increase. But if we take a closer look at the physical strength of the Chinese Communists, it is not as menacing as the Chinese Communists are trying to make us believe.

First of all it will take them quite some time before they can develop a delivery system for the atomic bomb and actually possess real nuclear capability. Their main force is their poorly equipped ground force of two and a half million foot soldiers. The army is deployed over widely dispersed frontiers Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, the Central Asian Sino-Soviet border, the coastal provinces across from Taiwan and along the Southeast Asian borders of Burma, Laos, and North Vietnam. Apart from this geographical handicap, there are growing signs of discontent among the Chinese on the mainland under Communist control. The news of uprisings leaks out from time to time in spite of tight censorship. It is clear that a large part of the Chinese Communist army is tied down to suppress these discontented people. Under such circumstances, Mao's army as a readily available fighting force evaporates very fast.

It is very dangerous to under-estimate an enemy, but it is just as fatal to over-estimate an enemy and shrink from taking decisive action because of that estimate. The international Communist forces have been greatly weakened by the Sino-Soviet rift, the breakdown in the solidarity of the Communist world, the changes in their leadership and the growing indication of their inner weakness. All this evidence gives us hope that the Communist nations may be divided and played off against each other, thus further weakening international Communist forces.

A negative posture itself really does not stop anything unless it accompanies positive ideas. Being "anti" something does not mean much unless we are *for* something. Yes, we are against Communism because it enslaves human beings and denies the human rights which are god-given. We are for democracy because it protects and guarantees the human welfare and allows us to live as free men.

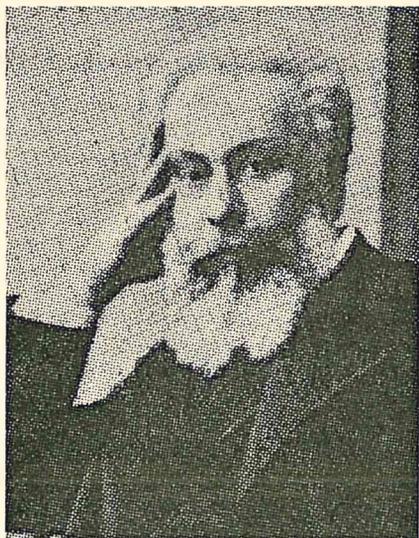
The neutralization of Vietnam or any other part of the world is no solution to our problem and it is a very negative attitude not to face reality. Make your country prosper. Make your people live happier. Make their lives richer. These are positive measures to beat Communism. Then let us strengthen our ties and work together, because the days of isolation have long passed and the problem we are facing today is a matter concerning all of us and it can only be solved by the concerted efforts of all the non-Communist free world.

*Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in
defending our own!*

Benjamin Franklin

OBITUARY

Prof. Dr. Michael Tseretheli, Georgian Politician and Scholar



The Georgian nation has lost one of its greatest sons. Prof. Dr. Michael Tseretheli died in Munich on 2nd March after a long illness.

He was born on 23rd December 1878 in Semo, Ober-Imerethi, West Georgia and descends from an old family from which many statesmen, bishops, scientists, writers, poets and generals have come.

After passing the grammar school at Kulhaissi, he studied in Kyiv, Geneva, Paris, London and Heidelberg, where he studied Assyriology and where he took his doctorate.

As the Assyrian inscriptions, which are the primary source for Georgian history, and the Bible, in Genesis, contain information on Georgian tribes and as the Georgian language shows a traceable genetic relationship to the old Sumerian language, Tseretheli chose this subject.

His first research work, *Sumerian and Georgian*, was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, from 1913 to 1916.

His other numerous investigations were published by academic institutes, societies

and the Academy of Sciences in Germany, France and England.

He was Professor of Assyriology and Oriental History in the University of Tbilisi, Georgia, and later became Professor of Georgian Language and Literature in the Universities of Brussels and Berlin.

But he was not only a scholar. He was also an important politician and fighter for the freedom of Georgia.

He had been living in exile since 1901 but had often returned to Georgia illegally. He was active in the revolution of 1905/6 and in 1907, together with other Georgians, he presented the petition of the Georgian people, of which he was one of the authors, against Russian oppression to the delegations at the Peace Conference at The Hague, which had been convened on the initiative of the Russian Czar. This created a sensation in the world.

He was a prominent journalist and contributed to influential Georgian newspapers. He also wrote political books, among which was a fundamental work *The Nation and Mankind*, an historical, sociological and legal study.

He was the Georgian delegate at the international conferences of the representatives of all oppressed peoples in London in 1910 and Lausanne in 1916.

During the First World War he was a member of the Georgian Liberation Committee in Berlin. He went to Georgia twice by submarine to establish contact with the political parties and to work out a common plan.

After the re-establishment of the independence of Georgia in 1918, he was a member of the Georgian diplomatic delegation in Berlin and in 1919 ambassador to the Scandinavian countries in Stockholm.

After the occupation of Georgia by Soviet Russia he went back into exile and devoted himself to academic work. He published many works in Germany and France and was a professor first in Brussels and, during recent years, in the *Friedrich-Wilhelm University* in Berlin.

News And Views

Ukrainian Independence Day In The USA

The twenty-second of January is a national holiday for every Ukrainian. But only in the Western world is it possible to celebrate it, not in Ukraine itself. Ukrainians abroad organize celebrations on this day in every place where Ukrainians are to be found, however few.

In the USA and Canada, where most of the Ukrainians live, Ukrainian Independence Day is celebrated not only by Ukrainians but also by Americans and Canadians, and not only by private individuals but also by state institutions.

In 1965, for example, the celebrations on 22nd January were begun with a prayer read out by a Ukrainian bishop in the Congress of the USA. Then six senators made speeches in the Senate in honour of this day. In the House 36 Representatives spoke about Ukraine and the significance of the documents of 1918/19.

In many states of the USA, the Governors proclaimed 22nd January "Ukrainian Day" with the ceremonial signing of the corresponding document. The Mayors of American cities such as New York, Detroit, Chicago, and many others, also ceremoniously proclaimed "Ukrainian Day".

On this day the Ukrainian national flag flew on the buildings of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the USA and on many town halls and other public buildings. Senators, Congressmen, Governors and Mayors of American cities spoke as principal speakers at meetings organized on this day by Ukrainians.

Ukrainian National Flag On The Town Hall In Toronto

On the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, the Ukrainian national flag was flown for three days on the Town Hall in Toronto, Canada. The flag was handed over to the Mayor of Toronto, Mr. Givens, by a deputation from the Ukrainian colony in Toronto. He had it hoisted on the town hall. The Canadian Prime Minister, Lester Pearson, was invited as chief speaker at the meeting which was held to celebrate this occasion. The Ukrainian speaker was the president of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, Dr. R. Malashchuk. A year ago the former Prime Minister and present Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Diefenbaker, spoke at this meeting.

In the Montreal Star, January 12, 1965 under the title

Separatists in Vogue all Over

we read the following:

"There's going to be more separatism everywhere in the world, according to a British Columbian professor.

As the need for size to buttress military might recedes, Prof. Charles Burchill told the local branch of the World Federalists last night, separatism will be a characteristic phenomenon everywhere.

In the past, nations had to be big because to be big was to be economically and industrially, and therefore militarily, powerful. But now it is impossible to wage war, because a nuclear holocaust would result, and the technological basis for separatism exists, said the Dean of Arts and Professor of History at Royal Roads University, a government military college in Victoria.

He predicted that within 50 years countries like the USSR might split."

Death-Camps Are A Russian Discovery!

Mihajlo Mihajlov, a lecturer at a university in Yugoslavia, was a guest with a group of Yugoslavian writers in the Soviet Union last summer. He made a thorough study of life in the Soviet Union during his stay. He spoke to many people — artists, writers, scientists, students — and everywhere he was able to observe that “the subject of camps was an important item in contemporary Soviet literature”.

In his article in *Delo* Mihajlov writes:

“A year ago even Nikita Khrushchov declared that the editorial boards of literary periodicals had received about 10,000 novels, short stories and reports of experiences in camps. That is not too much when one remembers that for 30 years without a break, 8—12 million people have been deported to camps. Although only a few texts have been published up to now from the enormous number mentioned by Khrushchov, the Soviet periodicals are beginning to resemble more and more the registers of cruelty of the Inquisition of Philipp II . . .”

Mihajlov writes:

“*The Mémoires of the Army General A. W. Gorbatov* published in *Novij Mir* (Nos. 3—5, 1964) arouse special interest.” They describe the dreadful experiences and sufferings of men brutally mistreated in a camp in Siberia. These mémoires are very reminiscent of the book by Ivan Solonjevych on the Russian concentration camps. The author escaped to the West from a concentration camp in Siberia in 1937. This book was published in Yugoslavia in 1939, but Communists branded it immediately as apocryphal and accused the author of being a traitor to the working class, a capitalist hireling, a Fascist agent, etc. . .

Mihajlov states that recently the Soviet press “mentions the Fascist and Nazi camps less and less and avoids comparison with the Soviet camps. This is understandable for the first death-camps were set up not by the Germans but by the Russians.”

“The buildings of the first death-camp *Holmogor* near Archangelsk was begun in 1921. This camp was solely designed for the extermination of the prisoners. It functioned for years and swallowed the former allies — the social revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, etc.. The writer Ivan Smeljov, recently rehabilitated in the Soviet Union, described in his book *The Sun of the Dead* (for which Thomas Mann wrote a foreword) the hard years after the Civil War, when in 1920/21 alone 120,000 men and women were shot without trial in Crimea. People still recall how a young girl called Vera Grebejakova (known as “Dora”) at first tortured and then killed 700 prisoners with her own hands.”

The Communist Mihajlov continues: “Even the invention of genocide cannot be attributed to Hitler. Before the Second World War many small peoples from the Turkish and Persian borders were deported to North Siberia. There they died like flies, as they were not used to the cold. It is understandable that during the Second World War many Red Army units, especially those composed of Kalmuks, Tatars, and Circassians, went over to the side of the Hitlerite criminals as they were exposed to hard oppressive measures under the Russians.”

The facts and details given here will be sufficient to understand why the Soviet Russian government has complained to Belgrade about Mihajlov’s article and why the Yugoslavian Government found it necessary to confiscate this issue of *Delo*. But the confiscation of the magazine and the news of this affair which was spread by the press and radio, have allowed Mihajlov’s exposures to appear in the clear light of day and gained more publicity than an advertising agency would have been able to achieve. Now up to 5,000 Dinars is paid for a copy of this article in Yugoslavia, which is almost the weekly wage of an average worker.

Besides the above facts, Mihajlov’s article contained many more remarkable obser-

variations on present-day life in the Soviet Union. The author states that songs by camp-inmates — humorous, despondent, cynical — have spread throughout the country and are very popular. Everyone is singing these songs, especially the young people. "These songs", writes Mihajlov, "are undoubtedly the most important folklore of our time and it is understandable that they originate in the Soviet Union. The decades of concentration camps, in which, according to reliable estimates, 8—12 million souls have languished, formed in any case the most fertile soil for this popular poetry. These songs will surely be sung throughout the whole century, just as Russia's prisoners' songs from past centuries are still sung today, although the latter are surpassed by the new folksongs in melancholy and acid beauty."

Many newspapers in the Western world compared Mihajlov's testimony on the Soviet Union with Milovan Djilas' exposures, especially his *Conversations with Stalin*. Actually Mihajlov's testimony is more weighty and overwhelming on many points than that of Djilas, who was sentenced to 4½ years' imprisonment for his revelations.

It would be useful to register and ponder Mihajlov's testimony on the primacy of the Russians with regard to death and annihilation camps in the West. For only there, where the Soviet Russian reality is known, Communism loses its foothold.

Moreover, Tito does not lag behind the Soviet Union in this respect. He too has had hundred of thousands of his political opponents murdered. In Gotchee (Slovenia) alone there were about 100,000 Serbians, Croats and Slovenians murdered by him. And Tito too had his death camps in which countless members of the German minority in Yugoslavia lost their lives.

Tito probably confiscated the issue of *Delo* which contained Mihajlov's article also because the description of the Soviet death and annihilation camps and Soviet genocide could have aroused memories of his own crimes in the Yugoslavian public. On Tito's orders, Mihajlov had to pay for his candid exposures with imprisonment.

Prof. Rathaus On Underground Activities In Ukraine

The *Cahiers d'Information*, which is published by the "Fédération Internationale des Travailleurs Chrétiens Réfugiés et Emigrés", has published an article on the resistance in the USSR by Alexander Rathaus, a former professor of economic geography. Prof. Rathaus came to Western Europe with his family in 1962, after a new wave of persecution against the Jews had begun in the USSR and he was no longer sure of his life.

In his article he recounts his experiences and observations during his travels in various parts of the USSR in 1961/62. In the part devoted to Ukraine we read some interesting facts. He writes that since the dissolution of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army the resistance of the Ukrainian people has taken new forms. For example, there was the struggle of the Ukrainian students for Ukrainian as the language of instruction. They did not want to attend Russian lectures. They demanded to be taught only by Ukrainian professors and wanted to take the examinations in Ukrainian only. As a result of this, 33 leaders of the students were sentenced to death and over 100 were expelled from the university and imprisoned in so-called "education camps". Many others were put on the "black list".

This did not mean, that this struggle had ended. Ten years later the figures "33" were painted on ceilings, walls and floors in the universities of Kyiv and Lviv. This was the sign of the illegal secret student organizations which had taken the name "33" as a symbol of the 33 students who had been condemned to death. Professor Rathaus saw the police interrogating some students in Kyiv University on 22nd May, 1961. That day the sign "33" had appeared in many rooms in the University. Later he learnt that another illegal organization is active. It is called "Trysubnyky" and has no central leadership but operates in smaller groups which are independent of one another. Wherever such a group exists it can be recognized by the painting of the trident on the walls of houses and on pavements.

The members of these organizations have set themselves the task of arousing the patriotic feelings of the Ukrainians and chiefly of bringing about a cultural revolution. Prof. Rathaus knew a member of one of these organizations, Wasył Dribnyj, who was arrested by the Bolshevists because nationalist posters had been found in his house. He committed suicide in prison.

The author found another form of resistance in West Ukraine. There, attacks and sabotage actions against Bolshevik agents and buildings are carried out at night by small groups. During the day these resistance fighters go to their normal work and then at night they take up their hidden weapons and fight.

In the district of Rivne in the summer and autumn of 1961, they destroyed the grain which was to be delivered to the state by the collective farms. They also set fire to the railway-station, cars and other granaries. A few officials were found responsible for this and were sentenced. In the districts of Ternopil, Stanislaw (new name Iwano-Frankiwsk) and Uzhorod, the

Ukrainian insurgents killed over 50 Party officials and agents.

A ship, the *Kommissar Stepanow*, which was loaded with grain for Eastern Germany, was blown up in the sea a few miles off Odessa. A sabotage action was also carried out on the ship *Bolshevik Sowkhanow*, which was loaded with 200 tractors for Guinea and Ghana. After this all the tractors were no longer usable. There are more such resistance actions, but of course Moscow diligently conceals them.

The third form of resistance is mainly in the cultural field. The author describes how a young engineer in Odessa spoke Ukrainian with his colleagues and was sharply reprimanded for it by an official.

The Russians call the Ukrainian embroidered shirts, in which the Ukrainian workers often appear at their work-place as a demonstration, an unofficial national uniform. There are cases where workers have been sentenced to as many as eight months' imprisonment for wearing the Ukrainian shirts.

47th Anniversary Of The Estonian Declaration Of Independence

On 24th February 1918, the Baltic state of Estonia, which had been under Russian rule since 1721, attained its full independence. It was only able to develop freely for 22 years, for on 21st June 1940, Estonia was occupied by the Soviets by force, although a Peace Treaty (1920) and a Pact of Non-aggression (1932) were in force between the two countries. In the same year Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union against its will.

The total losses of the population through imprisonment, deportation, mobilization, murder and flight during the years 1939 to 1949 have been estimated at 250,000.

Today Estonia has an area of 45,100 sq. kms. and a population of 1,197,000, 20% of whom were Russians in 1959. In 1939 the latter amounted to only 8% of the population.

Towards the end of the Second World War thousands of Estonians left their homeland. They are now fighting in the West for the re-establishment of a free state, in the hope that the day will come when they can attain this goal and the Baltic people will again exist as independent nations.

From Letters To ABN:

7th January 1965

Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko

Dear Sir,

I feel I must write to you, and tell you our efforts in fighting against Communist infiltration into our newly independent states of Africa. Africa, once described as "the dark continent", is now "luminous" but is facing a danger of becoming "dark" again. The Peiping regime has openly said that once war in Congo is won, and East Africa fully influenced, then the whole African Continent will be considered as having fallen. There are various Communist movements around us here. Communism has infiltrated into our trade unions and most political parties. There is a continuous traffic of delegations to the Communist bloc.

Africa at the moment has the necessary medium for the growth of Communism i. e. poverty and ignorance. It is our duty in the free world to give light to this continent.

In the Taipei conference last year, several resolutions were passed. I hope, as one of the participants in this conference, you will try to do all you can, to implement those that are within your ability.

I must remind you that last year the U.S.S.R. offered 300 scholarships to Kenyan students alone. So you can imagine what sort of state we shall have when these people have returned home. I mentioned this in my address to the Taipei conference.

Our immediate problem now is funds. We are running a monthly magazine, which serves well to expose any Communist propaganda and plots. We distribute these magazines freely in order to ensure that everybody who can read receives one.

Yours in the struggle for world freedom,

John Henry Okwanyo M.P.

Kenya National Assembly

Chairman Kanu South Nyanza

President South Nyanza Chamber of Commerce

Press Bureau

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

I write in response to the receiving of your bimonthly ABN Correspondence, which I look forward to receiving regularly. I have found a great deal of material and information within the pages of each issue that has been of great value to me in research, studies, and teaching carried out at my home and at the University of Wisconsin on Eastern Europe. The magazine has also been used extensively by others in pursuit of their work as well.

Permit me to say here that we have found ABN Correspondence to be a reliable and accurate source of information on Eastern Europe and you can be sure it will be relied upon extensively in any new research and teaching.

By my receiving ABN Correspondence regularly, many people have been able to learn about Eastern Europe. I would estimate that over 50 individuals have used my copies of your publication for their own research and teaching, and some because they wish to gain more knowledge about Eastern European nations. It is for this and other reasons that I want to keep on receiving ABN Correspondence at my new address.

Earl J. Bornschein

From Behind the Iron Curtain

The Intensified Liberation Struggle of Ukraine and Other Subjugated Nations

During the Stalinist period, it was not attempted to hush up the opposition. It was used to point out failures. The present rulers, however, conceal opposition to the system and want to weaken it, for example, by the re-habilitation processes and their after-effects, in order to prove that the system is justified in principle and that former failures were only due to the tyrannical excesses of Stalin.

On 27th February 1957, after the Hungarian revolt, Mao Tse-tung spoke openly about contradictions in the "new society", that is, in the countries controlled by the Communists.

The nationalist liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism in the Soviet Union and the satellite states are the Achilles' heel of the Russian system.

The second most important problem lies in the field of religion, philosophy and culture. A third consists of social and economic opposition, the individualist system against the collectivist.

The distress of agriculture gets visibly worse all the time and causes more and more new political complications for the regime. In Ukraine, particularly, the reaction takes the form of political demonstrations. The agrarian problem is not only economic, but also national because the Russian theory upon which agriculture in Ukraine is based is opposed to the Ukrainian principle of private ownership and private initiative.

The revolutionary youth of Ukraine stand in the forefront of the struggle.

New Methods of Opposition

The last few years are characteristic of the new methods: strikes, street-battles and demonstrations, although brutally suppressed, caused losses in the ranks of the occupiers. The big fights in Novocherkask and Donets Basin in 1962/63 marked the turn-

ing-point, not only with regard to new tactics and strategy but also with regard to morale. The people lost their fear and found again their courage to fight. As a result of the incidents in Novocherkask and other towns in 1962/63, which aroused morale, the Soviet Government was forced to give up the priority given to heavy industry and the extension of all the branches of industry which serve the needs of the people.

The fillip given to morale after Novocherkask led to the intensification of the struggle against the Russian occupation with different means and under different forms, from the most harmless to armed force. For example, the prevailing grievances are laughed at and a joke is made of the fact that the Soviet Union has several Sputniks in space but the population has no shoes. Moreover, after the incidents in Novocherkask and other towns the import of grain from abroad was stepped up.

Others criticise everything. They spread a general scepticism. Embarrassing questions are put to the agitators at meetings. They write scornful anonymous letters to the newspapers and periodicals. Others nourish and stir up hopes of a war. Some people hope for a palace revolt in the Kremlin and spread subversive rumours to this effect, for example, the one about the murder of Khrushchov. Sabotage is carried out on a large scale in the collective farms and in the whole economy in general. In the factories, for example, even Italian strikes are being practised if the workers make claims for higher wages or they want to get rid of the director of a factory. The school reforms are evaded and here too the Ukrainians create chaos. Another form of the resistance already displays a violent character, that is, certain fighting groups of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN and UPA) are in arms against the Russian rulers.

The Youth in Revolt

A further factor not to be underestimated is the wide philosophical and cultural offen-

sive of the writers, artists, the intellectual elite of Ukraine and the younger generation, whose average age is 28. The ideas they mainly represent are love of country, truth, God. The young artists flatly reject so-called socialist realism and look for new forms of artistic expression. One feels the return to tradition, to the idea of an eternal Kyiv, to the history of Ukraine. One perceives an endeavour to reveal the nature of the Ukrainian people, to stir the Ukrainian universe. A cultural renaissance on traditional and historical principles is the dominant motive in which the younger generation is interested. One finds neither dialectical materialism nor negation of one's fatherland. On the contrary, one finds fanatical faith in, and fanatical love of one's country. No internationalism, no Soviet patriotism! Here a novel by the older writer, Sklarenko, should be mentioned: *Sviatoslaw*, published in 1960. It refers to the legend of eternal Kyiv as an intellectual and political centre of Eastern Europe and as a bulwark against the Eastern hordes. The author stresses the Christian mission of Ukraine and vehemently rejects all dependence on foreign church centres and by this he means in particular the Moscow Patriarchate. From this example, it can be seen how great the courage of the present cultural élite has become.

An article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* of 21st June 1955, Moscow, by the Ukrainian writer and film director, Alexander Dovzhenko, who was banished for twenty years during the Stalin period, started a great intellectual discussion among the artists and poets of the Soviet Union.

In an incredibly beautiful work, *Poem across the Sea*, he extolls the great heroic times of the Cossacks, love of the Dnipro, of his people, of Kyiv, of the "great little people" who have preserved eternal Ukraine.

The young people do not shrink from writing anti-Russian and anti-Communist poetry, even if they are imprisoned for doing so. Philosophical groups and illegal radio broadcasts are organized, as well as illegal poetry-readings, and spontaneous discussions. Official meetings are interrupt-

ed. Workers boycott their work-place en masse.

The Revolts of 1962/63 are not Forgotten

The Russians issued a strict prohibition in the towns of Novocherkask, Novoshachtynsk, Rostov-on-Don, and others, against discussion of the events which took place in Novocherkask in 1962. Nobody dreamt of observing this prohibition: "Look at the kind of bandits they are! They shoot the population en masse and then on top of that forbid us to talk about it!"

What actually happened in Novocherkask? The local garrison commander, a colonel of Ukrainian origin, shot himself because he had refused to give the order to fire on the crowd. From the beginning of June to October 1962, the revolt in Novocherkask was completely sealed off by tanks and KGB divisions. So nobody could get through to it from other towns. However, when the "occupation" finally came to an end many inhabitants of Rostov and Novoshachtynsk went there and learnt of the atrocities committed during that period. "No one will ever be able to find out how many were killed by the bandits!" Hundreds of women and children were massacred. The number of men killed will never be known, as many wounded men fell into the hands of the Russians and disappeared without trace. Besides this, many were simply arrested without anybody being able to find out anything further about their fate. All trials took place behind closed doors so that nobody has any idea who was sentenced or what punishments were imposed. There are many rumours that the regular Army units as well as the militia vehemently refused to fire on the unarmed population. From reliable sources we learn that the number of dead and wounded was at least 5,000.

In the collective farms and factories of the Rostov region the events in Novocherkask are well known but people are afraid to mention anything about them. It is whispered here and there that the Secret Police (KGB) have warned everybody not to talk about this affair.

Throughout the Donets Basin, everybody

knows about the happenings in Novocherkask in 1962 and is horrified at the blood-bath brought about by the Soviet authorities. It is emphasized that the number of dead and wounded in Novocherkask is a closely kept secret.

Discussion of the Novocherkask massacre among the professors in the University of Kyiv never stops. The events in Novocherkask in 1962, and the revolts in the Donets Basin in 1962/63 are a daily topic of conversation in the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, and in the town and district of *Cherkassy*.

Various rumours circulate in Ukraine in connection with the above events. Thus in the Donets Basin, for example, people say that the revolutionary uprisings in most cases had distressing consequences for the workers. According to these rumours many miners were shot while the rest are out of work due to the closing of the mines. "We were forbidden to strike. So offenders were also shot, just as in Novocherkask and the Donets Basin." Fantastic figures are given of those killed in the Donets Basin. It is even admitted that in some mines literally all the miners were killed. It is not easy to tell where these rumours come from. But it is not improbable that this form of intimidation comes directly from the KGB!

In the Luhansk region it is generally said that in 1963, in the whole Donets Basin the strikes of the miners and factory-workers reached fairly high proportions. The strikers claimed a wage-increase and an improvement of public utilities. The authorities were forced to raise wages a little and to improve the public utilities in the Donets Basin. Above all, these revolts have forced the Government to import wheat. So that here and there in the Donets Basin one can buy white bread, while in the other industrial areas, where there were no strikes, no white bread was available in the winter months of 1963/64.

In Luhansk itself it was asserted that in 1963, there was a general strike movement of miners and factory-workers in the whole Luhansk district. The workers and collective farmers declared that the aim of their struggle was not merely the overthrow of Communism but the separation of Ukraine

from Russia and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state.

In March 1963, about 300 students and a few professors of the Polytechnical Institute in Novocherkask disappeared without trace. There is a rumour that these people were sent to work in the atomic research laboratories in Murmansk in the Far North.

Novocherkask is full of anti-Communist posters. Secret newspapers are keenly read and studied. The working-class youth and students are considering providing themselves with weapons.

A very informative declaration was made by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the WLKSM, Pavlov, at a plenary session of the Central Committee in March 1964, that the general dissatisfaction among the youth in Odessa, Kyiv and other towns had already taken organized forms.

The Population is Arming itself

One can see from the Soviet press that the population is endeavouring to arm itself, especially the young workers and students. The people are providing themselves with weapons by stealing them from the state arsenals, by making them themselves, by illegally purchasing them in the state depots and by taking them from representatives of the Soviet authorities and even from the military troops.

The newspaper *Zaria Wastoka* has been alarmed since September 1962, that the state armament factories in the Uzbek SSR have been selling a fairly large number of hunting guns and small-calibre rifles to persons who have no permits for such purchases. "Only two months ago", complains the newspaper, "71 small-calibre rifles were sold to persons who had no permits from the militia."

Cases are also known of individual militiamen or auxiliaries (*Druzhynnyki*) who were disarmed. In other cases in Novocherkask and the Donets Basin even soldiers were disarmed.

The KGB chief in Georgia, A. N. Inauri, reported in *Zaria Wastoka* of 1st February, that the troubles over the confiscation of weapons, which the citizens keep in their houses without permits, seem to be extreme-

ly important and absolutely necessary because of the prevention of serious political crimes.

Single Combat-Groups

In connection with the arming of the population there is the keen activity of single combat-groups of the OUN. It is above all the young people among the workers, collective farmers and students who began to arm themselves to oppose the attacks of the auxiliary militia (Druzynnyki) and to organize in groups. These groups gradually extended their activity even to representatives of the Soviet authorities in individual towns and finally did not shrink from other operations.

In July 1963, *Izvestia* reported cases of arson committed in Uralsk, West Kazakhstan. The auxiliary militia is so frightened in this town that only a fraction of them dare to perform their duties. *Izvestia* also reported that at the same time the "activists' house" in the kolkhoze at Shulinsk "Hammer and Sichel" in the Tambow district and a barn in the farm belonging to the head of the kolkhoze Abakumow, were set on fire. An explosive was also thrown into Abakumow's bedroom. It completely destroyed the room but by chance did not kill him.

During the past two years reports on insurgent activity have increased. The insurgent groups are mainly students, young workers and collective farmers who are by no means inclined to obey the orders of the authorities. These young people leave their families, go into the forests and fight, "leaving production in the lurch."

It is commonly known that such armed rebel groups operate in the forests around the famous Ukrainian medieval fortified town of Kamenetzj-Podilskyj. People call them "forest-dwellers" or "children of the forest". Sometimes these young combat-groups go to the nearest inhabited places and dance with the girls. Militiamen on duty prefer not to notice them. The zealous representatives of the Soviet power find no favour at the hands of these rebellious young people.

Very often these young avengers hold up state lorries, confiscate the corn they carry and distribute it among the population.

Similar combat-groups operate in the forests of White Ruthenia (Byelorussia). Thus special units of the KGB were forced to comb the forests in the neighbourhood of Orscha in October 1963 after the combat groups had stolen food supplies from the town supply depot.

In the district of Brest the insurgents venture as far as the workers' settlements and attach posters such as "Down with Communism", "Death to the Communist Tyrants in the Kremlin", etc., to the walls on the houses and in the parks. The local authorities are very much afraid of the partisans, therefore, the local militia does not dare to prevent the posting of anti-Communist slogans. In the early morning these slogans are removed by the militia and auxiliaries (Druzynnyki).

Another example of the courageous activity of the partisans occurred in a small town where the parish priest of the Orthodox Church was arrested and then released. The inhabitants of the town claimed that the rescue of the priest was due to the "children of the forest" for they stuck up a poster after the arrest demanding the priest's release or they would set the building of the town soviet on fire and kill the head of the soviet.

A year ago, the KGB troops combed the woods around the town of Vinnitsa, Ukraine, with dogs. The inhabitants claim that a much smaller number of soldiers and dogs left the woods than had gone into them.

The armed combat groups in the forests of Vinnitsa only operate against the Communist activists. Townspeople who go looking for mushrooms, berries and firewood in the forests are allowed to pass through unmolested.

The Ukrainian national emblem, the cross and trident, is painted on walls of houses and on the streets as a symbol of the liberation struggle for country and Christ.

As we have already reported, armed partisan groups operate in most parts of Ukraine and in the Caucasus.

The increased self-arming of the population and new forms of armed activity are a direct consequence of the incidents in Novocherkask, the Donets Basin, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, etc., in 1962/63.

Secret Radio Broadcasts

A novelty in the underground movement of the Ukrainian people which appeared last year was widespread secret radio-broadcasting.

This uncontrolled broadcasting of news has already spread widely and caused a great disturbance among the Soviet Russian occupiers of Ukraine.

These broadcasts incite the students and young workers and even the officers of the Soviet Army of Ukrainian nationality as the newspaper *Krashnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) reported recently.

The Soviet press tries to brand the content of these illegal broadcasts as "stupid nonsense", "musical cacophony", "impertinence".

On the other hand, one is led to other conclusions automatically from reading the press. Thus the newspaper *Trud* (3rd October 1963) reported that "the radio represents a powerful ideological weapon and therefore one should no longer put up with the contamination of the air."

The newspaper *Leninskaya Smyena* of 9th July 1963 reported that the inhabitant of Alma-Ata, Turkestan, Waleri Zharow, sent out a "biting satire" with his illegal transmitter.

The "radio-scoundrels" record foreign broadcasts on tape in order to spread them further unobstructed.

Illegal transmitters are used by religious bodies. The press reported that the Jehovah's Witnesses propagate their ideas by radio and the Orthodox Church broadcasts its Easter greetings to its followers.

The Soviet press has already named a few illegal transmitters, those operating in Dnipropetrovsk, Central Ukraine, in the Kyiv area, in the Donets Basin, in the Kazakh SSR and in the Tatar ASSR. It recently revealed a sensational fact: in one

town alone, Bila-Tserkwa, southwest of Kyiv, there are more than one hundred illegal transmitters in operation.

The newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of 21st April 1964, anxiously wrote: "How are we to exterminate these evil-minded air-pirates? Scoundrels of this kind do not parade in the streets with their microphones and transmitters in their hands."

Trud of 3rd October 1963, reported that special personnel had been organized to fight illegal transmitters but their activity had proved almost fruitless. "The difficulty is that the efforts of many organizations are not concentrated and the inadequate staff of radio-inspectors is very badly supplied with equipment."

When it is remembered that the operators use wavelengths that are hard to control and change their location very often, one is forced to the conclusion that it is very difficult for the authorities to put an end to them.

Different Combat Methods

In the past few years the people have won a kind of illegal right to strike. If the strike-meetings do not turn into public street demonstrations, the Soviet government does not always take retaliatory measures. On the contrary, the authorities sometimes try to satisfy the strikers' demands where possible. Here one can already see a fairly open victory of the fighting people.

The arrangement of meetings at which questions of current affairs are discussed and public opinion expressed is of great significance. In this connection the students and young workers have already made great experiments.

This means the attainment of the right to walk the streets with banners and placards containing claims, i. e. the right to street demonstrations.

In recent years street demonstrations have been used more as a form of revolutionary activity. In most cases the Soviet authorities answer such demonstrations with retaliatory measures. But a few cases are known where they shrank from using repressive measures. Thus in September 1963, for example, they took no action when

street-demonstrations on a larger scale took place in many places in the Donets-Basin in connection with the threatening famine.

Attacks on Individual Russian Rulers

Another method of the resistance struggle is slanderous attacks on individual local Soviet rulers. Posters are distributed among the population detailing their crimes.

Then there is the distribution of publications to those persons who have been guilty of disgraceful conduct against the people in which they are warned to discontinue this activity. Indeed people often demand that they should resign from their posts.

Thus in the second largest Ukrainian town Kharkiv, for example, the insurgents threatened to kill the manager of a large business, a Party-member, if he did not stop selling the better kinds of goods to the Party oligarchy illegally. Less than a month later he received a second warning letter and turned to the militia for help. At night such criminals are afraid to leave their house!

Another form of penetration of the daily life of the people and an important factor in the assertion of the revolutionary forces in their capacity as a revolutionary underground movement is seen in the organization of protection for the population against the despotism of the Soviet Russian authorities.

The people use every conceivable means of defence against the persecution of the Soviet Russian authorities, including mass protests against the administrative and legal decisions of the Soviet.

In Odessa a gasworker, named Kukuruza, was accused of not "living on his own means". The court condemned him as a "tramp" and sentenced him to deportation from the town and confiscated his property. But his workmates and neighbours obtained a modification of the judgement from the Soviet court and the dismissal of a few clerks from their posts (*Isvestia*, 25th May 1964).

When posters and other anti-Communist propaganda material appeared in summer

1963, in Rostov and the Donets Basin, the existence of underground groups and organizations was very much in the news.

Thus the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) emerges again as the chief organizer of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against Russia.

The OUN organizes the Ukrainian people for the revolutionary struggle for the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state and for the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states of all the subjugated peoples.

Rebellion in the Mordovian ASSR

We have only just learnt that a rebellion arose among the collective farmers in the district around the concentration camp near Potma in the Mordovian ASSR in September 1963, which was put down with armed force and in blood on Khrushchov's orders.

Prisoners were transferred from "disbanded" camps in other regions of the Soviet Union to the Mordovian ASSR.

There are still numerous, secret concentration camps near Lepley, Potma, which nobody has seen until now and which nobody has left alive. The most dangerous opponents of the Moscow tyrants must be there, including the most important Ukrainian nationalists and captured UPA commanders who have not been murdered.

Many Ukrainian peasants have also been deported to the Mordovian ASSR.

A Defender of the Rights of Man in the Concentration Camp Martyred

Dr. Wolodymyr Horbowyj, the great champion of the rights of man, who was the lawyer in the trials against Ukrainian nationalists under Polish rule in West Ukraine, died a martyr's death after 18 years in the concentration camp of Lepley, near Potma, in the Mordovian ASSR, murdered by the KGB at the end of 1964.

Dr. Horbowyj had been imprisoned for 18 years without trial, simply on the basis of a decision of the Russian Secret Police.

Stalin, Khrushchov, Breshnev, Shelepin are all the same — tyrants and murderers.

The Armed Struggle

The central Soviet railway newspaper *Hudok* of 18th October 1964, contains a detailed report of the killing of the Secretary of the Communist Party of the Drabiv district, near Cherkassy, Ukraine. The Party Secretary Wakulenko was shot by Ivan Mashkin and the Chairman of the Riflery Club, Sotnyk, was badly wounded. Mashkin managed to escape. Meanwhile, in a letter Mashkin demanded the release of Mrs. Hryshchenko or he would set fire to the petrol store and other installations. The railway police with cunning and guile succeeded in arresting him near the station when he had left the forest. He was armed and it was stated that he had no fingers on his left hand. Therefore he is either a Ukrainian insurgent or a war invalid. The newspaper does not mention the reasons for the assassination of the Party official nor whether a third person wrote the letter nor whether there was a secret organization behind it.

There was a report in the Uzbekistani newspaper *Pravda Vostoka* No. 56, 1964, of the arrest in train of the Turkestanian Amirkhan Gumenzow by the Russian militia who had asked him to prove his

identity at which he had tried to shoot them down. This happened near the Katakurhan railway-station. The KGB consider Amirkhan as a black-marketeer. But it is clear that a black-marketeer would never attempt to shoot down a militiaman in a hopeless situation. Since for blackmarketing, which is widespread in the Soviet Union, he would only receive a few months' imprisonment, whereas for shooting down a militiaman he would get the death penalty. It is, therefore, obvious that the militia had tracked a political freedom-fighter to the train.

The newspaper *Pravda Vostoka*, No. 108, 1964, reported that in Tashkent explosives had been laid under the theatre on 30th April and under public buildings on 7th May by a man of the name of Kuzaiv, which in three cases had exploded. It is quite obvious that a freedom-fighter wanted to blow up the theatre on the eve of 1st May in which the anniversary meetings of the Soviet organizations take place in the capital of Uzbekistan. The other two attacks were also directed against the meetings of some Party bosses or other. Kuzaiv was arrested and the Komsomol members and a former Red partisan who participated in the arrest were praised and rewarded.

26th Anniversary Of Slovakia's Independence

On the occasion of the 26th anniversary of Slovakia's declaration of independence, celebrations were held in the USA, Canada, Argentina, Australia and other countries of the free world where Slovakian refugees and emigrants are living. In the Federal Republic of Germany, two such celebrations were held this year: on March 13, in Munich, and on March 21, in Nuernberg.

In addition to refugees from Slovakia residing in Germany and Austria, also many friends of Slovakia participated in the Munich celebration. Mrs. Slava Stetzko, the wife of the President of the Central Committee of ABN, several members of ABN's Central Committee, as well as other exile representatives were also present. The main speaker was the former Foreign Minister of the Slovak Republic, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, who is now President of the Executive Committee of the Slovak Liberation Council.

In the name of the German friends of Slovakia, the speech of the day was held by Mr. Josef Ertl, a member of the German Federal Diet.

Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Vice-President of the Assembly of the Slovak Liberation Council, was the main speaker of the celebration in Nuernberg.

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BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Wasyl Symonenko

1935 - 1963

Poet-fighter on Ukrainian soil



*"Ukraine, you are my prayer,
My eternal desperation.*

*For your holy name I am ready
To pour forth my last drop of blood."*

W. Symonenko

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Poet And Rebel

The poems of one who died early pass illegally from hand to hand / Vasyl Symonenko defended freedom of Ukraine and dispossessed peasants / Resistance to Russian chauvinism

“Loss of courage means loss of human dignity, which I put before everything. Before life itself. But how many people — clever and talented people — have saved their lives by being party to base deeds and through this have turned their lives into nothing but a completely senseless vegetating state. This is the worst thing of all.”

This note, entered into his diary on 6th July 1963, originates from the Ukrainian lyric poet, writer, and publicist Vasyl Symonenko. He died a few months after writing this avowal. On 13th December 1963 in the time-honoured city of Cherkasy on the Dnipro the young poet, only twenty-nine years old, succumbed to the most insidious disease of our progressive century — cancer. Symonenko had devoted his short life to fighting another terrible scourge: individual and national slavery.

About 15 months before he died, the poet made this note in his diary: “It sometimes happens that the mouth of a child can speak pearls of wisdom. I remember a walk with Oles’ last year along Kazbets Ring. Looking at the monument of the despot, he asked me, “Daddy, who’s that?” — “Stalin.” — He stared at it for a moment, then asked, as if in passing, “But why has he climbed up there?” A profound truth. Stalin had not mounted the pedestal himself, nor did people put him up there. Breach of faith and baseness were the things which raised Stalin onto that monument — bloodily and shamelessly was he able to raise himself, like all hangmen. Today this tiger would burst with rage if he knew what a precious booty his monuments represented for scrap-metal merchants. It is indeed terrible, how fame and deification, enjoyed in life, become ignominy in death. But this was in reality not fame, but a little game, for the pleasure of grown-up children. Of course, those who are poor in spirit and intellect cannot understand this . . .”

And on 8th October 1962, the poet noted: “I am rising up against a new religion, against hypocrites who are trying — not without success — to transform Marxism into a new religion, into a straitjacket for learning, for art, and even for love. If Marxism cannot resist the mad onslaught of dogmatism, then it is damned to becoming a religion. And no teaching may dare to exercise a monopoly over the intellectual life of mankind.”

But it would be wrong to draw a final conclusion here, that in the case of Vasyl Symonenko we are concerned with one of the “angry young men” of the USSR who after Stalin’s death made the dead despot the goal of attack of their accusing, mocking, damning lines, and thereby assured themselves of the silent favour of the new lords of the Kremlin.

Yes, even Vasyl Symonenko was one of the “angries”. But he had a moral, uncompromising, and radical viewpoint. His charges did not stop at the wicked and the base, at the lies, at the terror and the exploitation of the people, which

still form part of the day-to-day policy of the Bolshevik Party, even *after* Stalin's death.

The Ukrainian Symonenko turned on two phenomena of Bolshevik practices with especial acerbity: on the villeinage of the despoiled peasantry, from which he stemmed himself, and on Russian imperialism and colonialism, which he had recognized early enough despite its Communist garb.

Where are they
The fat and grey, the loot-hunting
Demagogues and Liars,
Who have throttled the beliefs of their fathers
And now reign — and menace — in office and rank? Where?!
They alone belong behind the prison-bars.
Before the tribunal with them!
Into the jail with them!
For exploitation and sucking of blood.
What, there's too little evidence? But there is evidence.
The ruins and rags of stolen faith,
Of stolen hopes —
Let these be our evidence!

These are the last few lines of the poem, entitled "The Criminal", in which Symonenko made himself the defending counsel for the dispossessed peasantry. An old and hungry peasant from a collective farm is dragged before the village's Communist court and accused of having stolen from the people's property. The old man had gleaned a few ears of corn from the fields. Symonenko accuses the judge, and calls him the real thief of the people's property. Before Symonenko no post-war poet of the USSR had dared to use such language against the Bolshevik agrarian system. It is also the system of perpetual horror, the system of legalized terror in a gigantic prison-city,

.....
Where the warder jangles his keys,
and the protecting gate creaks.

Executioners with bloody swords
in coats as black as the night
play with oddly-shaped balls,
with heads guillotined from shoulders.

Blood flows beneath phlegmatic ramparts,
the cry dies on the lips.
A century's scorn and outrage
cause the dead to turn in their graves.

.....

("The Gate")

Symonenko was sometimes compelled to camouflage his accusations against the foreign Russian overlordship of Ukraine, and to transfer the conflict between oppressor and oppressed, which draws everything under its spell, to another country. "To the Kurdish Brother" was the name Symonenko gave to one of his most passionate and linguistically mature poems of liberty.

... O Kurd, use your cartridges sparingly / but don't spare the murderer's life! / Like a storm, with a bloody sword / swoop down on the terror's brood! ... She came to rob you of your name, of your language / and your children are to become like her. / With those, the serfs, one may not live / The oppressor desires to reign, and you pull his cart! / On the blood of tortured, debased peoples / our terrible foe fattens himself — chauvinism ... Don't rock the powers of hate to sleep, not yet / Let gentleness and mildness be your motto / only when there has sunk into his grave / the last chauvinist on this earth."

Reading this poem it must have very rapidly become clear to every wide-awake, politically interested citizen of the USSR — whether Russian or Ukrainian, Bolshevik or Nationalist — whose chauvinism Symonenko pilloried and condemned to death. The poem deals solely with the chauvinism of Communist Russia, whose goal it is to deprive all the non-Russian nations, peoples and tribes of their nationality, their names, and their languages. Russianization has always been the most terrible weapon of the Russian rulers; it extinguishes the national life of the conquered, annexed, non-Russian peoples, and even kills off the longing for these in the hearts of men. The destruction of the national dignity of all the colonial peoples of USSR precedes the extermination of human dignity. In this respect the year 1917 brought no essential change with it. But the young poet does not only accuse — accusation is not enough for him. Through the example of the brave Kurds he is indicating to his fellow-countrymen, to all non-Russians, the path which they must follow, in order to blot out from the face of the Earth "the brood of terror", the "last of all chauvinists"; the way of resistance, the way of revolutionary rising. Quite intentionally the poet prefaces his poem with a well-known line from the Ukrainian bard Taras Shevchenko, as both admonition and instruction: "Fight, and you will triumph!"

In many of Symonenko's other poems of liberty the poet's love for his enslaved native land is openly expressed, as for example in "I look into your eyes". These are the worried eyes of Ukraine, of "Mother". But he sees not only worry and sadness in them, but also the glow of "blood-red lightning", of "revolution, risings, and rebellions".

Out of love for you do I sow pearls in man's soul.
Out of love for you do I think and create,
America and Russia must be silent,
When I speak with you, Ukraine!
Ukraine, you are my prayer,
My eternal desperation.

.....
.....

May the clouds burst into flame,
Or the snakebite of insult threaten me —
I don't care.
For your holy name I am ready
To pour forth my last drop of blood.

Shortly before he died, the young poet expressed his optimism about the victory of the good cause, the cause of freedom and humanity, in these simple lines: "We've come into the world to inherit fame / deeds, thoughts, honest

stripes / the great flaming glory of our fathers / who defended truth on the Earth / Never shall our hearts know peace / and our dreams shall catch up with time's flow / But let our youth be such / that no one will envy her . . ."

The glory of our fathers — for Vasyl Symonenko, the 29-year-old poet from Soviet Ukraine, this glory is founded in the unforgettable deeds of those Ukrainian men and women, who in the course of the dramatic, thousand-year-long history of the first Christian people of Eastern Europe, fought and gave their lives for those high values and ideals upon which Europe and the West rests: Love of God, human dignity, freedom of the individual and of peoples.

Vasyl Symonenko was born in 1935 in a village in Central Ukraine near Poltava. After attending the secondary school, he studied at the University of Kyiv, his subject being Journalism, and afterwards worked on the editorial staff of various newspapers in Cherkasy. In 1962 his first little volume of poems appeared, "Tysha i hrim" (Silence and Thunder). His second volume, "Bereh chekanj" (The Shoke of Waiting), was never allowed by the Soviet censors to be printed. All the same Vasyl Symonenko became famous through this very book!

A miracle took place: Symonenko's poems, copied by hand or typed, appeared all over Ukraine, and even in the places where Ukrainians are compelled to live in exile or as settlers — in Kazakhstan and in the Far East. Symonenko's verses, accusing, warning, demanding resistance, spread in a manner undreamed of, above all amongst young people, students and secondary-school children, who started years ago on a process of fermentation highly dangerous to the régime, and who are capable of expressing their as yet unarticulated but passionate longing for individual and national freedom. Symonenko has grafted a clearly formulated goal onto their hate and their love. The young now have their fanfare — the words of a dead poet have become the inspiration of the young.

However Symonenko came to know often enough in his short life the bitterness of loneliness and solitude, of cowardice and pusillanimity. On 3rd September 1963, a few weeks before his death in fact, he wrote in his diary, ". . . My friends have become so remarkably quiet. There is not a word to be heard from them. On the other hand the literary periodicals have become even more arrogant and insolent: "Literaturna Ukraina" castrates my essays, "Ukraina" messes up my poems. Every lackey does whatever comes into his head. How is one to show gratefulness, if not to pray for those who have led us into this filth! In addition to this, my poems were taken out of "Zmina" in April and refused by "Zhovtenj" . . . Ah, how splendid that all is! We are all in the power of the press. But that's necessary — for progress."

The popularity of the truly revolutionary poetry of Symonenko among the peoples oppressed and controlled by Moscow is proved by the fact that leaflets of his poems circulate among the young people of the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. A short time ago one of these leaflets, from which the poems and diary extracts printed in this article are taken, reached the West by hazardous paths.

W. Strauss

*"We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live;
as chastened, and not killed."*

II Corinthians, VI.9

Stolen Belief

Vasyl Symonenko, an angry young poet from Soviet Ukraine — indictment of the Communist state.

The Ukrainian poet and writer Vasyl Symonenko died at the age of only 29 in the Ukrainian town of Cherkasy. He was snatched up by the most terrible disease of our century, cancer. Vasyl Symonenko does not leave behind him a great deal in the way of poetic expression: two thin volumes of poems, one of which never got past the Soviet censors and into print. "Bereh Chekanj" is the title the poet gave to his outstanding little volume of poetry — "The Shore of Waiting". In spite of everything these poems, which gave the Communist state an uncomfortable feeling, were known to the population in no time, especially to students and secondary school children. Friends saw to it that the verses were copied either by hand or typed, and disseminated illegally throughout Ukraine. A short time ago some copies reached the West.

The poetry of a Ukrainian rebel — this is how one might sum up Vasyl Symonenko's lyrics. The poet loved his native land before everything — before Communist ideology and before compulsory patriotism to Soviet Russia, which in reality entails a blind adoration of everything Russian and drives a nationally conscious Ukrainian to insults and resistance. Vasyl Symonenko made no secret of his thinking, no opportunist tight-rope trickery, as many other poets in the USSR have done in order to survive. He put a name to the things which he thought bad and criminal, put a name to them openly. Vasyl Symonenko displayed a hard Cossack skull. In one of his poems of indictment, to which he gave the short laconic title, "The Criminal", he asks his fellow-countrymen who the real demagogues and liars are. The main figure in this poem is a Ukrainian peasant, old, sick, deprived of his rights, damned to slavery on a collective farm. Old — and hungry, above all hungry. Not only for bread but for justice and love. From the field, which is no longer his, the old man has taken a few ears of

corn. Vasyl Symonenko defends the "accused" and names the true thieves and robbers, namely those "demagogues and liars", whom he mercilessly unmasks and condemns. Born the son of a peasant in Central Ukraine in 1935, the young poet feels his roots in the peasantry of Soviet Ukraine, the most exploited class of all.

Until his tragic death Vasyl Symonenko worked as the editor of various newspapers in the Cherkasy district, earlier he had been to school and had attended the Faculty of Journalism of the University of Kyiv. His first volume of poems appeared in 1962, the second was not permitted to appear. The illegal dissemination of the forbidden verses reached as far as the satellite countries. Symonenko, the young Ukrainian, expressed only what hundreds of young Poles, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Slovaks feel towards Communism: revulsion, opposition — above all opposition. "Back to the inheritance of our fathers" demands Vasyl Symonenko — but how "back"? By taking up the struggle against the Communist prison-state, where Vasyl Symonenko's work is a "revolutionary outcry" in the best sense. That his poems could become so popular proves that they have been understood as exactly that which lay in the young poet's heart right from the beginning, as an intellectual weapon to morally mobilize 45 million Ukrainians against Russian penetration and domination, as props for the sense of community of a nation degraded and debased by Moscow, a nation which is the most ancient civilized and Christian people of Eastern Europe.

No angry young poet from Soviet Ukraine has ever found such words as Vasyl Symonenko. The feeling behind this poem coincides exactly with the battle-cry of the rebel Ukrainian intelligentsia at the beginning of the thirties, led by the disillusioned National Communist Khvylovy. "Away from Moscow" was the motto in those days. Moscow hit back. Under Stalin's GPU grip thousands died — poets, novel-

ists, scientists, journalists and clergy. Khvylovy himself escaped from the massacre by killing himself. Symonenko's works and the people's reaction to them are an unmistakable sign of the thought of separation from Russia and of the centuries-old idea of a sovereign Ukrainian state from the San to the Kuban and from the Prepet Marshes to the Black Sea, which is again winning ground and causing unrest amongst the masses.

Vasyl Symonenko, creator of revolutionary poetry, was never allowed to see the harvest whose seed he had scattered with his angry, accusing, vowing verses throughout his enslaved land. At the age of 29 his short, but fruitful and exemplary, life

came to an end. What must his last thoughts on his death-bed in Cherkasy have been? Did he leave this world with a sad glance at wife and child, whom he had to leave unprotected? No, he looked, as he himself wrote, into the "tortured eyes" of "Mother Ukraine", which seemed as wounds to him, and yet flashed with "blood-red lightning / of revolutions, upheavals and fights at the barricades".

But Vasyl Symonenko will never experience the resurrection of Ukraine as a free, happy, united nation. Only the fascinating vision of this future hour was given him by fate.

*Le Nouveau Rhin Français
Colmar, March 17th, 1965*

Yaroslav Stetsko

Lack Of Ideology

The Occident without Sails and Helmsmen

From time to time the question arises whether it is possible to defend one's beliefs in the free world openly: whether the democratic right to freedom of expression is a right for everyone, or only for those whose thinking is in concert with that of the press, radio, television and other modern media of propaganda.

We do not deny that freedom of the press exists in the West; but we do deny that this freedom is vouchsafed to those who defend beliefs that are not shared by the owners of the press and the radio. It is permissible, for example, to speak up for the preservation of the Russian empire in almost every press organ; whereas it is very difficult to find a newspaper that will give one paragraph to present the thesis that the Russian empire should be dissolved into national independent states. One can defend the co-existence policy — indeed, even at the price of surrender, as is done by the hopeless British pacifists, led by Lord Russell. One cannot, however, defend the liberation aspiration of the enslaved nations in the Soviet Union. Press space is given to

those who propagate demoralizing trends: homosexuality, the primacy of material values over spiritual values, "sex appeal", gangsterism, the "heroism" of Red Spanish brigades, frivolous film adventures, sensational crimes, etc. — all this can be read in the daily press and no one takes exception to it. The press, the radio, television and the cinema — all these modern mass media of influence are open to those who propagate the putrefaction of society. This same public medium, however, almost always denies access to those who speak up on behalf of patriotism, self-sacrifice, heroism, high Christian ideals, or even for the national and moral education of youth. How many ridiculous films are produced? How many similar books and articles are written? Yet — where can one find a film or an article which glorifies patriotism and high human ideals?

The death of Stefan Bandera and the trial of his murderer in Karlsruhe, for example, was of interest to television producers: not from a lofty point of view, however, but solely from the sensational. The

West German press proves clearly how a society is fed on demoralizing propaganda, and how difficult it is to publish an article that advocates great ideals, national and human values. This is not a mere accident — it is a consequence. The former occupational administrators required a licence to transmit radio broadcasts to Marxist inmates in Nazi concentration camps, or to leftist “democratic” elements. At present, however, one is simply not allowed to speak up against the Soviet Russian domination over nations which were once free and independent. One is not allowed to advocate greater sacrifice for one’s own homeland and the fight for religious ideals. Hence, the freedom of the press is only for those who share the views held by the owners and their supporters — not for the intellectual elite who think otherwise.

He who endeavours to defend long-cherished ideals, morals in politics, literature and art, the ideals of a militant church idealism is soon labelled a “Fascist”, a “Nazi”, an “enemy of democracy” and “peace”. The prevailing mood is cynicism and nihilism; he who speaks up against them is denied access to press, radio and television. He who advocates a moral and spiritual rebirth of the world and an ideological march against Russian Communism is called a “war-monger”, a medieval “crusader”. (Today, crusades are equated with Nazism and Fascism.)

In the Western world of today, hardly anyone is interested in the necessity of a *new crusade, new Peters of Amiens*, without which a rebirth is impossible. It is prohibited even to mention such things in the public media; such ideas are silenced — their authors are stigmatized.

The young live in a spiritual vacuum. They are offered material wealth and luxury — but they are given no notion of the higher and nobler purposes of life, of genuine patriotism. The love of one’s homeland and the love of God are ridiculed.

All ideology is without appeal; religion

is without significance. Science alone is still fashionable. No doubt, however, it too will soon be thrown into the rubbish heap by the cynics. Even at that, science is not faith: not ideology. It cannot offer a solution to the cause of being. It cannot develop moral laws; it can only help to demonstrate their eternal value. Religion alone can decide moral values.

Today the prevailing view is that it is better to die of surfeit, than in the struggle for higher human values, for the love of one’s homeland, for God. Hence we have the popular phrase: “Better Red, than dead.” People have lost their character; they no longer have a dynamic moral sense. Without these, there cannot be a creative power. While running after the “new”, the “modern”, the “progressive”, people lose sight of the “old”, the eternal and the unchangeable. There are no new ideas — only new perspectives. The aim, therefore, should be to realize and perfect the ideas which have always been with us. The ideas of God, homeland, human dignity, freedom, glory, faith, honour, are not accidental and temporal ideas. They represent the eternal foundation of human existence. We must not discard them, as we would an old pair of gloves. We must continue to derive courage and faith from them: to realize our human destiny with them.

Lack of character is becoming ever more prevalent in the West. Everything is mixed together — a hodgepodge prevails: revolutionaries together with opportunists; honest men together with those who have no character; the courageous together with cowards; altruists together with egoists; ascetics with sybarites; abstinents with alcoholics; socialists with capitalists.

The capitalists in the West, for example, consider themselves progressive because they have Marxist syndics in their enterprises who serve for money. Marxists infiltrate the capitalist press; everything is intermixed. Roadsigns on which people could orientate themselves are simply not

“It was not peace, but a new kind of war that grew out of the Yalta Conference — a war that would be fought not with guns and bombs but with economic and political weapons and propaganda.” “Current Week”, Colorado, (USA)

clear. Ideology as such is denied on the grounds that it contributed to the growth of Nazism and Fascism, and produced a blood-bath of hatred. Prayer is now forbidden in American schools on the grounds that it is contrary to some religious convictions. The fact that prayer is a direct communication with God, and not the expression of any one Church belief, is completely overlooked. That Christianity elevated men is forgotten: that without religion, the world becomes a human jungle. Our culture and civilization is the offspring of Hellenic, Roman and Christian ideas and values.

Indispensability of Ideology

Without an ideology there cannot be any great social movement for the same reason that a boat without sails will not move. Without something to catch the wind and direct it, there can be no great and consistent movement. An ideology is the world's sails, without which it would find itself in a state of nirvana. World politics cannot be based solely on actions suited to the requirements of the moment, nor can it be based on a policy of reacting to other's moves. He who simply tries to extricate himself from unpleasant situations by the use of clever, pseudo-ideas, will lose in the long run. Since the aim of Soviet Russian imperialism is to conquer the world, the West must have its own mission: to spread and defend Christian ideals, truth, freedom and justice the world over, to counteract evil everywhere. The creative and noble ideas of Christianity, heroic humanism and nationalism must oppose Communist Russia's messianic imperialism.

It is true enough that Nazism and Communism were the outgrowth of ideologies — but this is no reason to deny the value of an ideology altogether. The problem lies not in ideology as such, but in the aim and intent of an ideology. The Christian ideology, for example, preaches self-renunciation, self-sacrifice, negation of egoism, and promotes the realization and fulfilment of higher and just values — all of which tends to the betterment of mankind as a whole. The Nazi and Communist ideologies, on the other hand, embody

precepts and tendencies that are vividly opposed to human values. At present, the West is ashamed of its past: of its crusades, its noble ideals, its concept of chivalry. Dark forces are at work which scorn and ridicule everything that was once lofty in the life of the Occident. Ideology itself is flatly renounced as the *crime of some peoples*. But what is offered in place of ideology? Cynicism, nihilism, sensualism. In short, faith in God and in Man is rejected, and the "golden bull" is once again placed at the basis of life. Perhaps we will have full stomachs, but our hearts will be empty.

What we need is a return to a national Christian ideology, which is a return to eternal spiritual values, to morality, altruism, self-sacrifice, to a stern tradition: a return to God and homeland.

He who propagates "freedom for all", and understands by this freedom for cynics and nihilists to poison the soul of man and to demoralize society, is a hypocrite. The cynics and nihilists set up on their pedestal not God and god-like men, but the animal-like, the sexual, demoralizing concept of man; they are doing everything in their power to divide and suppress those who defend healthy, creative ideas based on God's Commandments and love of one's homeland. Only when such animal-like beings are curtailed in their demoralizing activity, can real freedom for true men, the god-like beings, exist.

And just because mediocrity reigns in the arts nowadays, just because people no longer dedicate themselves to great ideas, and have lost profound faith, our epoch has not yielded such great artists as Michelangelo, Raphael, El Greco, Leonardo da Vinci, Shakespeare, Shevchenko, Beethoven, Bach etc.. The great artists' sources of inspiration were always *great* ideas: belief in Divine laws and in the homeland.

The present social-political order in the world, including the West, is not the last word in the construction of a healthy society. We are witness to the fact that the distorted democratic system is unable to preserve the many-sided freedom of man. A proof of this is the fact that the press of the free world does not allow the free-

dom of all nations and of all men to be defended. For example, the spokesmen for the liberation aspirations of the nations enslaved within the Soviet Union are not given a voice in the press, the radio, the television.

In the past, international conflicts occurred when a gentleman's character was insulted. Today, the most serious insults to one's person are allowed to pass without a consequential retaliation. When for example, Khrushchov did not give his hand to Gen. Eisenhower, at the time President of the United States, the incident was simply allowed to pass.

During his World War II crusade in Europe, Eisenhower saw one tyrant only — Hitler. He did not see the other one — Stalin. He did not see the necessity, therefore, of destroying two empires, the German and the Russian, to restore real freedom and security in the world. It is to be regarded as the gravest tragedy of recent times that the most ruthless of tyrants of all times was allowed to dictate *his* terms at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, notwithstanding the fact that without US aid, Russia would not have been able to hold its fronts. At Potsdam, President Truman held two aces in his hand: the atomic bomb and the subjugated peoples. Both Truman and Eisenhower, however, were walking in the footsteps of a degenerating Occident. F. D. Roosevelt surrendered to Stalin; President Truman ignored even Mr. Churchill and later Mr. Bevan, and walked in one front

with Stalin, who dictated his terms, which President Truman accepted, notwithstanding British protests. In spite of his various mistakes, Prime Minister Churchill foresaw the threat of Russian Communism. He still had a sense of ideology; he had not become a cynical pragmatist and empiricist. However, the "spirit of Yalta" triumphed. It was the triumph of the demon Stalin, empiricism, pragmatism: the view that "somehow it would be possible to co-exist with the devil."

Churchill did not heed the warning of Gen. Franco, and replied that after the war, Great Britain would be the most powerful nation in Europe. And today? Probably Churchill himself would laugh at his war-time prognosis. Gen. Eisenhower did not grasp what was happening at that time. To him, the fight against Communism was an "abstract" fight. To Roosevelt, it did not matter where Moscow trod with its boots.

A "democratic" system, in which the decisions are no longer made by the responsible representatives of the people, but by anonymous power groups, is a completely irresponsible democracy. Such power groups deck themselves behind the "will of the people"; they cannot be as easily exposed as totalitarian tyrants. Their actions are based on parliamentary resolutions. Parliament members themselves seldom have the slightest idea about what these power groups are deciding.

(to be continued)

A Victory Lost

Washington alone has shown that it understands historical proportions on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the victory over Hitler Germany. It is right and necessary to turn our thoughts on this occasion to the fallen heroes, but premature to celebrate our victory over tyranny.

Thank God, Nazism is dead, but what about Bolshevism, ally of the West in the Second World War?

We, the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe — the Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians, and many others — have the least cause of all to grieve over the fall of Nazi Germany, for Hitler threatened us with total annihilation. For this reason we took up the fight on two fronts — against both tyrannies, Nazi Ger-

many and Russia — left to fend for ourselves without any help from the West!

The world-famous Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), 200,000 men strong, under the command of *General Taras Chuprynka-Shuchevych*, who died a hero's death 15 years ago, on the 5th March 1950, fighting against Russian troops in the Battle of Lviv, fought against Nazi domination in Ukraine in countless battles and engagements. Both the SA Chief-of-Staff Lutze and the Russian Marshal Vatutin fell fighting the UPA.

The Ukrainians fought their way through the war on both fronts heroically. They fought against *both* tyrannies, for the independence of nations and for human freedom.

Instead of joining with the peoples subjugated by Russia and Nazi Germany and fighting *both* colonial empires and tyrannies simultaneously, the West formed an alliance with the Russian tyrants and relinquished to the Communist tyranny the peoples subjugated by Hitler in East Europe and with time also another thousand million or so human beings.

A "crusade in Europe" fighting alongside the godless Russian tyranny against the Nazi tyranny, alongside Lucifer against the Devil — wasn't that the tragic irony of fate?! Struck blind, the West helped to dig its own grave!

Nazism was the doctrine of a criminal "superior" race, which inspired only its own inventors. Communism, on the other hand, is a theory of world deception which is spreading its control from Red China to Africa and Cuba. Nazism could have been defeated *without* an alliance with Russia. It would have been possible to come off victorious over *both*, over Hitler Germany and over Russia, by fighting alongside the subjugated peoples (Ukraine, Georgia, White Ruthenia, Turkestan, Poland, and many others).

The balance-sheet of Western strategy: a thousand million under Communist tyranny; decay of the Western empires and simultaneous growth of the Russian imperium; London and Paris under the deadly threat of Russian thermonuclear bombs; Cuba a Russian base with nuclear rockets before the gates of New York; China's growth into yet another world peril thanks to Latimore's deception and Roosevelt's softness toward Stalin; elimination of Japan's military potential as Red China's only serious opponent in Asia, apart from National China, which is completely ignored; Communization of Africa, Asia, Latin America, etc. etc..

Where is the West's victory now?

It cannot but sadden a European, or any freedom-loving person with a belief in God in Asia, America or anywhere else in the world, to hear the victory hymns of the Russian tyrants, of the one and only winner of the greatest world struggle in history, as they celebrate their victory over the sufferings of countless millions of human beings languishing beneath their Russian overlords. The tragedy of the Occident — a victory lost!

To what purpose was the spine of the heroic Japanese nation broken by Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Japan desired an honourable peace without annexations or foreign conquests.

On the 11th June 1945, seven professors of the University of Chicago handed over the so-called "Franck Report" to the American War Minister, Stimson. In this Report Prof. James Franck and others set out their objections to the use of

nuclear bombs against Japan. But all was in vain! On the 3rd July 1944, the father of atomic physicists, the Dane Nils Bohr, had made a declaration in a memorandum with much the same import.

But President Truman ordered that the women and children of the heroic Japanese nation should be massacred. Hate should never dazzle a statesman's political vision.

America's sincerest friends today, her bulwarks against Bolshevism, have been suppressed.

Unconditional surrender! — This is no proof of statesmanship or of political foresight! This is a sign of un-Christian behaviour and pride, unworthy of a Pitt, a Lloyd George, a Beaconsfield, a Wilson, or even of a Bismarck, who prevented the taking of Vienna in the Austro-Prussian War against the will of his Kaiser and of Moltke . . . — We must think of tomorrow, not of the trumpet-calls of the little man and of tomorrow's parliamentary elections.

Nazism was eradicated to the benefit of all mankind. But nations live and will continue living. America was the only power in the world in possession of the atom bomb — yet she let it drop not on Moscow, freedom's deadly enemy, but on Japan, Moscow's enemy. — A victory lost by the greatest world power of history! The Russian tyrants have advanced far beyond the frontiers of 1939, or even of 1945 — with the active support of the West!

And the outlook for the future?

The West is repeating yesterday's mistakes: an alliance with one tyranny against another, with Russia against Red China or the other way round — although the interests of *both* tyrannies are in greater agreement with one another than those of the West with either of the two tyrannies. Only when the West has once and for all been buried will Moscow and Peking go for each other's throats — not before!

The solution lies, as it did yesterday, in a *common* front of the West and the subjugated peoples of *both imperia* to bring about the independence of nations and human freedom through the dissolution of the imperia. General Chuprynka, Ukraine's greatest strategist and national hero in our time, demonstrated to the West in the Second World War which road to take — the road to victory.

Unfortunately the ancient Romans were mistaken: History is not the teacher of life. O sancta simplicitas!

Are we going to see the day when Bolshevism collapses beneath the blows of revolutions of national liberation in our own lands and comes to power in some form or other in the West? The day when the liberated nations of the East come to help to liberate the West? Ex oriente lux?

The ways of divine providence are incomprehensible. *The West has given its victory away.* But because we believe in God's controlling hand, we believe in *our victory won.* — The last shall be first and the first shall be last! S.S.

"Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own."

Benjamin Franklin

Vietnam And The New Isolationism

The Vietnamese war, in the Communist lexicon, is described as a war of national liberation, and its strategy is based on the concept of what the Communists call "the long war". This strategy is premised upon the belief that the free world lacks the patience, the stamina, the fanatical determination to persist, which inspires the adherents of Communism. It is based on the conviction that if they keep on attacking and attacking and attacking in any given situation, they will ultimately be able to destroy the morals and the will to resist of those who oppose them in the name of freedom.

China affords the classic example of the long war. It took 20 years for Mao Tse-tung to prevail. There were several times during this period when his entire movement seemed on the verge of collapse. But even in his blackest days Mao Tse-tung remained confident that, if he persevered, ultimately his enemies would crack and he would emerge as China's undisputed ruler.

The total number of victims of Communism will probably never be known. Students who have followed the Chinese Communist press closely claim that it can be demonstrated that Chinese Communism has cost the lives of at least 25 million and more — probably 50 million people — while students of Russian Communism put the over-all figure for the Soviet Union at approximately the same level. They point out that, entirely apart from the purges and mass killings at periodic intervals and the forced starvation of 5 million Ukrainian peasants, the reported death-rate in the Soviet forced labour camps ran approximately 25 percent per annum in bad years and 15 to 20 percent in good years. If one accepts the average population of the camps as 10 million over the 20-odd years of Stalin's undisputed rule, this would mean that approximately 2 million slave laborers died annually in Stalin's camps, or 40 million for the 20-year period.

All of this seems incredible to the Western mind. Even after Khrushchov's denunciation of Stalin confirmed all the essential charges that had been made against the Soviet regime, men of good will in the Western world refused to believe that the Communist regime can be so evil. They refused to believe, because it is difficult for them to conceive of horror and brutality on such a mass scale.

To those who refuse to believe, I would like to read the eloquent words penned by Dr. Julius Margolin, a prominent Jewish leader in pre-war Lithuania, one of the scores of thousands of Lithuanians deported to Soviet slave labor camps after the Soviet occupation of his country. When he was released after seven years, in the camp, Dr. Margolin wrote:

"Until the Fall of 1939, I had assumed a position of "benevolent neutrality" toward the USSR . . . The last seven years have made me a convinced and ardent foe of the Soviet system. I hate this system with all the strength of my heart and all the power of my mind. Everything I have seen there has filled me with horror and disgust which will last until the end of my days. I feel that the struggle against this system of slavery, terrorism and cruelty which prevails there constitutes the primary obligation of every man in this world. Tolerance or support

of such an international shame is not permissible for people who are on this side of the Soviet border and who live under normal conditions . . .

“Millions of men are perishing in the camps of the Soviet Union . . . Since they came into being, the Soviet camps have swallowed more people, have executed more victims, than all the other camps — Hitler’s included — together; and this lethal engine continues to operate full-blast.”

“And those who in reply only shrug their shoulders and try to dismiss the issue with vague and meaningless generalities, I consider moral abettors and accomplices of banditry.”

If we cannot cope with this type of warfare in Vietnam, the Chinese Communists will be encouraged in the belief that we cannot cope with it anywhere else.

In the Congo, the Chinese Communists have launched their first attempt at applying the Vietnamese strategy to Africa.

In the Philippines, the Huk guerillas, after being decisively defeated in the early fifties have now staged a dramatic comeback. According to *The New York Times*, the Huks are now active again in considerable strength, control large areas of Central Luzon, and are assassinating scores of village heads and local administrators in the Viet Cong pattern.

In Thailand, Red China has already announced the formation of a “Patriotic Front” to overthrow the government and eradicate American influence. This almost certainly presages the early launching of a Thai Communist insurrection, also patterned after the Viet Cong.

An article in the *Washington Post* on January 16th pointed out that the Venezuelan Communists now have 5,000 men under arms in the cities and in the countryside, and that the Venezuelan Communist Party is openly committed to “the strategy of a ‘long war’, as developed in China, Cuba, Algeria and Vietnam.”

And there are at least half-a-dozen other Latin American countries where the Communists are fielding guerilla forces, which may be small today, but which would be encouraged by a Communist victory in Vietnam to believe that the West has no defence against the “long war”.

If we abandon Southeast Asia, the Philippines may prove impossible to hold against a greatly stepped-up Huk insurgency. Japan, even if it remains non-Communist, would probably, by force of circumstances, be compelled to come to terms with Red China, adding the enormous strength of its economy to Communist strategic resources.

Okinawa, where our political position is already difficult, would become politically impossible to hold.

If we fail to draw the line in Vietnam, in short, we may find ourselves compelled to draw a defence line as far back as Seattle and Alaska, with Hawaii our solitary outpost in mid-Pacific.

The war in South Vietnam is *not* a civil war. It was instigated in the first place by the North Vietnamese Communists, with the material and moral support of both Peiping and Moscow. There is overwhelming proof that Hanoi has provided the leadership for the Viet Cong insurrection, that it has supplied them massively, and that it has served as the real command headquarters for the Viet Cong.

After the Geneva agreement, it had been the expectation of the Communists that South Vietnam would collapse in administrative and political chaos before many months had passed, and that it would fall into their hands like an over-ripe plum. And, indeed, when Ngo Dinh Diem took office as Premier after the surrender of North Vietnam to the Communists, 99 percent of the Western press viewed the situation in South Vietnam as hopeless and predicted an early takeover by the Communist guerillas.

Cut off from the mineral and industrial riches of the north; swamped by an influx of 1,000,000 refugees; without an adequate army or administration of its own; with three major sects, each with private armies, openly challenging its authority — confronted with this combination of burdens and handicaps, it seemed that nothing could save the new-born South Vietnamese government.

But then there took place something that has properly come to be called “the Diem miracle”; this term was used at different times by President Kennedy and Secretary McNamara prior to Diem’s overthrow, which most people, I believe, now realize was a tragic mistake.

Diem first of all moved to destroy the power of the infamous Binh Xyuen, a sect of river pirates who, under the French, were given a simultaneous monopoly on the metropolitan police force of Saigon and on the thousands of opium dens and houses of prostitution and gambling that flourished there.

So powerful was the Binh Xyuen and so weak were the Diem forces at the time that even the American Ambassador urged Diem not to attack them.

Diem, however, did attack them and drove them out of Saigon.

Having defeated the military sects and integrated them into the armed forces of the republic, Diem within a few years was able to resettle the 1,000,000 refugees and to create a stable unified state where none had previously existed.

To those who say that the Vietnamese army has not shown the will to resist, I point out that, over the 3-year period for which I have presented figures, this army suffered a total death toll of 17,000 men, which is almost as high as the total American toll in South Korea. The enemy’s casualties have been much heavier. But the Communists have continued to attack regardless of losses. And because it has not been possible to reconstitute a stable government since the overthrow of Diem, and because no one knows where guerillas may strike next, and because unlimited terror is a dreadfully effective instrument, the Viet Cong, over the past 15 months, have been able to make most of the Vietnamese countryside insecure.

The free world was made the victim of a gigantic propaganda hoax, as a result of which the legitimate government of President Diem was destroyed and a chaotic situation created which has inevitably played into the hands of the Communists.

The report of the U.N. Fact Finding Mission on Vietnam throws an essential light on the current activities of the militant Buddhists.

The prime goal of political warfare, as it must be waged by free men, is to win men’s minds. The prime goal of political warfare, as it is waged by the Communists, is to erode and paralyze the will to resist by means of total terror.

In May of 1961, when I returned from Laos and Vietnam, I made a statement, which I should like to repeat today.

“The best way for us to stop Communist guerilla action in Laos and in South Vietnam is to send guerilla forces into North Vietnam, to equip and supply those patriots already in the field; to make every Communist official fear the just retribution of an outraged humanity; to make every Communist arsenal, government building, communications centre and transportation facility a target for sabotage; to provide a rallying point for the great masses of oppressed people who hate Communism because they have known it. Only when we give the Communists more trouble than they can handle at home, will they cease their aggression against the outposts of freedom.”

I recall that when I met with President Diem in April of 1961, he urged that the Americans assist him and the Laotian government in pre-emptive action to secure three key centres in the Laotian Panhandle — Tchepons, Saravane and Attopeu — in order to prevent the large-scale infiltration which is today taking place. I still have a copy of the marked map which he gave me in outlining his project. Had Diem’s advice been followed there would have been no Ho Chi Minh Trail. But this was at the time of the Laotian armistice and we were not disposed to take any actions which might provoke the Laotian Communists. So nothing was done.

As late as April of 1961, the SEATO nations in the immediate area, the Philippines, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, and Pakistan, all favoured common action against the Communist menace in Laos. But the British and French were opposed to such action, and we ourselves sat on the fence; and the result was that nothing was done.

The Charter of SEATO will have to be modified so that one nation cannot veto collective action by all the other nations. Britain, I am inclined to believe, would now be disposed to support collective action by SEATO because of the situation in Malaysia. But perhaps France should be invited to leave SEATO, on the grounds that she has no vital interests in the area, and her entire attitude towards Red China is one of appeasement. In view of the fact that something has to be done immediately, however, the sensible course is to encourage collective action by the free nations in the area, outside the framework of SEATO, until SEATO can be reorganized in a manner that makes it effective.

In this connection, I am most encouraged by the news that South Korea has decided to send a contingent of several thousand military engineers to South Vietnam, and the Philippines have decided to do likewise. It is infinitely better from every standpoint to have Asian troops supporting the Vietnamese forces against the Viet Cong on the ground, than it is to have American troops actively involved.

And so I speak today not merely to urge that we stand fast in Vietnam, but also to urge that we meet head-on the new isolationism in its incipient stages, before the long months and years of discontent, frustration and weariness that lie ahead have swelled the chorus urging disengagement and withdrawal to a deafening roar.

Let us expound a foreign policy nurtured in our constantly growing strength, not one fed by fear and disillusionment; a policy which each year is prepared

to expand more, not less, in the cause of preserving our country and the decencies of man.

Let us embrace a doctrine that refuses to yield to force, ever; that honours its commitments because we know that our good faith is the cement binding the free world together; a doctrine that recognizes in its foreign aid program not only that the rich are morally obligated to help the poor, but also that prosperity cannot permanently endure surrounded by poverty, and justice cannot conquer until its conquest is universal.

“Never give in. Never, never, never, never! Never yield to force and the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy. Never yield in any way, great or small, large or petty, except to convictions of honor and good sense.”

No Half-Measures

It was high time for an American counter-offensive in Asia! It was already too late for a political offensive to be evolved as well, and so America had to content herself with only technical and military counter-blows in Vietnam. But even this kind of offensive deserves to be welcomed and supported, although it is unfortunately not enough. With the murder of President Diem, the possibility of a full-scale ideological, national and social political offensive was completely obviated. In the person of President Diem we had a guarantee for the successful conduct of the war in Vietnam from the political angle, and Messrs. Rusk and Lodge were much too late perceiving that their judgement of Diem's liberation movement was mistaken. Today the conduct of war in Vietnam on the part of the USA is only possible on a technical and military level. It is hopeless to inspire the people to join in the struggle while at the same time reducing Vietnam simply to an American military base. The French did indeed defend Dien-Bien-Phu heroically, but they could not win the Vietnamese without the necessary political prerequisites. The Diem movement was the key to victory.

Today we have only one possibility left open to us: a pact between all the anti-Communist states of Asia who should decide of their own free will and without American prompting, but with American support, how the war is to be conducted, both politically and military, in those Asian countries which are dominated or threatened by Russian and Red Chinese Communism. The unfolding of a war of liberation on the Chinese continent by landing Chinese Nationalist troops there, the extension of the war of liberation to North Korea, Tibet, and North Vietnam through the simultaneous engagement of Philippine, Siamese, and other Asiatic voluntary troops in Vietnam and Korea still has a chance of success. At the same time it is necessary to concentrate and transfer power into the hands of the Diem adherents, who would then be supported by all possible means.

The prerequisite for a further successful fight is that America should proclaim a “Magna Charta” of national independence and freedom for the peoples subjugated in the USSR and Red China without any tendency to guardianship

over them. It is not the elements obedient to America which should receive support but the nationally sovereign anti-Communist forces of each country.

The politics of strength, which President Johnson has now started to employ in Vietnam, should not simply be used to compel Hanoi, Moscow and Peking to negotiate over the neutralization of South Vietnam, but should form the beginnings of the complete liberation of the subjugated nations. It is in this sense that we are in agreement with President Johnson's policy.

San Domingo is the consequence of America's yielding in Vietnam and elsewhere, especially in Cuba. US action in San Domingo is to be welcomed, even though it stuck half way. In order to dispose of the Communist spectre in San Domingo, we must give our support to the liberation movement in Cuba and settle accounts with Castro. The whole of the freedom-loving world would be in agreement with the landing of American troops in Cuba to support the nationalist freedom fighters there and would lend their moral support to such a move. The screams of the Reds would die away within two weeks, and the stabilization of the free democratic system in Cuba, together with the honouring of her national sovereignty by America would gain for the Americans the approval of the public throughout the world very soon after Castro had been liquidated. No one is going to accuse the Americans of colonialism if they give the nations subjugated by the Communists honest help without restricting their sovereignty. On the other hand when America stops half way in preventing the spread of world Communism and Russian imperialism, she wins over to her side neither the subjugated nations nor the national anti-Communist forces of the Free World. One can only win friends when one fights consistently and clearly for noble ideas, and knows how to carry them out in all their fullness right to the end.

S. S.



Help Vietnamese Children!

*"I have sworn upon the Altar of God,
Eternal Hostility against every form of
tyranny over the mind of man."*

Thomas Jefferson

*"We will never surrender positions
which are essential to the defense of free-
dom nor will we abandon people who
are now behind the iron curtain through
any formal approval of the status quo."*

John F. Kennedy

1 100 Years Of Christianity In Bulgaria

by Stoyan Nikolov — Toronto

This year marks the 1100th anniversary of the conversion of our people to Christianity, since which the Orthodox Church has woven and shone its way through the secular history of the Bulgarian people like a golden thread. The Bulgarian national Church has pierced deep into the being of our people, united in times of prosperity with its friends, in the long years of grave trial with its sufferings, and remains even today the flesh of our flesh, the blood of our blood, as a reflection of our way of life, an expression of our national and intellectual longings, and the prop of our nation's undying spirit.

The seed of Christianity fell on fertile ground in Bulgaria, once Tsar *Boris I* had embraced the Christian faith in 864. Historians have quarreled as to whether Tsar *Boris* received the sacrament of Baptism in 864 or only in 865. The well-known Bulgarian historian Professor Vasil Zlatarski asserted in 1908 that Christianization took place in 864. But later an ancient inscription discovered in Albania brought him to the conclusion that Tsar *Boris* was baptized between the 21st August and the 1st September, 866. However, the Byzantologists *Vayan* and *Laskaris* made a careful investigation of the Albanian relic and came to the final conclusion, on account of the writings of Presviter *Konstantin*, that the Bulgarian Tsar had been baptized immediately after the peace treaty between Bulgaria and Byzantium in 864 — so that Professor *Zlatarski's* first statement was shown to be correct.

However the Bulgarian people did not regard Christianity as a religious doctrine to be kept only for their own advantage. On the contrary it was carried from Bulgaria to many of the lands settled by the Slavs — Ukraine, Serbia, and Russia, as well as others. At the same time Tsar *Boris I* opened the gates of his realm to Christian preaching. The Christianization of the Bulgars and of the Slavs as a whole took place through the efforts first of all of Byzantine missionaries, and later also of priests sent by the Roman pope, and led by the famous bishop *Formosa*. But in fact the Christian faith put down roots in Bulgaria and spread from there to the other Slav peoples thanks mainly to the work of the two monks *Cyril* and *Methodius* from Saloniki, who created the Old Bulgarian Church Slavonic script, and to their pupils.

As the reader will know, *Cyril* and *Methodius* started their work in Moravia, but their efforts were crippled by powerful and fanatical opponents. After their deaths, their disciples *Kliment*, *Naum*, *Angelari* and others, driven from Moravia, were welcomed in Bulgaria with open arms in 876. Tsar *Boris* had already created all the prerequisites for them to continue the work which had been started and which soon bore rich fruit. Two main centres of Christian enlightenment grew up in Bulgaria — one in the newly erected monastery of Patleyna, from which the famous school of Preslav originated even in King *Boris's* time, led by *St Naum*. The other school was started in the little town of Demol, not far from Okhrid, to which town it was later transferred and where it attained a world-wide reputation under the leadership of *St Kliment* as the School of Okhrid. From these two schools came the first Bulgarian writers, philosophers and artists, among them

Tshernorizets-Khrabr, Bishop *Konstantin*, *Joan Exarkh* and *Simeon* the Great himself.

The canonical foundation of the Church in Bulgaria reached its completion in the period from 893 to 918. In 893 the People's Council declared Christianity as the state religion, as well as recognizing Slavonic as the official language, and issued the directive that Greek ecclesiastical books should be entirely replaced by Bulgarian ones. At the same time the Council filled unoccupied ecclesiastical posts with Bulgarian priests. The first Bulgarian bishops were the Bishop of Pliska, *Konstantin*, and the Bishop of Okhrid, *St Kliment*.

That, briefly, is the history of how the Eastern Orthodox faith was introduced and took root in Bulgaria. A characteristic trait of the Bulgarians as a Christian people is demonstrated by the fact that they have never, in the course of the eleven centuries since their conversion, fallen into ecclesiastical discord, let alone religious struggles. The Bulgarian people have remained constantly grateful to the founders of their Orthodox Church and adhered solidly to their faith. Thus religious struggles like those of England, Germany, France and Spain are completely unknown in Bulgaria; even less so such religious fanaticism as is causing much bloodshed in India, for example, even today. The Bulgarian quality of tolerance towards every faith has protected us from every anti-religious passion. This is explained quite simply by the fact that throughout these eleven centuries our people has remained united in matters of religion and that the Church has played a part not only in the defence of our faith but also in our intellectual enlightenment and national self-preservation throughout the long period of foreign oppression. The schools attached to churches and monasteries have been springs of culture which have also preserved our language during the centuries of foreign domination.

Nothing is more foreign to the character of our people than blasphemy and the persecution of believers. He who dares to blaspheme in the presence of our people must bear this in mind. Of course even political resistance amongst our freedom-loving and democratic people may be broken by force, but no one will succeed in subjecting it to his control through godlessness and in leading it away from faith in God.

As is well-known, Christianity has been inhumanly persecuted for several decades in all those countries where godless men have seized political power. In spite of all persecution, in spite of churches being shut and men being deported, Christianity is more alive amongst us today than it ever was.

"We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be regarded as our worst enemies. They preach love of one's neighbour and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the Revolution. Down with love of one's neighbours. What we need is hatred. We must know how to hate; only thus shall we conquer the universe."

Anatole Lunarcharsky, former Russian Commissar of Education

Overthrow Foiled In Bulgaria

All the signs give us reason to believe that the palace revolution planned within the state and party leadership in Bulgaria had aimed at setting up a so-called National Communist regime on the Yugoslavian model. The indications are that its development dates back to the execution of the prominent party leader Traicho Kostoff. Kostoff, who was the second strongest man in the state after Georgi Dimitroff, was removed from his offices as Party Secretary and Deputy Prime Minister in 1949 at Moscow's bidding. Immediately after the dubious death of Dimitroff he was denounced in a show trial as an "imperialist agent" and executed. The reason for this was that he had tried to oppose Russian colonial domination in Bulgaria.

Since just that time there has been a lingering crisis in the Bulgarian Communist Party which the regime has never been able to recover from properly. The acute tensions during this period led to purge after purge of the party heads, including the "Stalinist" Valko Chervenkov, the "Revisionist" Georgi Chankoff, and finally the head of the government Anton Yugoff as well. Yugoff, paradoxically, was charged with the so-called personality cult, although, having taken over from his predecessor, Chervenkov, he was allegedly in the course of destalinization and liberalization!

All these variously labelled pieces of surgery in fact only concealed Moscow's unchanged desire to keep the Bulgarian satellite party in utter bondage, on account of the country's strategically commanding position in the Balkans. In the figure of the present party and government chief Todor Zhivkov, who is generally reckoned to have risen through Moscow's favour, the Russians have found the obedient recipient of their orders whom they have been looking for. Both he and the Politbureau selected by him have shown a readiness to fall in with the Kremlin's every wish, even if this has resulted in totally unreasonable economic burdens on the country. They were expert at keeping faith with Khrushchov and at accommodating him, just as they do the new rulers in Moscow.

This blind submissiveness was bound before long to evoke a reaction from the old guard of the party, who had risked their skins as partisan leaders; all the more so when they saw how bitterly short present-day Bulgarian reality was falling of the Communist ideal which had been dangling before their eyes. On top of this the models of Yugoslavia, Rumania, and other Communist dominated countries were infectious and may have suggested the plan to the resolute old guard. This assumption is given weight by the fact that the prominent men named in the bare official announcement — Central Committee member Ivan Todoroff-Gorunya, General Tsvetko Aneff, city commandant of Sofia, and Tsolo Krsteff, departmental chief at the Foreign Ministry — were comrades-in-arms in the same partisan unit.

In this case the official denial that a coup was ever attempted is in effect a confirmation that it was — especially if trustworthy reports that certain pillars of the regime were behind the conspiracy should prove to be true. These, it is said, include Air Force Commander-in-Chief General Slavcho Trnski, Minister of the Interior General Diko Dikoff, and even Defence Minister General Dobri Dzhu-

roff, all of them former partisan leaders. Trnski enjoys immense popularity in party circles and has been a personal friend of Tito since the partisan era.

An future show trial in Sofia may well help to elucidate what the plans for the foiled overthrow were, but it can hardly be expected, however the verdicts may turn out, that the smouldering crisis in the Bulgarian Communist Party can be patched up. W.

Times Change — But Truth Remains

“When Russia advocated the formation of Bulgaria within the boundaries of the armistice of San Stefano, she had not the slightest desire to create a great and strong Bulgarian state in the Balkans. On the contrary, she intended only to take hold of the new state in order to bring the straits nearer. Russia was then, and remains today, the decided enemy of an independent Bulgaria, for the latter would constitute the greatest obstacle to Russia’s plans to conquer the Balkan peninsular.” (*Georgi Dimitroff* in “*Rabotnicheski Vestnik*”, 19th November, 1905).

In these words the notorious Bulgarian Communist leader disclosed in his day tsarist Russia’s true motives for liberating us from the Turkish yoke. At that time he had hardly any idea that this judgement would only forty years later be properly confirmed, namely through our “second liberation” by Soviet Russia, after which only the function of a faithful servant was left to the Bulgarian Communist Party — and in the course of a shy attempt to defend Bulgarian interests *Dimitroff’s* own life was hastened to its end . . .



“The Russo-Turkish War and the conclusion of the armistice of San Stefano gave rise amongst the mass of the Bulgarian people to a *superstitious belief* in a ‘Russian mission of liberation’ . . . Immediately after the conclusion of the Berlin Congress Russian diplomats circulated the story that Russia’s ‘failure’ (to establish Bulgaria’s frontiers in accordance with those named in the armistice — Editor’s note) was to be blamed on the Germans and the British . . . All this secured even more the *deceptive image* of Russia as liberator and protector of Bulgaria.” (*Dimitar Blagoeff* in “*Contribution to the History of Socialism in Bulgaria*”, Bulgarian Communist Party Publishing House, Sofia, 1952).

Thus the founder of Bulgarian Communism also unmasked the alleged rôle of Russia as a liberator and protector. And he too failed to see ahead to the day when this fatally superstitious belief was to be most bitterly disproved by the Soviet Union itself. For while St. Petersburg in its day finally had to bow to the definite will of our people and to give up its intention to annex Bulgaria, after the disaster of the 9th September 1944, the Communist regime itself proved to be the marked victim of this superstition and had to pay for its attempt to oppose Moscow’s total enslavement and exploitation of the country with the life of the second strongest man in the Communist state, *Traicho Kostoff* . . .

This is how the true face of our “double liberator” looks in reality!



Dr. Moise Tshombe

The Congo Must Be Saved

I. Simple Truths and Complicated Problems

The following lines are certainly not intended to serve as a basis for my memoirs. At the age of 44, one is not yet inclined to write reminiscences. On the other hand, I have neither the desire nor the need to occupy myself with a painful past. Now, after several months have elapsed since the "Katangese experiment", it is easier for me to comprehend how it was possible that so many misunderstandings among the Congolese could have arisen. If only owing to the accompanying circumstances, which in the final analysis have helped our country to a passionately desired freedom, errors, I believe, were hardly avoidable. With respect to this matter, many a thing could be said — to what purpose, however? The mistakes that were made on all sides must be forgotten once and for all. The capacity not to feel a desire for revenge, I believe, is one of the most valuable virtues of the African peoples. As far as I am concerned, I certainly do not bear any grudges, and I would like to believe that none of my Congolese brothers nourishes a resentment against me.

More than anything else, all of us wanted the same thing — and we still want it today — all of us had one and the same ideal: the dignity and the happiness of the African people. Only with regard to the means by which dignity and happiness were to be achieved, were we not agreed. And yet — even if each individual creek makes its own path — they all lead to the river.

Notwithstanding the mistakes that have been made in the Congo, a reconciliation would certainly have been possible if the foreigners, who ignored our customs, our culture and our moral concepts, had not

increased the already existing tensions and created new ones. We want to leave it at that, however, so I will not take up this question again. No one is interested in burrowing into the past. Only people and nations that live without hope continuously brood over lost opportunities.

As far as I am concerned, I am full of hope. As always and perhaps even to a greater degree now than ever before, I am convinced that the Congo is a great country and that the Congolese people have the capacity to realize a peaceful and happy nation. Therefore I am confident that my country will succeed in bridging all the present difficulties, in creating an order which will make it possible to integrate the forces that are still disintegrated today, and to work together toward a national and pan-African reconstruction.

I have confidence in my country, but I am not blind and I know that the situation there is not at all a propitious one at the present time. I know the suffering of the unemployed, and I know that numerous Congolese are starving, that their neglected children do not receive any education because there are not enough schools, and I know that dissatisfaction mounts from day to day. And moreover I know that the rural population of my native country cannot make use of streets because there are none, and also that they do not possess vehicles with which to transport the fruit of their labour to the city. And I know that people who formerly exported cotton are now forced to import this raw material, because owing to the devastating lack of transportation facilities, our plants rotted in the fields.

And finally I also know that the Central Government has to cope with enormous difficulties and is desperately seeking to find solutions to the above questions. It will not succeed in bringing about a resolution, however. Therefore, I also ask myself just like every other Congolese who is aware of these questions, what must be done to save the Congo. I believe that I am able to name a certain number of measures, which, however, would have to be taken immediately. For this reason I have resolved to write these lines.

It is quite understandable that I am not in a position to offer a miracle potion. Within the framework of the possibilities which are at my disposal at the moment, I can only make the attempt to illuminate anew the pending questions, to which I believe I am able to give appropriate answers.

The shortcomings which we know and which influence the life of every Congolese are the inherent consequences of certain causes, of which I would like to single out only the most important ones for the time being.

The main cause of the Congolese crisis — and without doubt the most important one, although it could have been avoided — is our political dissension. At the present time, our political policy is such that one would suppose we were a Western country. The peoples of the West have made a kind of game of politics, which is sometimes not without danger, but which nonetheless only seldom shakes the foundation of the nation concerned. Western peoples have learned to be sceptical and very reserved, and in the final analysis to reckon only with themselves when it is a matter of pursuing or of assuring their happiness. This, however, does not apply to the Congolese. They still believe in politics as a panacea. In the Congo — as in all Africa, incidentally — one firmly believes that *only* politics can bring about happiness. The Africans have not yet had the opportunity to learn that it is man who must “make” politics, the value of which is necessarily dependent upon his capacity.

In Europe one often hears it said that states are best governed when they suffer

a crisis. I do not know if this really holds true for Europe sometimes; for the African situation, however, this saying is most assuredly not valid. Here the governments still have to do everything. The leadership and the direction of all affairs is incumbent upon them alone. They simply have to take a hand in all matters because African society has not had time yet to adjust itself to the requirements of the Western style of modern life. We were under the domination of a colonial system too long, a system that settled everything for us in its own fashion, without explaining to us why they did this or that. If the rulers of that time had given more attention to our desires, but above all to our truths, then today many a problem would be solved or would never have arisen in the first place.

It is certainly not the place to put colonialism on trial here. One thing must be pointed out, however — namely, that after many, many years of general, continuous and close guardianship, we were suddenly left to fend for ourselves. And now we have to learn everything alone. We alone. This will be possible only when the government assumes the function of the teacher and the guide. In a world of rapid developments, in which it is not uncommon that even the most powerful ones run out of breath, we would never be in a position to catch up as regards our technical backwardness, which increases every year.

There is no modern African economy; rather there is only an “European” economic system which was transplanted into Africa. Also, there are still by no means sufficient African technicians among us who would be capable of thinking in African terms or to tackle current problems from a purely African perspective. And nonetheless we have to do everything alone, for foreign aid will never be able to bring about our salvation. On the contrary, it might well create the preconditions for a new subjugation. Perhaps then our chains — and especially those of our respective leaders — would be made of gold, but for all that we would not be less chained.

To escape this new enslavement, our leaders must not rule as it is customary to rule

in Europe; on the contrary they must endeavour to seek and to find a thousand African solutions to a thousand different African problems; and moreover they must endeavour to find their support in the masses, without whom nothing of permanence can be achieved, and they must continuously attempt to guide the masses in the direction of the set goals. And they must know how to evoke love and respect, for when a government is not popular in Europe, one simply waits for the next one. In Africa, on the other hand, this always leads to a catastrophe. A government that does not know how to make itself popular and does not know how to secure the support of the people will never be in a position to rule.

At best, it might set up a dictatorship. Such a dictatorship, however, quite apart from other disadvantages, would be sterile, because in Africa simply nothing positive can be achieved without the support of the people. Many of my Congolese fellow-countrymen, however, have ignored this fact, more or less consciously. If they continue to pursue the path which they have taken, they must destroy themselves. It appears even more tragic, however, that in this process they will also have dragged the Congolese people into the catastrophe.

Another — even if less important — reason for the present inner laceration of the Congolese people is the existing instability and the total unproductiveness of the Congolese economy.

I myself come from the jungles. I grew up in the midst of maize fields. Later I purchased maize to resell it. In this way I carried on trade.

There are not a thousand ways in which agriculture and trade can be carried on. The maize must be harvested when it is ripe. A transaction is good when a gain can be attained. Because I grew up with such simple truths, I simply am not able to understand the reasoning of some intellectuals, who want to convince me that it would be advantageous to harvest the maize before it is ripe or after it is ripe, or even to sell it cheaper than I purchased it. The intellectuals would call such reasoning a

doctrine. All of them, I believe, have rendered very poor service to the Congo.

Those people who recognize the actualities of our economy and accept them as they are will find out that they are much less complicated, if one does not look at them through the distorting lens of such a doctrine. What is certain is that we must produce. Then we must sell our products in order to acquire other products with the realized gain. Only in this way can one become richer and only in this way can a market be created in our country also, a market that will attract new industries. If new factories could be set up, the products of our country would also be reevaluated. And the people would finally get the work that they need to exist and to experience prosperity. Only then would it also be possible to bring the senseless migration of the rural population into the city to a standstill, for the simple reason that the people in the interior of the country would then be able to enjoy the accomplishments of modern life at home just as well. In this way, all successful peoples live, with or without doctrine. And we? Although we possess just about everything that there is to be had in terms of riches in this world in our native country, we are poor. But our economy is only ruined simply because too little is being produced, because we do not have sufficient transportation facilities, because our markets lack goods and because no new industry is able to bring a bit of vitality into our dried up political economy, owing to the justified fear of disorder and arbitrariness on the part of the potential investors. The economic mechanism is wholly immobile at the present time, and it will regain its mobility only when it is at last set in motion. In this respect, however, one of the most urgent problems must be solved first of all: currency. On the other hand, however, every currency is dependent upon the production of the people concerned. When a nation lives under regulated conditions and works industriously, then and only then, can the currency be and remain stable.

In other words, what must certainly be done in this area is to revitalize the eco-

conomic machinery, which is paralysed at present. Naturally, I am well aware that this is more easily said than done. Nonetheless, I am firmly convinced that the overcoming of the deadlock is less complicated than it may appear to many people. The only prerequisite in this connection is that one should finally begin to work.

Our country is very rich and I know that within a few months the Congolese economy could record its first success, if the disappointed farmers would regain their faith in the leaders. The Congolese farmers are courageous, and without doubt they would again produce and would repair the roads, if they were assured that their work would not be in vain, and that they would be able to lead a normal life in their villages. Then, their children also would no longer have to leave their villages, as they have to now, to go to school, or else to go into the city to earn their daily bread. Finally, foreign countries would make new investments confidently. And at the moment we are certainly in need of the incentive of foreign capital.

There is no sense in veiling the truth: Our country needs foreign capital. But this capital will only be placed at our disposal when we — in consideration of our legitimate desire to direct our economy ourselves — can guarantee its complete security and an adequate profit.

I am firmly convinced that there can be a complete agreement between the interests of foreign capital and the interest of the Congolese people. These interests could also be reconciled at any time. Some time ago, other African states set down the conditions for foreign investments. Certain clauses with respect to tax alleviations as well as the guarantee that the gains can be transferred abroad at any time without objection, etc. have always opened the way for precisely such investments, which appeared attractive to the country concerned. For us also there is no alternative than to take similar measures as quickly as possible.

Furthermore the youth problem of our country is worthy of mention. Although the state budget provides a sum of approximately 50% of the revenue for education,

our country does not have enough schools and teachers. It is one of the most important questions of our country. What will we be able to do with our independence tomorrow, if the young generation is not even able to read and write, and if they do not have the opportunity to learn a profession? On the other hand, I do not believe that in the foreseeable future our economy will be in a position to build or to maintain the educational system that we would like to have for our children. And there are still only a few hundred students in secondary schools, and foreign teachers are too expensive for us. I am convinced, therefore, that if this important problem is to be solved at all, then it can only be solved in a completely modern way. For instance, I am thinking of television as a means of instruction. Under the supervision of an assistant teacher, the children could acquire valuable knowledge in their classes, without burdening the state budget. Various specialists and pedagogues assure us that owing to technical advancements, this method of instruction is certainly feasible on a broad basis. Many are even enthusiastic about the possibilities of "education machines".

The problem of classrooms, however, would still be unsolved. In this connection, however, I have implicit faith in the Congolese people: as soon as the means for a sensible education have been created, they themselves will build the necessary schools with their own hands.

All of this is possible only on the premise that order will be re-established in the Congo as quickly as possible. By taking the reins of the various army divisions firmly in his hands again, the Commander-in-Chief has certainly made a large contribution. For this he deserves to be congratulated.

On the other hand, however, it must also be noted that precisely in this field work is by no means ended, for there are still many units which are outside of the control. But in such a large and heterogeneous country, which has been steeped in a severe crisis for more than three years, more is hardly to be expected.

On the whole the problem of order is still unsolved, and a solution will only be

approached when this problem is treated realistically. In the present case the solution rests upon a general reform of our institutions. But this problem is too broad to be treated exhaustively here. Therefore, I have contented myself with pointing out the importance of the military factor as well as the fact that an army which may well have powerful means at its disposal but which knows little about discipline cannot be of use to any country. A local police force must be established in the Congo, a police force which must be put under the command of capable leadership and which must be accepted by the population — and not forced upon it. This is certainly possible. Actually, the Congolese like order and quietness, even if some people do not want to believe this.

I must content myself here with broaching only a few problems and with treating even these only cursorily. Some of these problems, however, above all those of a political nature, deserve serious attention.

For this reason they will be the subject of a second chapter. Among other things I will attempt to show that Africa must reckon only with her own forces and possibilities if she wants to overcome her present difficulties.

(to be continued)

On the occasion of Prime Minister Tshombe's victory in the parliamentary elections in the Congo we are publishing his work on the topical problems of reconstruction in the Congo, from which one can clearly see where the foundations of his overwhelming success as the Congo's saviour lie. President Tshombe put this work at our disposal when he was living in exile in Madrid. With sincerity and prudence, with unfaltering energy and self-sacrifice, with deep insight he is realizing step by step the needs of Africa through his programme for the Congo's renewal, elaborated during his exile.
The Editor

Students Demonstrating

There is, in Russian-occupied Ukraine, a continuous stream of disturbances of a social political nature. About a year ago in the city of Luhansk, a Ukrainian city in the Donets Basin, there was a general strike of mine- and factory workers. Matters did not reach the stage of armed combat, as the government partly satisfied the claims of the strikers (who were demanding a rise in wages).

In Donetsk students have been demonstrating for greater freedom in educational institutions and for better opportunities for art, literary creation, and discussion. Militiamen surrounded the demonstrators and ordered them to break up. However the

students refused to fall in with the instructions of the militia's commander and repeated their demands in chorus. At this the militia began to shoot, with the result that some students were killed, others wounded.

At a factory in Berdiansk the wages of workers on the conveyor-belt were reduced, and so the workers halted work. Communists were then sent to fill their places, but they had no desire to work more than one or two days. Thus there was no choice but to get the work done by apprentices upon whom the factory was fully dependent. Finally the management was compelled to negotiate with the workers and to satisfy their demands.

*"If you can . . . watch the things you gave your life to broken, . . .
And lose, and start again at your beginnings,
And never breathe a word about your loss;
. . . you'll be a man, my son!"*

From Rudyard Kipling: „If —“.

His Holiness
Pope Paul VI

For The Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate

Your Holiness:

We, the Ukrainian Catholics, beg to submit this petition to your Holiness in the hope, that Your Holiness' and the Ecumenical Council's consent to our appeal will strengthen our Martyrized Churches of both confessions: the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church, which have continued to exist in the modern catacombs in Ukraine, and among the Ukrainians deported by the atheist Muscovite regime to the waste lands and concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan.

In filial devotion to Your Holiness, we beg to ask, most humbly, that the Ecumenical Council attach supreme importance to the following matters:

A) That the mobilization of the entire religious world, and, particularly, of the Christian world be achieved by a unity *of action*, which will embrace all religious bodies, but particularly those of the Christian Churches, against militant atheism. According to our modest opinion, the regeneration of a Christian militancy is what is most needed in the struggle against militant atheism at the present time;

B) That the central role in the contemporary Christian world of the militant Christian Churches in the catacombs, and, especially, of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, should be defended and honoured in the Council's decisions. The Ukrainian Catholic Church lost nearly all its hierarchs by martyrdom because they remained faithful to Christ and the Apostolic See until their death. In addition, it lost many priests and thousands upon thousands of the faithful. The prelates, many priests and thousands upon thousands of the faithful of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church were martyred in the struggle for the victory of Christ's truth. It is only fitting, therefore, that the Ecumenical Council pay tribute to the sufferings for Christ of the peoples, of the faithful — the priests and prelates of the Christian Churches — in the catacombs, for the *true spirit of the Christian Churches of the neophytes of modern times* is exemplified by the catacombs of Christian Ukraine and other Christian nations that are enslaved by the antichrist;

C) That the Ecumenical Council exclude the representation of Moscow's Patriarchy (i. e., the representatives of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Council of Ministers of the USSR) from participating in the Council as observers. Moscow's Patriarchy helped to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and, at present, continues to be subservient to the regime of the antichrist. The presence of these observers at the Council paralyses the possibility of the emergence of a firm attitude, backed by uncompromising schemata concerning the struggle of Christianity against the antichrist of Moscow;

D) That the Ecumenical Council initiate a great movement for an ideological, spiritual and moral regeneration, especially in the free Christian world, by opening a new front of action against the domination of material values in life, not only of the faithful, but also in that of some priests: against the displacement

of idealism by hedonism. This must be done by restoring the old and militant principles of Christianity, which are indispensable in the present struggle against the false doctrines of the antichrist of Communist Moscow;

E) That the Ecumenical Council direct the attention of the Churches and the peoples of the free world to the Martyrized and militant Churches, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, which continue their existence in the catacombs of Ukraine and in other countries of the Kingdom of Antichrist. They should be distinguished as examples of a genuine devotion to Christ, and their sacrifices should be honoured as a great contribution to the final victory of Christ's Truth on the ruins of the Kingdom of Antichrist;

F) Concerning the Ukrainian Catholic Church, we beg to ask Your Holiness, most humbly, that a Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church be created. The Archbishop Major Metropolitan-Confessor Cardinal Joseph Slipy, who faithfully defended Christ's Truth in a dignified manner through eighteen years of imprisonment, should be the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which has been uncompromisingly militant against the Kingdom of Antichrist and its Kremlin Orthodox "Church".

In contemporary Ukraine a Patriarchal See of the militant Ukrainian Catholic Church could be established only in the catacombs, or in the Vorkuta concentration camp, where the Metropolitan-Confessor was recently interned but since the Metropolitan-Confessor became an emigrant, his return to Ukraine, during the reign of the Kingdom of Antichrist, is utterly impractical and purposeless. Metropolitan Cardinal Slipy, therefore, as a Patriarch, should have his See established in the free world — in Rome.

In addition, we humbly ask Your Holiness that, for the purpose of the struggle against the Kingdom of Antichrist in which many of our brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, the whole of our faithful Ukrainian people have been suffering, the Archbishop Major, H. E. Cardinal Joseph Slipy be allowed to interrupt his silence to tell the world about the sufferings and martyrdom of the people faithful to Christ, to our Church and to our fatherland: about the sufferings of all the enslaved Churches, nations and peoples: to warn the world against the dangers of a co-existence with the devil, by pointing out the Hell which he has created on the earth and, at the same time, pay tribute to the sacrifices, heroism and martyrdom suffered in the struggle for Christ, for the freedom and independence of Ukraine and of other enslaved nations.

We also beg to ask that the Metropolitan-Confessor, who has been, not only for us, but for all Christians, a glorious example of martyrdom for Christ and our spiritual leader, be not caused to have any contact with the authorities of the antichrist. Such contacts are contrary to his aureole as martyr and spiritual leader of the Ukrainian people in the struggle against the antichrist and his power. This is disgusting for all those who believe in the final victory of the Truth of Christ.

We humbly ask Your Holiness to bear out our petition, and we pray that the Almighty God show His Grace and Benevolence to Your Holiness. We most humbly ask Your Blessing.

We remain in filial devotion to Your Holiness. (Yaroslav Stetsko)

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas And Policies Of Lenin

Introduction

The aim of this study is to ascertain whether Lenin held any imperialistic ideas, founded on the basis of Russian national interests, as regards other nations, and whether, if he proclaimed such ideas, he pursued correspondingly imperialistic policies. The main question is whether the Bolshevik movement headed by Lenin represented a continuation in a new form of the traditional imperialistic policy of tsarist Russia, or whether it showed characteristics of a movement which desired to bring genuine freedom, progress, equality, and well-being to all peoples in accordance with Marxist ideology.

In Western literature there still persists much vagueness about the nature and the historical outlook of the Bolshevik movement headed by Lenin. Prof. Yuriy Boyko declares:

There exists a legend that Bolshevism was connected with the Russian patriotic idea only in the 1930's. People who maintain such a thesis would like to see in Bolshevism a worldwide international phenomenon, and try to treat its connection with Russian patriotism as tactics, and not as a substantial natural part of it. Such a view reveals either complete incompetency or a gross bias. At most, Bolshevism endeavored in the past to appear international. (1)

The fault lies in the wrong approach. Lenin's Bolshevism is studied from a viewpoint that is too narrow and too specialized. Such analysts, for example, consider Communist ideology alone and come to the mistaken conclusion that Bolshevism was a non-national universal ideological movement conceived by Marx and Engels with only minor additions by Lenin. Others concentrate on organizational aspects and conclude that Bolshevism is an international Communist party not based on the Russian nation, but kept alive by the perfected apparatus and the ideological fanaticism of its members. Still other scholars stress

Lenin's foreign policies, in which they would like to see a genuine desire for universal peace, a true wish to abolish colonial empires and to establish international relations on the basis of the equality and national independence of all peoples, denouncing any scheme by Russia to dominate other nations, etc.. As a result, many of these scholars fail to perceive Lenin's Russian imperialistic designs, aggressive plans, and his ruthless colonialism.

The truth however can be reached only on the basis of a comprehensive study of all the aspects of the Bolshevik movement, which are fully related and mutually dependent on each other. Bolshevik ideology, party organization, and policies *cannot be understood without* a knowledge of their dependence on Russian culture, Russian history, Russian geographical environment, Russian geo-political position, and Russian social composition, especially that of its elite. Then only will it be seen that *Bolshevism and Lenin are fundamentally Russian phenomena*, which are deeply rooted in Russian society and history and have only assimilated some intellectual elements which originated outside Russia, mainly in Western Europe. Thus one of the aims of this study will be to present the broad view of Lenin's Bolshevism.

Lenin was as much Russian-minded as were any of his great tsarist predecessors and he was no less an imperialist but in fact an even more ambitious and ruthless one than were the others. All his thoughts and activities were directed toward the preservation of the tottering empire, its restoration after the downfall in 1917, enhancement of its prestige and grandeur, and finally its expansion — territorial, political, economic, and cultural — in all directions beyond the boundaries of the tsarist dominions.

This study will include the examination of the imperialistic elements which Lenin inherited from tsarist Russia. Secondly, it

will deal with the original imperialistic ideas of Lenin which are substantially Russian in nature. Thirdly, it will discuss the application of Lenin's ideas in policies which clearly reflect Russian imperialism.

It seems appropriate to explain the meaning of "imperialism" as used in this study. "Imperialism" is the idea and the policy of conquest and domination by one nation of other nations. Such conquest brings benefit only to the conquering nation, while the conquered nation becomes the object of colonial exploitation and genocide, and is deprived of its national entity. When imperialism is practised in one sphere only, then it is designated respectively as ideological imperialism, diplomatic imperialism, economic imperialism, religious imperialism, cultural imperialism, etc.. But when many imperialistic tools are applied simultaneously, it is a matter of total imperialism or national imperialism which aims at the total subjugation and total extinction of another nation, of another culture, or of another society. The object of this study is to show that Lenin professed ideas and fostered policies which fall into the second category and should be described as "total Russian imperialism" with regard to other nations. But in the quotations of Lenin and of other Bolshevik writers it is generally used according to the Marxist or specifically Leninist definition.

An important related problem is the question of whether the Russian state before the 1917-March Revolution was an empire, because it is necessary to establish the existence of an active Russian imperialism in pre-Bolshevik times. The answer is unquestionably in the affirmative and is founded on the following facts: Tsarist Government subjugated to its domination the whole or parts of Ukraine, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Siberia, the Cossacks, Idel-Ural, etc.. The same government ruthlessly prevented the establishment of any independent political and military statehood in these countries. Furthermore this same government obstructed and tried to eliminate any independent development of the arts, the human-

ities and the sciences, of social systems and of national economics in those countries. The Petrograd (previously the Moscow) government usurped all the international rights of those nations and prevented their reestablishment by independent sovereign institutions of their own. The tsarist regime constantly pursued an imperialistic colonial economic policy toward these nations. In the *History of VKPB* we read:

Tsarist Russia was a prison of peoples. Populous non-Russian nations were completely without any rights and experienced various contempts, humiliations, and insults. The tsarist government taught the Russians to regard native peoples of the various nations as lower races, labelled them officially as aliens, fostered disdain and cultivated hatred toward them. In all the national regions, almost all state positions were in the hands of Russian officials. All affairs in institutions and offices were conducted in the Russian language. The publication of newspapers and books in the national languages was prohibited. The tsarist government endeavored to suppress any manifestations of national cultures. A compulsory Russification of non-Russian peoples was conducted. Tsarism came forward as the hangman and torturer of the non-Russian nations.

On the basis of the above-mentioned facts, which, incidentally, are not by any means complete, we have the right to maintain that the Russian state before the 1917-March Revolution was an empire and that its Government actively pursued an imperialistic policy toward many European and Asian nations.

The next vital problem is to determine the continuity of the Russian State from the tsarist to the Bolshevik regime. And parallel to it is the substantial continuity of imperialistic policies between the two regimes. Analysis of the first problem, however, does not directly belong to this study. Nevertheless, it is an unqualified assumption that the state ruled by Lenin's Bolshevik Government was a Russian state. The RSFSR was created on the territory ruled previously by the Provisional Government without the non-Russian territories on

which national independent states were organized. The nation on which the tsars based their power, the Russian nation, was the same on which the Bolsheviks based their power.

With regard to the second problem the evidence points toward the substantial continuity by the Soviet Government of the imperialistic policies of the tsarist government, although many aspects changed, and some policies and ideas were discarded or were exchanged for new ones. The rejected ideas were: the monarchical system of government, the idea of Moscow as a "Third Rome", the aristocratic hereditary social system, an estate economy, and the right to private ownership. The ideas that were retained were: cultural superiority and messianism of the Russian people over all nations, a totalitarian society dependent on the top leadership, and an absolute obe-

dience to the state ideology. The policies retained were: the necessary imperialistic expansion of Russia, equal expansion in Asia and in Europe, fundamental hostility toward Western culture, gradual subjugation, a totalitarian society. Changes were introduced as regards the ideology, the legal political forms, and the elite. New organizational methods were introduced, including the operation of organized political movements and a full application of revolutionary and subversive methods. But the centralistic concept of organizations, importance of secret political police, extensive use of terror, use of forced labour as an economic method — were retained.

All quotations from Lenin's writings indicated by volume alone are from the *Selected Works* in 12 volumes, edited by J. Fineberg, International Publishers, New York.

Russian National Characteristics Of Lenin

It is necessary to find out the nationality of Lenin, the social group for which he worked, his cultural upbringing, and the social unit to which he attached his patriotic feelings. These findings will reveal whether Lenin was a member of the Russian nation or a person attached to no nation. If he was a Russian, was he a Russian patriot, was the Russian nation dearer to him than any other national group, was Russia his fatherland, or did he attach patriotic feelings to a non-national group; did he find his fatherland where this group existed? In short, was Lenin's prime social and political concern the Russian nation or a class (proletarian) with multi-national cosmopolitan characteristics? Only when we can answer that Lenin was a Russian patriot, worked primarily for the advancement of Russian national interests, was reared in Russian cultural values, etc., can we proceed to the question whether Lenin was a Russian imperialistic statesman. In this chapter we shall try to answer the above questions.

From the beginning of his career Lenin became identified with the Social-Democratic movement, renamed the Russian

Communist Party (Bolshevik). In the early 1900's his influence in the movement made him one of the foremost leaders and after the split with the group known as the Mensheviks he became almost its virtual leader. In general until his death Lenin dominated Bolshevik policies and activities. He himself fully accepted the responsibility for all important Soviet-Communist actions which occurred during his life-time: "We must remember," he wrote, "that a political leader is responsible not only for his policy but also for what is done by those he leads." (2) Therefore, we are justified in studying Lenin not only on the basis of his personal writings but also on the basis of policies carried out by his associates, by the Party, and by the Government he led.

Advancing Russian interests

Very early Lenin became possessed by the idea that the tsarist government and the existing aristocratic-landlord-bourgeois elite were advancing Russia's progress too slowly, were doing too little to raise the living standard of the Russian lower classes, and were pursuing a mistaken foreign policy. He wrote in 1901:

"We do not doubt in the least that it is possible even under autocracy to carry on legal activity which will promote progress — in some cases promoting technical progress rather rapidly, in a few cases promoting social progress insignificantly, and, in exceptional cases, promoting political progress to an infinitesimal degree." (3)

Lenin came to be a persistent and harsh critic of the tsarist system. But his criticism was directed toward a positive constructive goal, namely, the well-being of the Russian people. He said:

"We shall welcome the growth of political consciousness among the propertied classes; we shall support their demands, we shall endeavour to work so that the activities of the Social-Democrats and the liberals mutually supplement each other . . . We shall try to establish contacts with individual liberals, make them acquainted with our movement, support them by exposing in the labour press all the despicable acts of the government and the local authorities . . . Such an exchange of service between liberals and Social-Democrats is going on already, it must be extended and made constant." (4)

Lenin advocated the necessity of destroying all those elements which were retarding Russian progress; for example, most tsarist officials acted with aims of private benefit or kept offices for which they did not qualify. He also became convinced that the agricultural system had to be changed, because great potentialities were wasted by the out-dated system. According to his vision of the new system, "in comparison with tsarist landlord Russia, that will be a great advance. It will be a great advance, because in landlord and tsarist Russia 70,000 dessiatins of land were in the hands of 30,000 Markovs, Romanovs, and similar landlords, whereas in this new Russia there will be free labour on free land." (5)

In his mind the new economic order came to be associated with the freedom and progress of Russia. He exclaimed: ". . . the time has come when dire necessity is knocking at the door of the entire Russian people." (6) In Lenin's opinion the old

order decayed and became harmful to the Russian nation, because

" . . . tens of millions of people do not undertake a revolution to order. They do so when privation has become desperate, when the condition of the people has become intolerable, and when the general pressure and determination of tens of millions of people shatter all the old partitions and are truly able to create a new life." (7)

The old order was identified by Lenin with oppression, the new with freedom.

In 1918, after Lenin seized the reins of the Russian government, he proudly expressed the notion that he was able to further Russian national interests. He said: "The Russian people took a gigantic leap — from tsarism to the Soviets." (8) The Russian ambassador to the U.S.A., A.A. Troyanovsky, officially recognized Lenin's prime endeavour to advance Russia's interests in every respect:

"Lenin was not alien to the concept of national pride, but in his peculiar way he liked to say: 'We love our language and our native country; we are striving, more than for anything else, to make it possible for the working masses of the country to reach new standards of life along the lines of democracy and socialism.'" (9)

Lenin was already putting his national policy into practice during the revolution of 1905—07. The achievements of these strivings he formulated in the following way:

" . . . by the heroic struggle it waged during the course of three years (1905—07) the Russian proletariat won for itself and for the Russian people gains that took other nations decades to win. It won the *emancipation* of the working masses *from the influence* of treacherous and contemptibly impotent liberalism. It won for *itself* the *hegemony* in the struggle for freedom and democracy as a prerequisite for the struggle for socialism. It won for all the oppressed and exploited classes of Russia the *ability* to conduct the revolutionary mass struggle, without which nothing of importance in the progress of mankind has been achieved anywhere in the world." (10)

When Lenin scored successes on the road of aggrandizing Russia his aims became insatiable. Alfred D. Low made the conclusion that

"Bolshevism was then (after the October Revolution) not merely aiming at preserving as much as possible of the Tsarist patrimony. It looked upon the Russian revolution as the beginning of a revolution which was to encompass Europe, Asia, and the entire world." (11)

Writing about Russian-Chinese relations, Allen S. Whiting concluded similarly that the Soviet policy of Lenin had the aim of promoting Russian national interests. Although this scholar started from a mistaken premise he came to a proper judgment:

"Long before Lenin's death, Bolshevik foreign policy completed its evolution from advancing world revolution to advancing Russia's interests, should there be any conflict between the two aims. In China, the conflict between a radical hands-off, anti-imperialist policy, and a traditional interventionist policy asserted itself almost from the very start. Re-emergence of the latter in conformity with Russia's historic policy can be traced consistently from the revision of the Karakhan Manifesto of July 25, 1919, to the Sino-Soviet treaty of May 31, 1924." (12)

2. Overthrow of tsarism

From criticism of the tsarist system Lenin came to the conclusion that the best policy to achieve the progress of the Russian nation was not by reforms but by a complete overthrow of the old regime. This thesis is so plain and well formulated by Lenin that it does not require to be restated. However, for him the destruction of tsarism was solely a domestic affair of the Russian people:

"We must emphatically proclaim that a battle is approaching in which it will be the duty of every honest citizen to be ready to sacrifice himself and fight against the oppressors of the people." (13)

Speaking about the tasks of the proletariat, Lenin assessed highly the importance of an anti-tsarist struggle.

"The overthrow of tsarism in Russia, begun so valiantly by our working class, will be the turning point in the history of

all countries, will facilitate the task of the workers of all nations, in all states, in all parts of the globe." (14)

The anti-regime struggle thus became a *civil war* or a *political revolution*. Lenin called the events of November 1917 "the Great Russian Revolution". (15) All the time he thought himself to be the leader of a solely Russian affair in which Russian people were engaged in overthrowing the previous Russian tsarist regime and were instituting afterwards a new Russian regime: "This throwing-off of the Avramovs by the people is the real content of what is called the great Russian revolution." (16)

Looking at the anti-regime struggle from the international aspect Lenin evaluated it:

"... the only nation that emerged from a reactionary war by revolutionary methods not for the benefit of this or that government, but by overthrowing it, was the Russian nation, and it was the Russian revolution that extricated it." (17)

Lenin's revolution was in his own words a truly Russian national political revolution:

"The revolution of 1917 utterly swept away all the economic, social, and political relations, and substituted a new society for the old, transferring State power in Russia to a new social class by the sovereignty of a revolting people..." (18)

Lenin understood the international complications of the Bolshevik revolution well:

"International imperialism... could not under any circumstances, on any condition, live side by side with the Soviet Republic... In this sphere a conflict is inevitable. Here lies the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its great historical problem, viz., the necessity of solving international problems, the necessity of calling forth an international revolution, of traversing the path from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution." (19)

A noted scholar, Alfred D. Low, stated: "The October Revolution of 1917 was basically a Great Russian Revolution." (20)

3. Creating a new Russian élite

Lenin created a new elite, which replaced the tsarist elite. In a national civil war (political revolution), when two sections of

the same society struggle for leadership, both are of the same nationality. Therefore, the tsarist elite could have been and was replaced by a new Russian elite, which was Communist in its ideological outlook.

Lenin studied thoroughly the social composition of Russia and drew the conclusion that

"The bourgeoisie and the landlords; the proletariat; the petty bourgeoisie — petty proprietors, primarily the peasants — these are the three fundamental 'forces' into which Russia, like every capitalist country, is divided." (21)

Then he observed:

"The emancipation movement in Russia has passed through three principal stages, corresponding with the three principal classes of Russian society that have left their impress on the movement: 1) the aristocratic period, roughly from 1825 to 1861; 2) the commoner, or bourgeois-democratic period, approximately from 1861 to 1895; 3) the proletarian period, from 1895 to the present day." (22)

On the basis of his observations Lenin deduced that the group which had to take up the leadership of the nation was the Russian proletariat:

"... we demand the immediate abandonment of the prejudice that only the rich, or officials picked from rich families, are capable of *governing* the state, of performing the daily routine work of administration." (23)

Proclaiming the right of the proletariat to aspire to the governing position he realized that this aspiration could be achieved only step by step:

"We cannot jump out of the bourgeois democratic boundaries of the Russian revolution, but we can enormously extend those boundaries and within those boundaries we can and must fight for the interests of the proletariat, for its immediate needs and for the prerequisites for training its forces for the complete victory that is to come." (24)

The favorite method of Lenin, making the proletariat politically conscious and consolidated, was the argument that the proletariat is the most patriotic group and is oriented upon the well-being of the na-

tion more than any other group. For example, addressing the Constitutional Democratic party, he said, "... the monarchist Cadets are selling Russia to Anglo-American capital and endeavouring to crush the revolution with the aid of foreign bayonets."

(25) A similar accusation Lenin directed against the Mensheviks whom he reproached for copying the West European Socialist parties too much, thereby disregarding native culture patterns and appreciating too little the creative abilities of the Russians. Criticizing Plekhanov's draft of the programme for the Russian Social-Democratic Party, Lenin wrote:

"The programme is particularly unsuitable for the party of the *Russian* proletariat, because the evolution of Russian capitalism and the contradictions and social evils generated by Russian capitalism are almost entirely evaded and obscured by this system of characterizing capitalism in general. The party of the Russian proletariat must formulate its charge against Russian capitalism, its declaration of war on Russian capitalism in the most unambiguous manner. This is all the more necessary inasmuch as the Russian programme cannot be identified in this respect with the European programmes; the latter speak of capitalism and of bourgeois society without stating explicitly that these conceptions are applicable to Austria and to Germany and so on, because that goes without saying. In relation to Russia this cannot be taken for granted." (26)

From the proletarian class Lenin chose the best individuals and launched a political movement imbuing it with the spirit of the best Russians who gave their life for the advancement of their country: "Comrades, behind us there is a long time of revolutionaries who sacrificed their lives for the emancipation of Russia." (27) He evaluated the November revolution as being

"The highest manifestation of the people's struggle for freedom. It marks the great times when the dreams of liberty of the best people of Russia are transformed into *action*, the action of the masses themselves, and not of individual heroes." (28)

Believing deeply to have assembled around himself truly outstanding and most

patriotic Russians, Lenin declared still in 1905 the right and the duty of his group to take over the power from the tsarist regime:

"We propose to lead (in the event of the great Russian revolution proceeding successfully), not only the proletariat which will be organized by the Social-Democratic Party, but also the petty bourgeoisie which is capable of marching side by side with us." (29)

Lenin recognized that the proletarian class already made great progress towards national leadership in the 1905 Revolution:

"The burden of the October-December struggle was borne almost entirely by the proletariat; it was the proletariat alone who fought systematically, in an organized way and incessantly for the whole nation." (30)

After the victory over other Russian groups which contended for national leadership, Lenin again restated that his Bolshevik Party was one of the Russian parties and was the integral part of the Russian society. (31) He declared that state power in Russia had been transferred from the tsarist elite to the Socialists by the right of the Russian people's sovereignty. (32)

Finally, among the Russians Muscovite and Petrograd Bolsheviks were most favoured by Lenin, whom he described in patriotic words:

"The Petrograd workers are only a small part of the workers of Russia. But they are one of the best, most advanced, most class-conscious, most revolutionary, most steadfast detachments of the working class and the toilers of Russia... And it has frequently happened at critical moments in the life of a nation that even small but advanced detachments of advanced classes have drawn the rest after them, have fired the masses with the spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm and have accomplished tremendous historic feats." (33)

4. Fatherland and patriotism

Lenin was a great Russian patriot. For Russia he would do anything, would advocate any sacrifice. All this life Lenin was imbued with national pride and a burning patriotism. N. Bedyayev, a Russian philosopher, said about Lenin: "He was a man

characteristically Russian with the admixture of Tatar features." (34) And Lenin's close friend, Zinoviev, said:

"He was a Russian, we can say, from head to foot. He was the personification of Russia. He knew her and felt her. Although he was exiled for many years he breathed, as it is said, with the Russian spirit. When he was living in Cracow, some seven miles from the Russian border, he often rode to the border in order 'to swallow some Russian air'." (35) (For Zinoviev Russia is identical with Russian Empire-Editor).

Speaking about his new Russian elite, Lenin declared: "We are not against the defence of the fatherland in a truly national war." (36) Because he criticized tsarist and democratic policies as nationally treasonable and because he endeavoured first of all to capture the government powers, Lenin said:

"When we represented the oppressed class, we took the problem of the defence of the fatherland in imperialistic wars seriously — we denied such defence in principle. When we became the representatives of the ruling class which commenced to organize socialism, we demanded that everyone take national defence seriously." (37)

Expressing his position on the advance of British and Japanese forces into the territory of the former Russian empire, Lenin definitely had in mind the fate of his fatherland when he wrote:

"This enemy is attacking peaceable Russia... the British and Japanese are out not only to seize and plunder Russian territory but also to overthrow the Soviet government so as to 'restore the front'. i. e., once more to draw Russia into the imperialist (or more simply the predatory) war being waged by England against Germany... they want to enslave the Russian workers and peasants to Anglo-French capital..." (38)

After the November revolution, socialist fatherland and emancipated people were in Lenin's mind synonyms of Russia:

"To recognize defence of one's fatherland means recognizing the legitimacy and justice of war. Legitimacy and justice from what point of view? Only from the point

of view of the socialist proletariat and its struggle for emancipation . . . It is precisely in the interests of 'strengthening connections' with international socialism that we are *duty bound* to defend our *socialist* fatherland." (39)

Lenin judged the Brest-Litovsk Treaty rigorously on the basis of Russian national interests: "We are now signing a peace treaty, we have a respite, we are taking advantage of it to defend our fatherland better . . ." (40) On another occasion Lenin argued:

"Patriotism is one of the most deeply ingrained of sentiments, inculcated by the fact that separate fatherlands have existed for hundreds and thousands of years. One of the most pronounced, one might say exceptional, difficulties of our proletarian revolution is the fact that it was obliged to pass through a phase of extreme departure from patriotism, the phase of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk." (41)

Also Lenin's approach was national on the question of economic concessions in Russia to foreign states. When someone demanded that "Mother Russia" should not be sold "in concessions" Lenin replied:

"I greet such sentiments with joy; they are very widespread. . . . There can be no question but that we listen with the greatest attention to all such declarations; but we must say that there is no question of selling Russia to the capitalists." (42)

Lenin defended his regime with patriotic arguments against attacks by other Russian parties, arguing that his policy was the best national policy:

"The fact of world history demonstrated to the Russian patriots . . . that the transformation of our Russian revolution into a socialist revolution was not a dubious venture but a necessity, *for there was no other alternative*: Anglo-French and American imperialism would *inevitably* have destroyed the independence and freedom of Russia, if the world socialist revolution, world Bolshevism, had not triumphed." (43)

During the critical months of 1917 (before the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed) Russia was in danger of being overrun by the Germans. Lenin then turned to the na-

tional patriotic feelings of the Russians in order to mobilize forces for the defence of the fatherland and shouted defiance to all invaders:

"And we shall save Petrograd. The resources, both material and spiritual, for a truly revolutionary war in Russia are still immense; the chances are a hundred to one that the Germans will grant us at least an armistice. And to secure an armistice now would in itself mean beating the *whole world*." (44)

When the Bolsheviks achieved some successes in establishing their regime in Russia and in some non-Russian nations Zatonski spoke at the Tenth Party congress (1921):

"The fact that Russia had first entered on the road of the revolution, that Russia had transformed itself from a colony — an actual colony of Western Europe — into the centre of the world movement, this fact has filled with pride the hearts of those who had been connected with the Russian Revolution and engendered a peculiar Red Russian patriotism. And we now see how our comrades consider themselves with pride, and not without reason, as Russians, and at times even look upon themselves above all as Russians." (45)

Most Bolsheviks, as we see, thought and acted as Russian imperialists.

Lenin was proud that the two great Communists praised the Russian nation, thereby consciously admitting to be a Russian patriot: "it is quite natural that Marx and Engels would have had a fervent faith in the Russian revolution and its great world significance." (46) A. A. Troyanovsky stated, as we noted already, that "Lenin was not alien to the concept of national pride." (47)

Lenin's patriotism very often evolved into a hyper-chauvinism; Russians appeared to him superhuman with exceptional qualities:

"To the Russian proletariat much has been given. Nowhere on earth has the working class yet succeeded in developing as much revolutionary energy as in Russia. But to whom much has been given, of him much is demanded." (48)

Then he repeats with enthusiasm, "to whom much has been given, of him much is demanded. There is no other land on earth as free as Russia is now." (49) The grandeur of Russian achievements is in Lenin's terminology almost beyond description: "Humanity has not yet evolved and we do not as

yet know a type of government superior to and better than the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Agricultural Workers', and Soldiers' Deputies." (50) In this case chauvinism is bordering on psychopathy.

(to be continued)

Notes:

Introduction

1. "Rosiytske istoriyehne korinnia bolshevyzmu" in Ukraina proty Moskvyy, ZCh OUN, 1955, p. 103

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2. "Trade Unions and Mistakes of Trotsky", v. 9, p. 23
3. "Hannibals of Liberalism", v. 2, p. 210
4. *Ibidem*, p. 222
5. "Speech on the Agrarian Question", 1917, v. 6, p. 365
6. "On the Agricultural Question", 1917, v. 6, p. 370
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9. "Basic Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy" in The Soviet Union and World Problems, (lectures on the Harris Foundation), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1935, p. 7
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14. "Beginning of Revolution in Russia", 1905, v. 3, p. 292
15. "Draft of a Manifesto to the Peasantry from the Second All-Russian Congress of Peasants' Deputies", v. 6
16. "History of the Question of Dictatorship", 1920, v. 7, p. 255
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41. "Valuable Admissions by Pitirim Sorokin", 1918, v. 8, p. 146
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News And Views

"Unite For Freedom" Conference

A Conference, "Unite For Freedom", of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and of the Baltic Committee was held in Washington, D. C., on April 11, 1965.

Placing of the wreath by Prof. Birger Nerman and Dr. Arvo Horm at the monument of Taras Shevchenko in Washington, D. C., began the ceremony. Prof. Nerman, President of the Baltic Committee in Sweden spoke briefly about the historical relations of Ukraine with Sweden. Shevchenko, he said, is a great national hero of Ukraine. Born in serfdom, he gained his freedom and championed the cause of national freedom not only of Ukraine but of all the subjugated nations.

Congressman Michael A. Feighan welcomed our guests from Sweden. In his eloquent remarks, he said, that Moscow's colonial imperialism is the greatest danger which the Free World now is facing. This despotic system denies the basic freedom cherished by all mankind. It destroys individual liberty, charity, tolerance and brotherhood which governs the relations between nations. Pointing at the memorial statue of Shevchenko, the Congressman said that this poet and patriot of Ukraine was a unique champion of freedom for all men and national independence for all nations. By the power of his pen he rekindled the spirit of his people who rose against Russian colonial oppression. His poems awakened the other subjugated nations to fight for freedom against Russian tsarists, and now, Communist tyranny. Today, this memorial statue which stands in this citadel serves to remind us of the unending struggles of mankind to reject tyranny and oppression. It serves to remind all who visit our nation's Capitol that we share that fervent hope and pray that happy day may soon come.

The ceremony was attended by approximately one hundred people including re-

presentatives from the Moscow subjugated peoples: Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia and Turkistan. The Washington, D. C., delegation was headed by Col. William Rybak, Chairman of Washington Chapter of Ukrainian Congress Committee, Dr. M. Kushnir and Mr. W. Mayevsky represented the Ukrainian Liberation Front. Mr. T. Caryk, Secretary of AF ABN in Washington, D. C., was master of ceremonies.

Shortly after this ceremony the "Unite For Freedom" Conference began in the Scandinavian Suite of the International Inn.

The Conference was opened by Mr. S. Boychuk, Chairman of the Preparation Committee who introduced the welcoming address which was delivered by Mr. M. Dankevych, Chairman of AF ABN in Washington, D. C. He thanked our guests from Sweden for their help and for the field of action the Baltic Committee in Sweden has given to Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of the ABN, during Khrushchov's visit to Sweden in June 1964.

What Russia fears most, he said, is the unity of the freedom-loving peoples in the struggle against Russian invaders. The Russian colonial empire appears strong and powerful, while the forces of the subjugated peoples seem small in comparison; but the force represented by the unity of freedom-loving peoples has proved to be history's invincible force, and it will happen again, he concluded.

Prof. Birger Nerman spoke on the cultural and economic ties which exist between the Swedish and Ukrainian nations. These ties which have existed for centuries were broken only after the Russian occupation of Ukraine. Two hundred and fifty years ago the heroic King of the Swedes, Charles XII, and Hetman of Ukraine, Ivan Mazepa, led joint forces to defend their nations' right and national independence. Recently this spirit of the alliance of Mazepa

and Charles XII has been resurrected during Khrushchov's visit to Scandinavia. Now, for over 150 years, Sweden has been neutral, but in its heart, Sweden is with the Western democracies. At present, Sweden gives refuge to ten thousand Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians and Hungarians who have found a new home in Sweden.

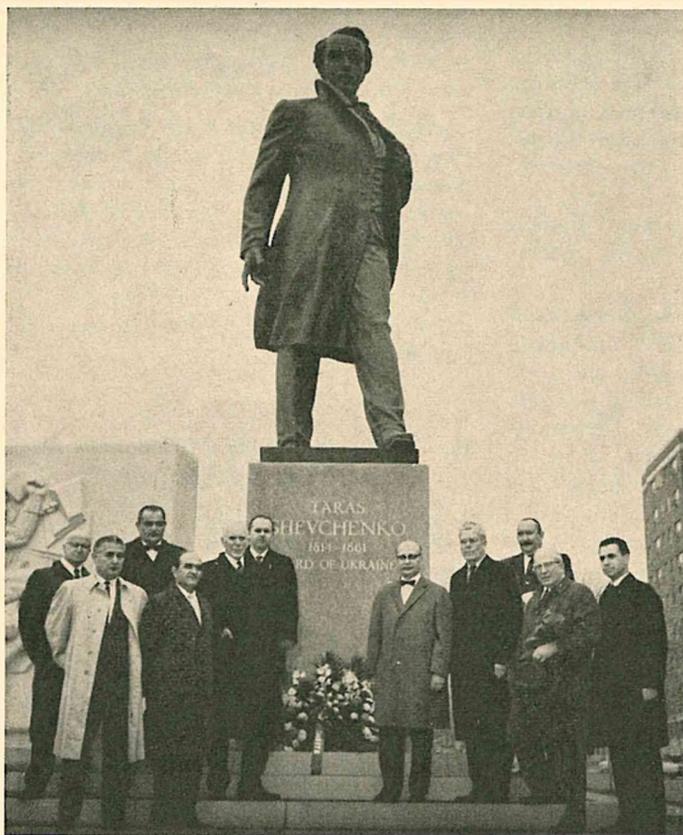
Dr. Arvo Horm, Secretary General of the Baltic Committee, spoke on the anti-Soviet Russian activities of the Baltic Committee in Sweden. To counteract Khrushchov's visit to Scandinavian countries, the June Committee was organized by leading members of Sweden's political and public life together with the National Committee of the Baltic peoples, among whom the Estonians are most strongly represented. Similar organizations were formed in Norway and Denmark. Representatives of youth organizations were asked to cooper-

ate with the June Committee, and these youth organizations gave praiseworthy attestation of their capacity and demonstrated a militant and aggressive spirit.

During the night before Khrushchov's arrival, Swedish and Estonian youth distributed masses of leaflets in the streets. Books, brochures and ABN's appeal to the Scandinavian peoples were also distributed.

Each day of Khrushchov's presence in Stockholm, the June Committee arranged a press conference. The ABN representatives, President Yaroslav Stetzko, Mrs. Slava Stetzko and Prince Niko Nakashidze were invited by the June Committee to Sweden. The result of their anti-Khrushchov activities was stimulating. The anti-Khrushchov campaign in Scandinavian countries returned world wide echoes. Even the Soviet press wrote about ABN's action in Sweden.

Now the Baltic Committee in Sweden is preparing itself for a long-range goal. In



Representatives to the "Unite for Freedom" Conference at the monument of Taras Shevchenko after the Swedish guests had placed their wreath. Standing from left to right:

J. Umash-North Caucasus, E. Shermet - Turkestan, M. Turkekul and S. Selchuk - Azerbaijan, Professor B. Nerman - Sweden, M. Dankevych - Ukraine, Dr. A. Horm - Estonia, M. A. Feighan, U.S. Congressman, Col. W. Rybak-USA, Dr. E. O'Connor-USA, T. Caryk - Ukraine.

the very near future, Scandinavia will become a citadel to oppose Russian colonial imperialism.

Dr. Edward O'Connor, former U.S. Commissioner of Displaced Persons, who also spoke at the Shevchenko monument, pointed out that Russian dreams of expansion and hegemony are not the creation of Communism but a typical Russian phenomenon. Russian history is a long chain of conquests and subjugations; not one nation even voluntarily assumed the Russian yoke. World-wide Communism is merely the shield and vehicle of Russian colonial imperialism.

World War II is not yet over. It has only passed into the stage of a "cold war", by means of which Soviet Russia extends its position in the drive for world domination. Moscow appears before the colonial and half-colonial peoples in Asia and Africa who are ready to fight for their just claim to national independence, as a final "national liberator". These weapons ought to be used against Russia and this could be done most successfully by the oppressed nations. These peoples oppressed by the so-called Soviet Union must be supported in their fight for freedom, all the more because their desire for freedom is the invincible force.

At the end of the meeting the Conference "Unite For Freedom" adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS the Russian Bolsheviks came into power in Moscow in 1917 and thereafter seized power by deception and force in those formerly independent nations, among which are: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasia, Siberia, Turkestan and Ukraine, and

WHEREAS, following World War II the Russian Bolsheviks extended their power by the same ruthless means into the nations of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, East Germany, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia and also into the China mainland, North Korea, North Vietnam, and, most recently, into Cuba; and

WHEREAS, the people of the non-Russian nations in the so-called USSR, who

comprise the large majority of the peoples of the USSR, are overwhelmingly opposed to Soviet Russian colonialism and desire the restoration of their national independence, and thus constitute a powerful force against any effort of Moscow to win her war against the United States and other free nations;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this Conference, "Unite For Freedom", support the revolutionary liberation struggle of those peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba who have been subjugated by Soviet Russian colonialism and who are now fighting for the restoration of their national independence and for the destruction of the Communist system; advocate the disintegration of the Soviet Russian colonial empire into national, independent democratic states of those formerly subjugated peoples; appeal to the nations of the Free World to give wholehearted active support, including military support, to the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain, as possible alternative to a nuclear war;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this Conference, "Unite For Freedom", pledge its cooperation and promise its mutual assistance in the struggle for the liberation of our countries; and call upon all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world to unite forces in common effort to overcome the menace of Russian imperialism and Communism.

Mr. Star Leader of the Parliamentary Conservative Faction in Canada

The Leader of the Opposition in the Canadian parliament, John Diefenbaker, has announced that Mr. Michael Star, who is of Ukrainian origin, and was Minister of Labour in the last Conservative government in Ottawa, has become Leader of the parliamentary Conservative faction in the Federal Canadian Parliament. Mr. Star replaces Gordon Churchill, former Minister of Trade in John Diefenbaker's Conservative government, who has held this position until now.

From Letters To ABN:

Taipei, March 26, 1965

Dear Mr. Stetzko:

It was a great pleasure to me to renew our friendship during your welcome presence here last November.

We are very happy to note that over the past years, our two organizations have been united more closely in a ceaseless effort to achieve our common objective. This unity of ours not only has increasingly intensified our movement in support of captive nations' and peoples' struggle for national independence and freedom, but has also developed the movement into a global one. It is our firm belief that the day of our recovery of the Chinese Mainland will also be the day when Ukraine is liberated.

We thank you for informing us of the Chinese Communist intrigue against the Ukrainian people. In the forthcoming Rally, in July, 1965 in Taipei in commemoration of the CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, we shall make known our opinion in the Declaration thereof, reasserting our determined stand in support of Ukraine and other captive nations in their struggle for national independence.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
Ku Cheng-kang, President
APACLROC

ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE

P. O. Box 181,

50, Jorbagh, New Delhi-3, India

April 23, 1965

Dear Mr. Stetzko:

Thank you very much for your letter of April 1 authorising me to represent ABN in India. In fact, I have been looking forward to this opportunity for quite some time. I can assure you that with your cooperation and blessings, I shall be able to discharge my work to your satisfaction. . . .

Yours sincerely,
(Rama Swarup)

Congratulations on your splendid current issue and on your coverage of so many important and complex international problems.

We particularly liked the illustration on the front cover, and the forthright and challenging article by Dr. D. Donzow, "UN, USSR, ABN". We concur with your appraisal of the "United" Nations.

Again — congratulations on your important work. We hope and pray for its continued success. We believe ABN and the American Friends of ABN are destined to become a leading force in the international crusade for freedom from the real imperialist aggressors!

Cordially yours,

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICA
by: John K. Crippen, Exec. Secy.

For Slovakian Independence

*Excerpts from Articles by Ed. Delaney
printed in the North Hollywood Valley
Times and Citizen News, Los Angeles,
March 13, 1965*

Twenty-six years ago, on March 14, 1939, the Slovak Parliament in Bratislava, elected in accordance with the Czecho-Slovak constitution, unanimously proclaimed the independence of the Slovak Republic. In March, 1939, there was no war in Europe and none was imminent. Practically all European countries recognized the new republic and established diplomatic or consular relations with it, including our wartime allies, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. It may be mentioned that the Soviet Union had approximately 200 people attached to its embassy in Bratislava. Other countries could operate with 10 or 12 persons. But undoubtedly large staffs are needed for propaganda, subversion and espionage.

During World War II, when a large part of Europe was plagued by want, Slovakia was an oasis of peace, prosperity and plenty. Diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union had been severed. But in mid-1944, emissaries of Moscow made overtures to Slovakia's president, Msgr. Josef Tiso, to his premier, also the former foreign minister, suggesting a "peaceful" invasion and renewed recognition of the republic. The president and government officials would remain as figureheads, under the dictatorship of the Kremlin.

In August, 1944, Soviet paratroopers, in collusion with a few Slovak Communists, instigated armed conflict in north-central Slovakia for the purpose of bringing intervention by Germany. It did. The Communists were routed. Following World War II armistice, May 1945, against the will of the people, Slovakia was again merged into the Soviet-Russian colony known as Czecho-slovakia.

President Tiso and cabinet ministers had sought asylum in the American occupied part of Austria. A document duly signed by a U.S. general and other officers purported to grant that asylum. Some weeks later, in deference to Communist demands,

the American officials, in flagrant violation of an agreement and international tenets, handed those Slovaks over to the Communists.

New York Journal About S. Bandera

The Soviet assassination of Ukrainian freedom fighter Stepan Bandera, a book that has been written about it and the elevation in the Soviet hierarchy of its chief perpetrator — these three developments are "having an abrasive effect in Europe, especially in Ukraine", according to feature writer Guy Richards (*New York Journal-American*, February 6, 1965).

This trinity — a murder, a book and a high promotion, he writes, has relit the fuse of freedom in Ukraine.

Bandera, he notes, was a Ukrainian hero — "a white flame of the nationalist movement". The book about his murder is entitled, *Political Assassination*, by a West German, Hermann Raschofer, who writes that the murder caused the CIA to re-investigate the death of 150 politicians who appeared to have died naturally. The murder weapon, a cyanide-discharging pistol, left its human target the apparent victim of a heart attack.

Mr. Richards writes that this account of Bandera's extermination and of the projected quick follow-up murder of Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations headquartered in Munich, "is gaining a prairie-fire readership among those anxious to find the real face of the Kremlin under the smiling facade."

The man who helped plan the murder, and who has since risen from KGB boss to deputy premier of the USSR, is Aleksander N. Shelepin.

Mr. Richards notes the impact made by Bandera's murder and its development "on the more than 2 million Americans of Ukrainian descent who seem to know very well what it means when political assassination is as firmly entrenched in Russian policy as Social Security is in American policy."

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Ukraine And Other Subjugated Peoples Fight Against Russia

A general analysis of the situation in Ukraine leads undeniably to the conclusion that the further the processes of development go in this country, the more disadvantageous they are proving for the red Russians. Many causes have contributed to this. The natural development of every dictatorship indicates that on the death of the dictator the system of dictatorship itself becomes noticeably weaker. The Bolshevik Russian Imperium after Stalin is *eo ipso* no exception to this historical law of nature. The new collective leadership, has been compelled, whether it has liked it or not, to give up many of Stalin's methods of terror, and even to condemn them; the inevitable consequence of this will be a strengthening of the power of the national opposition in Ukraine, which was decimated in Stalin's time.

This means an improvement, which should not be underestimated, in the conditions of the national liberation struggle. We are the eye-witnesses of a slow and yet irresistible process whereby year after year more and more new cadres of the younger generation in Ukraine are coming forward and standing up to Moscow's Russianization measures, for these have also remained the same in the post-Stalin era.

Nowadays it is rather difficult to estimate accurately how much the strength of the national resistance in Ukraine is growing. Nevertheless one may conclude from a good many signs of national resistance (even if they are somewhat superficial), especially in literature, that in general it is growing, and mainly with the support of the activities of Ukrainian young people. This is of course quite natural, firstly because the young always react to events in the life of the nation with far more energy than the older generation, and secondly because the present younger generation has no first-hand knowledge of the terrible period of the Stalinist terror, which has had a crippling effect on the wills of many older people right up to the present.

As is usually the case, the main struggle is taking its course on the cultural field. The Party leaders since Stalin have made use of Stalin's "accomplishments" in the field of national policy to develop further those broadly planned theoretical and practical activities which aim at the liquidation of the national entities of all the non-Russian peoples in the foreseeable future. But these measures have met with a sharp reaction on the part of active national elements not only in Ukraine but in the other non-Russian republics of the USSR. This reaction has been expressed not so much in protests, which are still dangerous in the post-Stalin "democracy" (this is confirmed by the shooting of a group of jurists from Kyiv and Lviv who were planning a protest demonstration before the Supreme Soviet and the United Nations against the subjugation of Ukraine by Russia), but rather by an intensification of activity in all sectors of daily life. The younger generation of Ukrainian artists, especially the writers, is expressing this reaction in the shape of rebellious creations saturated with patriotism, which of course remain

unprinted, but nevertheless pass from hand to hand in duplicated form and are read as "breast-pocket literature".

This artistic underground literature is now being complemented by political underground literature. This includes a document about the fire in the National Library in Kyiv, with which its Russian occupants deliberately burnt some irreplaceable documents connected with the latest Ukrainian freedom movement. Many copies of this are circulating throughout the whole of Ukraine. An exact analysis of this document shows that the anti-regime mood is spreading from the cultural sector onto a broader political platform — which again indicates that anti-Russian political activity is unquestionably becoming more lively. Naturally this process is taking place rather slowly, but there can be no doubt about the fact that the ousting of Khrushchov and his half-dictatorship, or — one could almost put it this way — a caricature of Stalin's dictatorship, will bring with it a strengthening of the political opposition in Ukraine.

What rôle do the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Government in Kyiv and the leadership of the Communist Party of Ukraine play in this process? We believe that those who think they can detect some signs of opposition to Moscow on the bureaucratic level of the Party are making a big mistake. For the rôle which Podgorny, who was at one time First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, is playing in the political life of Moscow, and the appointment of Shelest as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, indicates that Moscow has complete confidence in these men and that they are indifferent towards the problems of Ukraine. These men are Ukrainians only by ancestry. They have devoted their whole being to the building up of the Soviet Russian Imperium and would never have raised a single protest against Russia's policy of melting the nations together, least of all to meet their "international" obligations. On the contrary they make every effort in the direction of Russia's policy of assimilation.

It is doubtful whether the leaders of the entire state apparatus in Ukraine — who are party-members — bother their heads very much about the interests of the Ukrainian people or their culture. If this were not the case, then those who do trouble about Ukrainian culture would never come up against such difficulties in the course of their activities. It would not be necessary to fight for the increasing of otherwise reduced editions of Ukrainian books, nor would the leading administrative positions of publishing houses be adorned with Russifiers who sabotage Ukrainian culture.

Of course, this does not apply to the masses of average, less influential Party-members in Ukraine, who very often assist Ukraine's cultural development. All the same, Party men in general, especially at higher levels, take a negative or neutral attitude towards Ukrainian resistance. In fact they obstruct every step in the process of Ukrainian cultural development, either of their own accord or on secret orders from Moscow. From what has been mentioned it is clear that at present the activities of the political and cultural elements in Ukraine are taking place in opposition to the will of Party agents as well as to the interests of the party politics pursued by Moscow. This is in fact a struggle between two totally opposed forces.

The process of activating national life in Ukraine can be looked at only from

one point of view — as the opposition between two poles. On the one hand is the pole of Ukrainian activism, driving towards Ukrainian independence; on the other the pole of Soviet Russian Imperialism, in the context of which the upper layers of the Communist Party in Ukraine obey instructions from Moscow.

We do not wish to make any forecasts about future developments in Soviet Ukraine. The last decade in any case indicates that the forces of imperialism have come under sharp attack by nationalist forces, and that nationalist forces both in Ukraine and in the other non-Russian republics are in the process of growing stronger and stronger. If future developments follow the same lines (provided, of course, that the Soviet regime does not return to methods of mass terror, which the prevailing situation today renders rather difficult to judge), then coming years are bound to bring a further weakening of Russian domination in Ukraine and a strengthening and activation of the liberation movement.

Crimes And Lies Alternate

The fire in the library of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, which broke out on 23rd May 1964, and raged for several days, had its judicial sequel recently. The circumstances of the arson, the attempts to keep it secret and finally the judicial proceedings are very reminiscent of the notorious fire in the German Parliament (Reichstag) in Berlin.

At first, the Russians claimed that an "insane" woman had started the fire. Then the Soviet press gave all kinds of details about the person, the date and place where the trial took place. Finally it clearly emerged at this trial that the arson had been carefully prepared.

The Secretary-General of UNESCO threw a little light on this dark affair. The legal proceedings against the arsonist, whose name was Progrushalsky, were held in Kyiv in September, 1964. The accused and the witnesses received strict instructions from the KGB (the Soviet Russian State Security Service) to give their testimony in such a way that the identity of the criminal would remain unknown outside Moscow. The court forbade all those present to make any notes in the course of the proceedings whatsoever.

The Communists tried to depict the accused, Progrushalsky, who was a graduate of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and had studied at two other universities, as a

man of weak character who led an amoral life. He defended himself boldly and cynically, confessing that with the arson in the library in Kyiv he had merely done on a large scale what others had been doing earlier on a smaller scale.

He described in detail before the court how Ukrainian books had been constantly taken away from the Ukrainian Department of the Kyiv Library or destroyed on the spot, because the Russians considered them "ideologically and scientifically" antiquated.

Priceless works of Ukrainian culture, rare editions and archives were lost in the fire. Among them were the notes of the writer Borys Hrinchenko, the records of the periodical *Kyivska Staryna* (Kyiv Antiquity), the records of the Ukrainian Central Council, valuable collections of Ukrainian literature since the beginning of the thirties, altogether over 600,000 volumes.

The legal proceedings produced incontestable proof that the arson had been planned and prepared well in advance. The arsonist himself was only a figure-head. Special containers with inflammable material were piled up one after another on the book-shelves. They exploded in stages and hastened the conflagration. Moreover, the fire hydrants proved out of order and the fire-brigade found no reason to hurry.

All this, and the fact that the very department in which the records of the most recent history of Ukraine were kept was destroyed in the fire, provides overwhelming proof that the crime was planned and executed by Moscow.

Moreover, the Moscow libraries are equipped with apparatus which gives timely warning of a fire danger but not those in Kyiv, for such an installation would be too costly for a Muscovite colony.

Revolutionary Activities

We record below a series of events in the USSR which point unambiguously to revolutionary underground activities on the part of the subjugated peoples.

The Minister of the Ukrainian SSR who is charged with the preservation of "public order", in other words with the administration of the KGB, the secret police, General Holovchenkov, has complained in the columns of "Izvestia" and "Komsomolska Pravda" that there have been more and more cases of "scoundrels" and "forest bandits" disarming the secretaries of area committees, officers, lawyers, members of the militia, and secret police personnel. But these "forest bandits" do not limit their activities to disarming passers-by — they also pilfer weapons from the individual departments of the DTSAAF (The Voluntary Association for the Promotion of the Army, the Air Force, and the Navy — i. e. a paramilitary organization) and disarm the armed guards of industrial establishments and administrative authorities, and even pilfer weapons from military depots.

On 6th September 1964 "Krasnaya Zvezda" ("The Red Star"), the organ of the Soviet Army, reported in a long article another dangerous case in the North Caucasus. After this a court case was conducted in which several people were accused. Only two names were published in connection with this — Kazumbek Kazumbekov and his brother Mohamedrazul Kazumbekov. The court case accusing these people took place in Dagestan.

The accusation alleged that Kazumbek Kazumbekov and his accomplices attempt-

The arsonist was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Certainly a slight penalty when one remembers that in the Soviet Union even the death penalty is imposed and carried out for trivial economic transgressions. Whether Pogrushalsky will serve the sentence at all is more than questionable. Perhaps he will even receive a decoration secretly, like the assassin Stashynsky? It is not only possible but even very probable.

ed to enlist the chauffeur Alikapachev into their "gang". Since however he refused to do this, he was, it was said, simply liquidated.

The case took eighteen days. The judges returned from their consultation and were about to announce their verdict. But they had only got as far as the opening words, "In the name of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic..." when the silence in the room was broken by a shrill cry:

"Kazumbek!"

This shout came from someone among those of the public who were present. At this signal about 15 people jumped over the barriers onto the rostrum where the case was being conducted, holding daggers in their hands.

"Malyshkin, get the accused out through the back doors!" shouted the commandant of the accompanying KGB unit. Events followed each other like lightning. A bitter struggle broke out on the platform. Someone overcame Piechalnikov, one of the soldiers and snatched his pistol from him as he lay on the floor. Another soldier, Petrov, hastened to his aid, but a dagger whizzed over his head at this moment, and was followed by several shots.

The article closes this description as follows: "The heroic resistance of the KGB unit made it possible to gain the necessary time. While the unequal struggle continued, armed KGB units came to the rescue. None of the accused managed to escape."

In this article there are many points which are not clear; much is hushed up with

vague hints. The accused were described as "bandits", but what sort of a "gang" was this? As should be known, political prisoners are branded criminals in the USSR.

It is symptomatic that the case lasted a full fifteen days. The unusual length of the case suggests that political detainees were being sentenced, as criminal cases are disposed of in three to five days at the most.

It is remarkable that there is no word about what happened to the judges, the public prosecutor, and the clerk of the court. Were they not killed during the bloody fighting? It should also be known that during important trials there are always members of the secret police present in plain clothes in the court-room. But this isn't mentioned in the article! The battle only came to an end when the Russian police had appeared on the scene of battle. It is clear from the article that during the reading of the verdict a fighting group from the anti-Russian National Liberation Organization of Dagestan became involved in a bitter struggle with representatives of the government and the soldiers of the secret police who were called on to the scene. But

in any case this was a nationalist fighting unit of the North Caucasus. It must be underlined at this point that there are no known cases of active resistance by Russians to the Soviet Russian regime on purely Russian ethnographic territory. Even the Russian chauvinist emigrés cannot give evidence of similar cases.

Of course, there are individuals and groups among the Russians who are dissatisfied with various government measures. But this dissatisfaction is in no way of a nationalist political nature; it is concerned far more with social measures: — someone has been refused a flat in a new block; shoes have been badly repaired; wages have been held up, etc..

Over against this is the resistance of the non-Russian peoples to their enslavement by Soviet Russia, resistance which is of a national political nature. The object of this resistance is above all the liberation of the non-Russian "Union Republics" from Russia together with the right to lead an independent national existence in national states of their own.

The results of coexistence with militant atheism

For some time now there has been an "atheistic offensive" in action in the Soviet Union, whose dimensions far surpass those of the anti-religious campaigns of earlier years.

The goal of the ideological struggle in the USSR is the same as it always has been — the elimination of every kind of belief in God by "insight" into the laws of the development of "being", according to the information sheet of the Soviet embassy in Bonn, "Sowjetunion heute" ("The Soviet Union Today").

This elimination of religious relics is assisted by atheistic publications, talks, films, exhibitions, university lectures, and courses, which surpass in number all that has been done in this field before.

In spite of everything the Soviet press complains again and again about the lack of success of this antireligious propaganda.

The methods in the Soviet campaign are

somewhat primitive. It is asserted again and again that it has not been possible to prove by scientific means that Jesus Christ ever existed on Earth — the most recent of these statements appeared in the newspaper put out by the Ministry of Transport, "Gudok". "When the conclusions of science are finally recognized, then belief in the founder of Christianity will collapse."

According to the magazine "Soviet Military Service and Religion", the aims of the Church are identical with those of the Capitalist state. For this reason religious enthusiasm "is always directed into suitable military channels".

The "Atheist's Diary" receives wide circulation.

The diary gives practical suggestions as to how to lead religious communities, clergymen, and religious doctrines in the direction of absurdity. Atheist propagand-

dists are instructed in the "form and methods of scientific agitation" by the diary.

The atheist film, "The Abyss", contributes to the "exposure" of religious communities; it has been shown all over the Soviet Union. According to the magazine "Radyanska Ukraina" ("Soviet Ukraine"), public "discussions" between atheists and believers have proved themselves as a new form of propaganda.

The paper "Komunist Uzbekistana" ("Communist of Uzbekistan") reports with approval that there has been a sharp rise in the number of anti-religious films, lectures and broadcasts in Uzbekistan, the biggest of the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

According to the same paper the atheist museum and "House of Scientific Atheism" have become bulwarks of anti-religious propaganda.

In Uzbekistan alone last year there appeared 40 anti-religious magazines.

Anti-religious agitation is particularly strong in universities and colleges. Only recently a so-called atheists' chamber was established in the Medical Faculty of the University of Ivano-Frankivsk, which is to educate the medical students in the spirit of atheism. The chamber is used for atheist exhibitions and atheist propaganda purposes.

Courses on "Fundamental Knowledge of Scientific Atheism" have been introduced this year as part of the compulsory curriculum at all Soviet universities, colleges, and teacher-training institutions.

The Soviet press itself reports that the atheist campaign is meeting with moderate success, but writes over and over again of the difficulties of eliminating the "relics of religion".

The monthly, "Social Life", protests against the fact that even Communists have icons standing in their houses, and points out that it is the duty of every Communist to make his relatives aware of the "harm" done by religion.

"Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" ("Kazakhstanian Truth") is critical of the fact that religion is still practiced in some areas "as if the revolution never took place".

Among the places quoted in this connec-

tion is also the town of Htsatsyk, which "must be helped" to master religion, and among the successes mentioned is the foundation of eleven People's Universities for Atheism in Armenia.

The great number of believers who resist all atheist propaganda has already led to a systematic investigation by the Atheism Department of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine into the reasons why believers stick to religion.

"Sociological research into the relics of religion" has yielded the following results, according to "Pravda Ukrainy" ("Truth of Ukraine"): 22 per cent become religious through their upbringing, 13 per cent on account of some personal suffering, 33 per cent through the "agitation" of the Church, and 21 per cent as a result of their "search for truth" 11 per cent didn't know why they belonged to a religious denomination.

Systematic attempts are being made in the schools to destroy religious attitudes through "progressive" discoveries in the field of Biology. The Soviet astronauts have "proved" that there can be no God: they didn't meet Him in space! . . .

The "greatness and dignity" of the socialist "substitute sacraments" is being drummed into the children's heads: name-giving, the consecration of the young, marriage, etc..

Isn't Christian Baptism superfluous? Why still Confirmation? What importance do the Christian sacraments have in a man's life?

If we are to try and judge the results of destalinization, we must bear in mind that there have been no concessions within the last decade with regard to the relationship of the Soviet Communist Party to the Church and religion.

In fact one comes to realize that in the post-Stalin era a much more intense, more comprehensive, and subtler fight against religion has been evolved. One of the first measures taken by the then new Party chief, Khrushchov, was the signing in 1954 of a Party directive that atheistic propaganda should be improved.

In 1959 a new persecution campaign began. Steps were taken against the Church

with a force unknown until then and new methods were employed.

In the last 12 years there has been no real improvement in Church-State relations in any of the Communist states. Measures against religion and the Church have remained unmoderated, and at times have been considerably intensified.

Even where agreements have been reached between Church and State, the Communists have not kept to the agreements. Social forces controlled by the Communist Party, but not bound by agreements between Church and State, have continued the fight with increased vigour and more varied methods.

The strengthened socialist educational system, which includes atheistic influences, has been firmly established by new laws and regulations.

The believer in God must recognize that destalinization, according to the wishes of the Communist leaders, is to lead to a strengthening of Communism, not to a weakening of it.

It is not the aim of destalinization to give up doctrines or to renounce positions of power, but to employ the doctrines more purposefully, in a manner more appropriate to new conditions, and to use power more elastically.

There are scarcely any preliminaries to a real revision of doctrine to be seen, even though pragmatic attitudes are sometimes visible on questions about this or that aspect of the doctrines.

Adherence to doctrine is to be observed most clearly in the attitude towards the Church and religion, which is as hostile as ever. There has been no real alleviation during the destalinization period with regard to this point, with all the significance which it has for the believer.

The idea of peaceful coexistence does not apply — as the Communist leaders have repeatedly underlined with intensified propaganda — in the field of ideology.

They still regard the combating of all non-Communist ideas, and religion is seen as the toughest, as one of their most important tasks, just as they always have done.

Ukrainian Catholics arrested in Lviv

As we reported recently, the persecution of Catholic clergy has begun in Lviv, the West Ukrainian capital.

The two Ukrainian priests who have been arrested, Ivan Soltys and Roman Hotra, are being accused of "illegal religious activity". This charge has also been brought against four Ukrainian nuns belonging to the Order of the Sacred Virgin Mary and the Order of St. Vincent, as well as several Catholic laymen, in all cases by the Soviet Russian Secret Police. Altogether the Russian occupation authorities have arrested twenty persons in Lviv and sentenced them to deportation to Russian concentration camps in Siberia.

And this is supposed to be religious freedom in the USSR and a successful result of talks between the Vatican and Moscow!

The Russian Bolsheviks have ordered the arrest of 125 monks from the West Ukrainian monastery in Pochayiv and their transfer to a lunatic asylum. There are now only 25 monks left in the famous Pochayiv Lavra (Monastery). The diocanery directed against the Pochayiv monks started in August, 1962, and the only reason given for it is "religious fanaticism".

Four thousand condemned to death for economic offences in the Soviet Union.

Far more people have been condemned to death for economic offences than one generally assumes and than the Soviet press gives one to believe. Some four thousand death sentences have been passed and many thousands of citizens have come off with lesser punishments. The Yiddish Communist newspaper "Morgenfreiheit" (Morning Freedom) says in a report from Moscow that death sentences for economic offences have never made up more than a tenth of a per cent of those found guilty. Jewish sources have composed a list of some two hundred people who have been condemned to death for economic offences within the last six months. The Soviet press has reported the execution of about forty of these, but it is known that many of them were shot without publicity. About 60 per cent of those involved in these trials are Jews.



**The Russian Prison of Nations burst into flames under the blows
of the national liberation revolutions**

Woodcut by Nil Khasevych-artist of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Hungary - October 1956

Days Of Victory In The Revolution



Heroic insurgents drive out the Russian invaders from their native soil.

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KGB Strives For Complete Control

A new generation, born during the Bolshevik revolution, is reaching for the reins of leadership in the USSR. Headed by Shelepin, it is a fanatical proponent of the messianic vision of the Russian nation, dedicated to the idea of the "third Rome" — a world-wide empire designed according to the Communism of Lenin. Desirous to extend the frontiers of the empire inside the free world, it cannot regard coexistence as a worthwhile purpose in this thermonuclear period of history.

In the light of this threat the U.S. government must review the premises of its foreign policy, particularly those that concern the Russian empire. An analysis of current events in the Soviet Union yields the conclusion that the KGB-CheKa will soon monopolize power. Prominent members of the CheKa are being rehabilitated, Dzerzinskiy glorified, and the press features stories depicting the heroism of CheKa members. To quote only one example, in a recent issue of *Radyanska Ukraina* (19. VI. 1965) the chief of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR, B. Nikitchenko, exalting the role of the CheKa in establishing the Soviet form of government, admits that today its members penetrate all cultural, economic, military and administrative activities with the purpose of making them instruments of the state. This hated secret police has continually been changing its name in the hope of deluding the public. Thus there followed in succession: CheKa, GPU, NKVD, MVD, NKGB, MGB, to the present-day KGB. Yet the essential nature of the organization has remained the same. In the years following Beria's liquidation, the curtailing of the KGB's capacities considerably weakened the regime, and here lies the real reason for the current ideological rehabilitation of the CheKa. Now it will be the function of the KGB to subjugate the fighting spirit of the enslaved nations, which — paradoxically — is particularly strong in the young generation. But this could not be done using the instruments of Stalin's GPU-NKVD-MVD, too recently condemned as products of anarchy; it is best to return to the master (Lenin) himself and his "lord executor" Dzerzinskiy. Thus, embellished by fresh lies, the CheKa is cast as a model of revolutionary justice and motive force.

Several aspects of the present political situation in the USSR are especially worth noting. Firstly, the reins are being tightened to prevent the collapse of the empire. This is being accomplished through the revival of the unsurpassed machinery of the terror designed by the "great" Lenin and the "ascetic" Robespierre of the empire, Dzerzinskiy, thrice damned by the enslaved. The aim is to restore the KGB to its position of authority and complete control. Secondly, Shelepin, the chief of the KGB, is heading for the throne. The way must be prepared for him ideologically as well as politically. More and more yarns are spun to make the connection between his organization and its prototype, the CheKa, stronger. Thirdly, a new Russian generation is providing the change of guard for the no less criminal, yet outdated and lacking-momentum generation of seventy-year olds. The message of this new elite is addressed to the Russian nation which alone can respond to the ideals of Russian chauvinism, visions of new conquests, a new form of messianic "nationalism". For the non-Russian

nations terror seems to be the only way: the ideals of international Communism no longer have the power to capture even the most naive mercenaries into the sphere of Russian leadership. The rehabilitation of the CheKa is thus a logical consequence. Fourthly, the new Russian elite can hardly justify its position internally by imposing Russian rule and the Russian way of life on the enslaved nations. Therefore, one should expect increased aggression outside the USSR. This aggression may manifest itself in various forms, such as peripheral wars, civil strifes, class struggles, as well as new methods, as yet untried. The declared policy of "peaceful coexistence" will be accompanied by an expansion of Russian influence abroad through multi-stage Communist take-overs of free countries.

Shelepin appears as the main spokesman for this policy. His seizure of power is being carefully prepared with a view to assuring smoothness and continuity of events.*) Should, then, the USA remain a silent bystander in these processes or should it take the initiative and proclaim a new policy, different from the imaginary peaceful coexistence? Truly imaginary has been this policy, allowing Moscow to broaden its sphere of influence not merely ideologically, but factually, as in Cuba.

One of the means of enlightening the public with regard to developments in the USSR and discrediting the actions of the Kremlin is suggested by the murders of Stefan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet, a Ukrainian writer. Both crimes were organized by Shelepin, acting in his capacity as chief of the KGB. Now, over Bandera's dead body, Shelepin is reaching for power. But to the majority of the Russian elite the head of Bandera is worth more than the disgrace of the unmasked criminal. And so, the time is ripe for the U.S. Senate Subcommittee for Internal Security to investigate and condemn these secretly committed murders ordered and organized by Shelepin. Such was the verdict of the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany. Moreover, there are definite indications that Shelepin also bears the guilt for the murder of President Kennedy. Is this not sufficient reason to open a public investigation in the US Senate, to release the evidence, and make known the criminal while he is still climbing to power in the USSR? Would it not be wise to put his criminal activities before the UN Security Council? This case clearly represents a violation of German sovereignty by the USSR government, and hence falls under the jurisdiction of the UN Security Council. Furthermore, the case also belongs on the agenda of the UN Committee on Colonialism by virtue of the fact that Bandera was killed as a fighter against Russian colonialism, a fighter for human rights and the freedom of his nation. Does it make sense to investigate the vestiges of British or Belgian colonialism while completely bypassing the Russian? Why had the Security Council the right to investigate the murder of Lumumba or the kidnapping of Eichmann, the mass murderer of innocent Jews, but seems to lack the courage to look into the murders planned and ordered by the USSR government and executed on German soil? Does this not disturb German sovereignty and endanger its peace and safety? Why doesn't Germany, the USA, or Canada appeal to the International Court in The Hague? Aren't these countries, all members of NATO, mutually obliged to defend their sovereignty? And what about the responsibility to rid the world of the criminal

*) See "The Fall of the Tyrant", ABN Correspondence, Oct. 1964

whom tomorrow may find in a position of authority, a partner in international negotiations?

Shelepin is not without enemies among those reaching for the throne of Stalin. Although pointing out his murders will not discredit him in their eyes, the fact that he allowed himself to be unmasked at Karlsruhe most certainly will. His colleagues will never forget or forgive this lack of foresight and incompetence as a gangster, just as they have not forgiven Stalin's being caught off guard by Hitler in 1941. Finally a disclosure of Shelepin's crimes, proven by the Supreme Court of the Federal Republic of Germany, would help the developing nations see the true face of Communism and their Moscow "protectors". S. S.

Our Predictions

A dictatorship has ever been an inevitable appearance in Russian history and its imperium. To this day, Russia has never had a democratic government and it will never have one under any form of Communism. For the time being, the imperium can be held together only by the use of terror and tyranny. An oligarchy of tyranny must of necessity devolve into the autocracy of one man. This is the law of the imperium of yesterday and of today. It is embodied in the Russian people, who as a myth, need a tsar, a Peter, a Catherine, a Nicholas, a Lenin, a Stalin, a Khrushchov, a Malenkov or Shelepin — a cruel Little Father. Consequently, the trend will of necessity again lead to the autocracy of one man; or a process of disintegration will proceed more rapidly until the final dissolution of the imperium is brought about by a violent overthrow as a result of the national liberation revolutions. In the long run, however, neither the oligarchy of tyrants, nor the autocracy of one man can preserve the imperium and the Communist system.

With Khrushchov's fall a whole class of leaders, who no longer meet contemporary Russian needs, are being systematically replaced. A younger class of leaders will seize power, a class which did not go through the October 1917 Revolution, but which will endeavour to vitalize and enlarge the imperium anew. The Khrushchovian class of leaders was neither better nor worse than the new one which is coming. In the end it had simply become rotten, lazy, and outdated and was therefore driven out by others. There is no special meaning in the fact that Kossygin is a technocrat or that Breshnev is an *aparatchyk* and that both of them are momentarily in power. They are both temporary appearances. The generation of Shelepin, of Semischasny and younger Russian military men are forcing their way into power. The renewal of the Russian tyranny class will endeavour anew to save the imperium.

The Russian Communist system, whether under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchov, Breshnev, Suslov, Malenkov, or Shelepin, remains unchangeable. Neither a boastful nor a silent man can touch the central core of the system. The violent overthrow of the whole system is the only solution.

From "The Fall of the Tyrant", ABN Correspondence, October, 1964

Quest For Freedom In Captive Nations Must Be Fostered

Hon. Henry P. Smith, Ill., U.S. Congressman

I have long been interested in the plight of the captive peoples, their key role in today's international situation, and their future. I have co-sponsored H. R. 337 in the 89th Congress to establish a special committee on the captive nations. In the words of the resolution, the committee would "conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, . . . and means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful purposes, . . . in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms."

There is no better opportunity to discuss this problem than Captive Nations Week, which is set aside by law and proclaimed every year by the President. Who are the captive nations, and why are we, free Americans, concerned with their destiny? These thoughts might occupy the minds of those who are not familiar with this problem. The designation "captive nations" was coined by Congress in 1959 in Public Law 86—90, which set aside the third week of July for programs to seek ways of aiding the victims of Russian or Chinese Communism in their quest for freedom and independence. As the name aptly suggests . . . these nations, once proud and free, are now captive in the greatest prison of nations that the recorded history of the world has ever known. This prison, of nations, the USSR, is the successor of Czarist Russia and is continuing the policy of despotism that is apparently inherent in the Russians. Under the guise of Communism, Russian imperial policy prevails. It would suffice to glance at the map of Europe to be convinced of the devastating march of Red Russian influence. Country after country has fallen prey to the aggressive march of the Russian boot. Nation after nation has fallen into the Red orbit of enslavement. Many will ask, how could this be accomplished? The question is vital and I shall attempt to give my views on it.

World War I brought the demise of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian-Czarist, and Turkish Ottoman empires. All suffered mortal blows, but only the Russian empire was able to reconstruct itself under the banner of a "new" idea, Communism. Why was this idea, born in the brain of the German expatriates, Marx and Engels, able to get a foothold and grow to the size we know it today? It seems quite obvious to the serious student that this cruel, atheistic ideology needed fertile ground, a people long conditioned to cruel governmental "ukases", and subservient enough to be kept in complete obedience to the new rule. Communism was able to rally the Russian people to its banner because it offered above over all, a continuation of the Czarist psychology of "Mother Russia". This "Russia above all" motto swept independent nations into enslavement. The free people of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Idel Ural, and Cossackia were the first to lose their national independence. By connivance, subversion, and sheer brutal force the Russian Communists were able to overcome these independent nations. The take-over was by no means easy. The valiant peoples put up an heroic fight that lasted for several years and still goes on. The West looked on and failed to see the Russian monster that was beginning to grow. The West was silent and thus the Russian Bear prevailed.

The Second World War brought forth another demagogue, Hitler, who promised Germany that his empire would last a thousand years, but he did not stem the tide of the Communist march toward the West. Again, the leaders of the West would not or did not hear the anguished cry of what we now call captive nations. And so, while the victorious West was able to rise above the desire for revenge and to embark on the road of reconstruction, Russia, also a victor, did nothing of the sort. Traditional Russian colonial imperialism saw a good opportunity for expansion. One by one, the once free and independent nations were engulfed in the Red Russian sea, and the voices that demanded justice once again fell upon deaf ears. The voices that demanded morality, just settlement of disputes and free elections went unheeded. The Reich of Hitler is nothing more now than a horrid memory, and a new and formidable octopus stretches over the territories of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechia and Slovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, the mainland of China, North Korea, Tibet and North Vietnam, Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia are in the hands of Tito, a smaller type of Red Dictator. The tentacles of the Russian octopus now reach out and wish to strangle every free nation in the world, including the United States. In our own hemisphere we have witnessed the takeover in Cuba, and just recently we saw an attempt to take over the Dominican Republic. We are all aware of the menace from this quarter.

In this short review of realities we can see what a dismal record mankind has. After two horrible world wars, countless victims, blood and tears, we still have not established just peace and freedom for all. What then, is the answer? It seems to me that the answer without any doubt, concerns the last remaining empire of the twentieth century — the Russian Red Empire. While other empires disintegrated or were forced by public opinion to give up their colonial territories, Russia has been permitted to hold on to the conquests she has made and to grow to a size never before known to be held by any one nation. To discuss how this came about would not be practical at this time. We must, however, dwell on the ways and means to eliminate this growing harrassment in the world. In my estimation, the key to the problem we are facing today lies with the captive nations of Europe and Asia. These millions trapped in their huge prison are clamoring for freedom. The recent uprisings in Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, and East Berlin are sufficient proof of the boiling conditions in the slave empire of the 20th century. What these people crave is nothing more than what we enjoy — human dignity, liberty, and freedom from fear and oppression.

In the speech of President Johnson, delivered on May 3, 1965, we found the following words: "We do not propose to sit here in a rocking chair, with our hands folded, and let the Communists set up a government anywhere in this hemisphere..." May I enlarge this by saying that we do not propose to sit here with our hands folded regarding the captive nations either. We must foster the spirit of freedom behind the Iron Curtain as well as behind the Bamboo Curtain. Our stand in Vietnam is the only correct road we had open to us, because the appetite of the aggressors is insatiable and grows upon feeding. The safety of other nations with whom we are allied, or with whom we have other ties, is closely interwoven with our own national security. The harsh reality

is that our self-declared Red enemy has embarked upon a course of aggression with the ultimate purpose of our destruction.

Courage to assess the situation without any embellishment is the first important step toward the right direction. We must take stock of the poor results which have been attained by our past policies and search for better and more constructive means to deal with the menace confronting us. We must abandon the advice that we should accommodate ourselves to the Russian Bear. What a debasing and shameful course for a nation born with the fire of freedom and liberty. Our founding fathers displayed courage, wisdom, and foresight. This nation was brought forth by noble men who, in spite of tremendous odds, shaped a new order based on the dignity and the equality of men. It is difficult for patriotic peoples even to understand, much less to advocate, a course which would gradually but very surely lead to our destruction.

What is most alarming is the fact that such an attitude has somewhat penetrated our policy-making circles. It is invigorating to witness other trends, however, replacing this morally corrupt and unhealthy attitude. This is why I have co-sponsored H. R. 732 in the Congress to bring the problem of the Baltic states — Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania — before the United Nations. Free elections and withdrawal of Soviet troops and agents, as provided in this resolution, are the best remedy for the Soviet domination of captive nations. We must cultivate and foster the quest for freedom in these captive nations because this road is not only the moral road, but could, at the same time, save the world from an atomic holocaust.

The failure on the part of the West to come to the aid of the Hungarian revolution, the Poznan uprising, or the Ukrainian Liberation Army's plea for help should never be repeated! The faith of the captive nations in the American sense of fair play should never again be tested and found wanting! Our great statesman, Benjamin Franklin, solicited help for the young American nation in European capitals with great success. It seems to me that we owe Eastern Europe a debt in like manner.

This annual captive nations week is a good start. It gives an opportunity to reassess the world situation. In the light of past experiences we can chart a better and safer future. It is impossible to visualize a safe world without re-establishing full independence to the enslaved captive nations. It is paradoxical to urge independence for colonial nations and yet remain oblivious to the desperate plight suffered by the captive nations. These once free peoples are the cornerstone of the future of Europe. It is comforting to note that even the harsh system which the Russians have enforced to keep the Communist regime in power has not diminished the overwhelming desire of the population to live a free life. This is a phenomenon to watch. I am talking about the youth who have known only a Communist way of life. Should we, of the free West, look on idly and let the Russians again suffocate the freedom fighters of tomorrow in a bloodbath? Should we, as in the recent past, debate idly, or should we follow our heritage and proud past to look boldly in the face of the problem? Let us examine what the godless Russian revolution brought to humanity. It brought a negative revolution, a retrogression toward the ancient cave of tyranny and slavery. In contrast, the

idea of the American revolution was to free people from the dictatorship of the state. The state must be a servant not a master.

These positive and negative revolutions are contending for the loyalty and minds of the people of the world. This is the crux of today's contest. Which shall it be? The free society, able to develop to the fullest each and every individual's ability, or will it be a rule by a fanatical few with no regard to individual liberties, much less personal safety. What road will the world take? Much depends on how dedicated we of the free West are in these crucial times. Will we complacently view one nation after another being engulfed in the bottomless Red sea? Or shall we, by hard determined labor, win the minds of the people and finally unmask the great lie which the Russians have been perpetrating? Let us pool our minds and resources, let us sacrifice time and labor, let every man, woman and child become a crusader for freedom for nations and men, for peace with justice to all in the world.

If we all put our hearts and minds to this great task we shall soon be able to write this epitaph:

THE IRON CURTAIN, MAY IT RUST IN PEACE!

Captive Nations Are America's Best Allies

By Nestor Procyk, M. D., Chairman, Council of AF ABN

The cause of the captive nations has ceased to be the cause of these nations alone, but has become equally the cause of the security of the United States. It is not necessary to be a learned man to understand that in the world situation today, to help those in Communist Russian bondage or those threatened by Communist enslavement is nothing more than helping to maintain the security and integrity of our own land.

No one in his right mind could venture to say today that the policy of containment or the so-called "co-existence policy" could ever benefit American political integrity and the preservation of American freedoms. When political rabble-rousers and those pseudo-intellectuals whom we saw and heard on nationwide teach-in programs tell us that we will have nuclear war unless we learn to co-exist with Russian-Communist imperialism and accept the expanding Russian-Communist slave empire, then I would say: they are either not in their right mind or they are skillfully planted pro-Communist subversive elements in America.

My heart aches when I think that these individuals are, unfortunately, of such threatening influence upon the young, inexperienced minds of our college and university youth and even upon the minds of some of those who are at the wheels of administration policy.

My heart aches because I strongly feel that if the present American leadership and vast majority of people in America fail to awaken from the state of complacency and from the lack of genuine interest in the political problems and if they fail to act toward preserving and securing the freedoms we possess, then a heavy curse will be falling on us from succeeding generations.

The American attitude has been well expressed in Abraham Lincoln's statement, "With malice toward none, with charity for all . . ." The Russian mentality and principal rule of policy — especially of the bosses in the Kremlin and in Peking — has always been exactly the opposite: "With malice toward all, with charity for none."

We cannot expect ever to win the conflict or war with Russia or Peking by defensive maneuvering. The best American defence can be successful only if it turns to a proper, well concentrated, and strong offence!

That is why we are in full support, and shall always be, of a firm action by the present administration, and of any administration to come, toward the enemies of America and of the world. We are in full support of President Johnson's stand in the case of the Dominican Republic and, of course, of his stand and military action in Vietnam.

We would hope and expect only that our military actions there might be stronger, more concentrated, and more massive in order not only to impress the enemy but to force into him more insight and more understanding of his own wrong-doing. Thus we would anticipate more effective and more pronounced success of our actions.

We feel that in the Vietnam conflict now and in any conflict to come we should use more of our armaments and machines rather than of our men, whose lives we cherish and whose energy we shall need.

While helping to resolve our allies' conflicts abroad, we should constantly be on guard within our own nation and keep our own security in mind. We can be more than certain that the Russian rulers, while keeping relatively quiet and inactive where the Vietnam conflict is concerned, will certainly do everything possible to increase their subversive activities in this country and elsewhere. They will provoke other conflicts to spread thin our military potential and preparedness, to weaken our nation's power in order to jump upon us at the least expected moment, like a wildcat on its victim. We should never lose sight of that fact.

I am sure the captive nations can and will be of great assistance to us if we are able to convince them of our moral and political support in their struggle for liberation and national independence. The captive nations are our best potential and most reliable partners in our own struggle for freedom from fear and enslavement, and for peace with justice in the world. The captive nations, however, need more confidence and more trust in our reliability insofar as their liberation cause is concerned. They certainly are getting ready and there could be no better deterrent to a nuclear war than the potential of the captive nations.

"Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own."

Benjamin Franklin

Self-Determination For All Nations

In the past half century, two world wars have been fought ostensibly to end colonialism and imperialism, vindicate the right of self-determination, and make the world safe for democracy. How far have these aims been achieved?

Roughly our world is divided into two parts, one under a rule which is described variously as "democratic" or "capitalist," the other Communist. In the democratic or capitalist area, colonial empires have almost ceased to exist. In Africa and Asia new nations have arisen never known before. Their independence has been freely conceded by the democracies.

In the Communist area, colonial empires still exist. Nations with long and honourable histories as free and independent entities are brutally oppressed and subjugated. Communist imperialism ever seeks new victims — in Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, and India, to add to Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, East Germany, Hungary, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Albania, Poland, and many others.

In the European Captive Nations the spirit of Liberty has not died. In Hungary in 1956, in Ukraine, in Poland, in Berlin, in Croatia and elsewhere, men and women have sacrificed their lives for those elementary rights, which Communism denies:

The Right to Live

The Right to Liberty of Speech, Education, and Religion

The Right to Found a Family

The Right of Property

Yet while in the non-Communist World imperialism and colonialism die, Communist Imperialism and Colonialism are determined to advance.

What are we doing for the Captive Nations? It is illusory for us to imagine we can ignore their sufferings and so save ourselves. Freedom is indivisible. In the words of a great American, "the world cannot endure half slave and half free."

We must stand firm by the principle that peoples have the right of self-determination — "to choose that form of government under which they wish to live and which they desire." We must deny the right of Communist or other nations on the plea of economic or military necessity to destroy the independence of other nations.

Association of one nation with another must be voluntary, i. e., by free vote and decision and must ensure freedom of language, of religion, of education, and of association with nationals elsewhere. It must not be an association justified on the ground of superior necessity, as the imperialists and colonialists seek to justify it.

Democratic peoples who hold this view are called to do more than merely profess it. If they believe captive nations have the right to freedom, they should be prepared to recognize governments in exile for those captive nations. Communists recognize governments in exile for countries they aim to control, such as Vietnam, yet the democracies fear to do so. Arguments of expediency hold sway. When will it be realized that *Communism thrives on expediency, but fears strength?*

We should also keep the issue of self-determination before the world by celebration of Captive Nations Week. The venom poured by both Soviet and Chinese Communism on Captive Nations Week shows how they fear it. It not only keeps alive the issue of self-determination in the free nations, it gives heart to those enslaved under Communism. They feel they are not forgotten. That is vital if liberty is ever to be attained.

The failure of the Free World, including Australia in particular, to speak out on the Captive Nations is an example of how we are losing the propaganda war. Communism is ever accusing the Free World of colonialism and imperialism and much of the mud sticks. Yet the Free World is afraid to reply with the clear evidence of Communist colonialism and imperialism. We have the facts, they have the falsehoods. Yet our Governments give away the propaganda fight almost without a struggle. When the moral advantage is on our side that is tragic.

It is pitiable also that there seems to be little or no support from the democracies to the underground struggle being kept alive by unknown heroes in the Captive Nations. Communism is ever active to assist its saboteurs in the Free World, yet the free nations seem afraid to strike back. So they neglect forces vital for success in the struggle for freedom.

It is vital that, even though governments may be remiss, organizations in the Free World carry on the fight through such agencies as Captive Nations Week.

Finally I refer to Vietnam — once again a test case. In Australia the whole Communist propaganda machine opposes any aid to Vietnam from Australia. It seeks to ensure that one more nation become a captive nation. You saw the process in Europe, now it is going on in Asia.

I urge all to continue the fight for the Captive Nations all over the world — the fight for freedom from Communist Imperialism and Colonialism.

CSU Chairman On Divided Europe

Extraxts from F. J. Strauss' Address in Nuremberg:

But there exists not only a German problem. We should be ill-advised, if we always thought only of German rights and claims. Wide sections of other peoples — Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Croats, and many other nationalities, not to speak of the Baltic peoples, who felt the throttling grasp of Moscow as early as 1940/41 — were hit by this campaign of terror and annihilation, so similar to Hitler's. These peoples, too, who with all their history and traditions have long belonged to Europe, fell into Moscow's hands and are doomed to silence, with the exception only of those who have managed to escape to the West or who did not return to their homelands after the War. And these peoples, too, long to live in peace, freedom, and conditions of human dignity.

The division of Germany means the division of Europe. The barbed wire which runs through our country divides Europe. It serves not only to lessen the freedom of our fellow-countrymen, but also to lessen the freedom of the peoples of Eastern Europe. One is impossible without the other. Only when we succeed in attaining freedom for these peoples will our fellow-countrymen attain it. For this reason we must speak out for a Europeanization of the German question.

Lack Of Ideology

The Occident without Sails and Helmsmen

(Continuation)

Moral foundations in politics

In criticizing various governmental aspects of American policy, we do not want to lay any blame upon the American people themselves, who are concerned with upholding moral principles in politics. On this ground the USA did not recognize the USSR before Roosevelt's Presidency. *The enslavement of peoples by tyrants was contrary to American moral convictions.*

A typical contradiction of American politics is the disrespect demonstrated by the State Department towards resolutions adopted by the Congress of the United States, although the latter represents the desires of the people. *The American people, as we have already pointed out, preserves traditions of morality in politics. The Captive Nations Week resolution which was adopted by the US Congress is a good case in point.* In this resolution, the liberation of the nations enslaved in the Soviet Union is supported. The Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, on the other hand, regards Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Byelorussia as "integral parts of traditional Russia."

In 1918—19, a US committee which investigated the question of Ukraine distinctly supported Ukraine's right to independence, including within its ethnographic limits Galicia and the Crimea. The Committee's motives were of a strictly moral nature. It was the belief of President Wilson's government that even if the Ukrainian state should fail to retain its independence, Eastern Galicia should not remain a part of Poland. When Ukraine's independence is again restored, the status of Eastern Galicia will once again be a question. This fact indicates that at that time there was more harmony between the will of the American people and its government.

Americans returned home after the 2nd World War from the European Battlefield as fighters for ideas, for the rights of the individual and of nations, although these ideas had not been realized. They would have been real crusaders, if President Roosevelt

had inspired the Americans with crusading ideas. Instead of concerning himself with a crusade against both tyrants, he turned his attention to co-existence with the Russian Antichrist. It did not help him to sing the fighting Christian hymn, "Onward, Christian soldiers" for the battlefield had already been shared together with the collaborators of Antichrist. The Atlantic Charter and the fighting hymn were only show-pieces of that lack of faith which sold half the world to Russian tyrants, instead of destroying all tyrannies and giving the world lasting peace.

Today we are witnessing the results of a policy without "ideological foundations." Where is the world being led by people who do not uphold faith in truth and justice? "Peace" is not the highest value — *but triumph of truth on earth.* Christ did not teach us to surrender to the forces of evil, nor did he teach us to associate with them. He taught us to propagate and to defend God's truth and Commandments. God is eternal and his Commandments are unchangeable. God is not dead and will not die, notwithstanding the fact that thousands of nihilists have propagated his "death." Our planet cannot be preserved against destruction by the negation of divine Commandments. The world will not be saved from ruin by "co-existing" with the Antichrist — as is presently practiced by some short-sighted Western politicians. The fear of the use of nuclear weapons is pushing humanity into an abyss, from which there will be no escape. He who, out of fear, renounces the dignity of god-like creatures and God's Commandments and just ideas, is doomed to an infamous death. The preconditions for victory over the nuclear blackmail consist, first of all, in the understanding that without God's will, humanity cannot be destroyed at random. The White House "brains trust" will not save the world, for it lacks the most important ingredient: faith, ideology and a political mission — without

which, a strategic plan is vain. With tricks, experimentation with the Antichrist the "brains trust" will not overcome the forces of evil. *A moral rebirth alone can save the world: a return to great ideas.*

The question of defending the free world against the Communist Russian tyrants depends, first and foremost, upon individuals who are capable of organizing and directing this defence. When this defence, however, is left to the hands of people who have no faith in what they are defending, who do not acknowledge unchangeable ideas and laws, who do not have a sense of responsibility to the tradition of their own nation, who have no moral principles — then a grave threat to humanity as a whole arises.

Just a few years back, Senator J. F. Kennedy supported the congressional resolution with regard to the right of all subjugated peoples in the USSR to national independence. But after he had become President, he accepted the fact that his administration would go so far as to refuse to acknowledge the existence of these nations. The same administration once promised to destroy the Communist regime of Fidel Castro in Cuba. Cuban freedom-fighters were encouraged to invade the island. When the situation became more complicated, however, this administration betrayed them, and left the Cuban people to tyranny under Russian overseers. Somewhat later, it was proposed to exchange Cuban freedom-fighters for tractors. What humanism! It is not to be wondered that men of character like Admiral Burke, the commanding officer of the US Navy, resigned his post. In his letter of resignation to President Kennedy, Admiral Burke wrote that the USA floats on waves of dreams. He pointed out that the military power of the US was being undermined by "disarmament Committees", and that atomic missiles were subject to regulations that ruled out the very thought of war. We are a threat to the world, he stated. No one knows our policy, because we ourselves do not know it. For similar reasons, Gen. Norstad resigned his post. He found himself in total disagreement with the policy of his government.

In defending moral foundations in poli-

tics and in defending the liberation struggles of the subjugated peoples, we are often reproached on the grounds, by our activities, we "break the rules of hospitality" in the countries of our residence. Of all such reproaches, the most surprising are those heard in Western Germany. Let us take a closer look at this "rule of hospitality."

At the end of 1962, e. g. the Bavarian radio reviewed the most important events of the previous year. The court trial in Munich of the sexual murderers Ferbach and Vera Bruene was mentioned twice, but not a single word was mentioned with regard to the historically important trial of the Soviet Russian agent, Stashynsky, at Karlsruhe, at which the criminal activities of Shelepin, Voroshilov and Khrushchov were brought out. Such is the nature of "objective information"!

Protests against this kind of "objectivity" are often regarded as "breaking the rule of hospitality." The German press seems to forget that political emigrants are living in Germany as result of the Germans' own faults: some of these political emigrants were taken by force for the purpose of slave labour during the War, others were transported to German concentration camps. If the Germans had heeded these same political emigrants during the War, there would be no Russian prison of nations to be liquidated today. Hence, there would be no political emigrants from Eastern Europe living in Germany.

Backward mentality is presented in the book *Summing up the Second World War* in the chapter on "guerilla warfare" in France, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia and in Ukraine — not, however, the "guerilla warfare" of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), but that of the Red army. For Gen. Rendulic, the author, the national insurgent war "did not exist." He exculpates all the methods used to combat the guerillas. As far as he is concerned, guerillas are not soldiers and therefore, in his opinion, the rules established by The Hague Convention regarding military usage do not apply to them. In Gen. Rendulic's eyes, any opposition after a country has been occupied by a hostile army, is illegal. It would follow from his

opinion, however, that the uprisings in East Berlin, Poznan, and Budapest were all illegal. In other words, for him, might is right. He believes that occupation becomes lawful after the conqueror's military victory, and that guerilla warfare is "illegal," "perfidious," and "criminal." Hence, according to his arguments, the occupation of Eastern Germany by Russia is legal, and the fight against it, illegal. From his point of view, no people has any right to liberate itself, because forceful action is illegal. Nazi units which plundered and murdered during World War II, were acting according to his sense of lawfulness, whereas the insurgents who fought against these units, were out-laws! "Experts" such as Gen. Rendulic advocate slavery for their own people. The East Germans have no right to fight for their own liberation. The Hitlerite way reasoning still lingers in authors such as Gen. Rendulic, and in publishers of books such as *Summing up the Second World War*.

Quo vadis, Occident?

Many journalists became hysterical over President Kennedy's handling of the Cuban conflict in autumn of 1962. There is a saying that when there are no fish, then even crabs are fish. In other words, better such a "victory" than complete surrender.

Let us examine the facts. The greatest world-power, the USA, allowed a provocateur, assisted by Moscow's gangsters, to set up a nest at its own back door. Instead of destroying this pigmy in its own hemisphere, the USA left the organizers of a Cuban invasion in the lurch. Afterwards, an unbelievable trade transaction is proposed: human beings for tractors. Hence, human beings become a commodity: Cuban freedom-fighters become the object of trade between the USA and the Cuban dictator, Fidel Castro. A typical commercial approach to politics!

In the meantime Moscow turned the Cuban island into one of his forts and set up one of his missile bases there. American public opinion, however, was not going to put up with the President's policy of allowing an avowed enemy to set up a military base in its own backyard. The President ordered a blockade of Cuba and sent an

ultimatum to Khrushchov, who, avowedly, "took away" his missiles from Cuba. The world press immediately proclaimed a triumphant victory.

But how real is this "victory?" Moscow "took away" its missiles from Cuba, in return for which, the US government signed a statement guaranteeing "peace" and non-intervention in Cuba. Until that time, Communist regimes in the Western hemispheres had guarantees from Moscow only — now they had a guarantee from the US government also. The success of the US government consists in the fact that Moscow "removed" its missiles from Cuban soil; Moscow's success in USA's pledge not to intervene in Cuba. Before the Cuban blockade was initiated, the USA did not recognize Castro's regime, and did not have any obligation to Moscow with respect to its Cuban policy. President Kennedy's negotiations with Khrushchov over Cuba, however, were a kind of *de facto* recognition of Castro's regime. It is of no great importance that the USA does not have diplomatic relations with the Castro government. For Moscow's purposes it is sufficient that the US has pledged not to intervene in Cuba's affairs, for in the meantime it can turn Cuba into a Russian expansionist base. The pseudo-removal of Russian missiles from Cuba is being treated as a Western "victory" in the Caribbean area. As long as a Communist government remains in control of Cuba, however, there can be no thought of a real US victory. In April 1965 Castro made a statement to the press that the rockets were still in Cuba for its defence.

What has Moscow to look for on the American continent? What right does it have to speak up on behalf of and to decide matters on Cuba? To liquidate its position there is requisite in the name of peace. No one could accuse the USA of an imperialist adventure, if she should undertake to do so. The Cuban people must be given the opportunity to choose their own government and their own national policy. The anti-Bolshevik forces the world over are highly in favour of such a move and would regard the USA as a real defender of human rights and peoples' rights, if it should show itself

determined to remove Communism from Cuban soil.

The exact opposite has been the case, however. Moscow took two steps forward and one step backwards, inasmuch as the US government acknowledged Moscow's right to intervene in the affairs of the American continent, instead of demanding its *complete* withdrawal from Cuban soil. If the US government's promise not to intervene in Cuba is to be regarded as binding, then it is easier to speak of the USA's defeat and Moscow's victory. How can we speak of a meaningful victory on the part of the West merely on the basis of Moscow's temporary restraint from setting up a military base on Cuban soil, when almost half of the earth is still lingering under the yoke of Russian Communism. Moscow has the acknowledged right to participate in decisions concerning Africa, Asia, Europe — and now in America also. And yet, the Western press speaks of a "victory" over Russia. By such recklessness, the defensive attention of the free world is being lulled to sleep, and that many peoples (Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelorussians, etc.) are still languishing under Russian slavery, is simply forgotten. In the meantime, the Communists seek new objectives: Berlin, Laos, Vietnam, Congo, etc.

History proves that Russia always retreats under the pressure of force. She fears an out-and-out war, for she knows that the nations she holds in suppression would immediately come to the defence of the West. In its expansion policy, Moscow always stops when it senses that the Western powers will defend their position, even at the cost of a nuclear war. Under the guise of retreating in the name of peace, it begins negotiations, grabbing whatever it can in the bargain. As soon as the West shows signs of loosening up, however, Moscow immediately proceeds to advance again. Such was the case in Korea, for example. When it became clear that the United States was determined to defend South Korea, Moscow took the first opportunity to stop its miscalculated adventure.

Indeed, the menace of a new world war exists only because the West is opportunistic. It does not have its own convictions.

Inasmuch as the USA does not show any inclination to support the national liberation revolutions on the part of the peoples subjugated within the Soviet Russian bloc — a revolution which threatens to destroy its empire — Moscow can provoke conflicts and gain wider possessions in other parts of the world.

There are many examples, however, which show that when a firm stand is taken against them, the Bolsheviks retreat. This was the case in 1918, at Brest, in 1920, after the victory of Petlura and Pilsudsky at the Wisla; in 1925, upon the determined stand of Kemal Pasha; in 1948, in Berlin; in 1950, in Iran when Anglo-American divisions appeared; in 1958, in Lebanon, when American marines landed there. In short: in every instance where it was clear that the West was determined to fight, Moscow fell back. In 1956, if President Eisenhower had come to the defence of the Hungarian revolutionaries, instead of telegramming Tito that the US was not interested in Hungarian affairs, Hungary would be an independent nation today. The same holds true for Berlin. If timely and proper assistance had been offered, there would not be a Wall of Shame to attest against Western indecisiveness.

Moscow cannot risk a war, for it needs its military to hold the unrest which exists in every part of its empire in suppression. If the West would once realize this, it would adopt a far more firm policy in Eastern Europe. Its fear of Russia is without basis, for the Soviet Russian empire is a giant on clay feet. Moscow is a bluff in international politics.

Cuba was one of Moscow's most recent examples of a great bluff. Moscow would never have dared to go to war over Cuba. But neither Mr. Rostow, nor Mr. Rusk understood this. They did not grasp the essence of the cold war, for they do not have their own system of ideas and their own positive plan of action. They rely upon a policy of reacting to Soviet Russian moves. They have momentary designs, but no long-range objectives.

The United Nations' action in Katanga did not offer a brighter picture. The impres-

sion exists, not without foundation, that the US government began a policy of agreements with Moscow: a policy of dividing shares of influence between the USA and Russia. Katanga was indeed a chance for the free world. By the use of force, the USA liquidated the regime of Katanga's President, Tshombe, who is the one African politician who does not regard all white men as devils. Tshombe was not taken in by the catch-phrase of "neutrality". In opposition to the advice of his African colleagues, he did not embrace Russia as his ally. Together with white men, he wanted to build up a well organized and independent Katanga. He tore down the wall of hatred between white and black, and preferred to ally himself with white men against Communism, rather than with black Communists against white men. By way of thanks, however, the white men of the UN, led by the USA, destroyed his achievements and his loyal forces — solely because Katanga aspired to independence. Katanga had a full right to independence, for the Congo is not a homogeneous nation. She was a colony under administrative rule, formed by the Belgian King, Leopold II. It is sheer nonsense to speak of the Congo as a nation. And Katanga did not threaten anybody. Her only desire was independence. But the USA refused to recognize Katanga's inde-

pendence, thinking to save the Congo from chaos thereby. The truth of the matter is that chaos has been introduced into an ordered Katanga.

It is even more regrettable that the independence of Katanga was maintained by a co-operative act between the USA and Moscow — a fact which suggests that the USA has more interests in common with Soviet Russia than it does with its allies in NATO or SEATO, whose objective, it would be supposed, is to defend the free world against Soviet Russian aggression.

The Katanga affair compels us to draw unpleasant conclusions with respect to the future. By the same token, for example, the USA government could oppose the independence of Ukraine or Azerbaijan. Russia, as is well known, needs the oil, coal and iron which are to be found in these countries. Along the same lines it is argued that the Congo cannot exist without the natural resources of Katanga. This argument sufficed to destroy Katanga. In whose interest? we must ask. Perhaps only in Moscow's, which is supporting U Thant, who was punishing Tshombe on Lumumba's behalf. Whereas the UN does not show any inclination to come to the defence of the nations enslaved within the Soviet Union, it was very active in liquidating Katanga's independence, completely disregarding its statutory and orga-



ABN Demonstration against Russian Colonialism (San Francisco, on June 24th, 1965)

nizational obligation to defend justice and peace the world over.

In a similar way, the West assisted various Wrangels and Hallers to drown Ukraine's independence in blood. The year 1918 is being repeated on the African continent. Hence, the UN comes through as a purely militaristic organization of cowards, who attack a weaker foe, but run off from the stronger foe.

Only a few months had elapsed, before the USA invited émigré Tshombe to save the Congo — the whole Congo this time, after they themselves had liquidated the bastion of anti-Communism in Africa — Katanga. Really without sails and helmsmen.

Only Moscow and Washington were satisfied by the action in Katanga, while London and Paris were indignant. Behind the back of NATO, the leaders of the USA were conducting negotiations with Moscow. More than anything else this was a consequence of agreements over Cuba: the US government's tribute to Moscow for the latter's consent to "remove" its missiles from Cuban soil. The problem of Hungary has vanished from the agenda of the United Nations. The Hungarian uprising was drowned not only in blood, but in the unprincipled action of the UN. The tyrants in

Budapest have made it quite clear that U Thant will always be an honoured guest in Hungary. The US government's policy leads one to the belief that the USA is giving up its role of defender of freedom, and her policy is losing the moral stability.

A détente between Moscow and Washington has come into existence, while a state of tension is growing up between Washington and her West European allies. Before Senator Kennedy became President, he wrote that it is nonsense to withhold nuclear secrets from France, while Moscow — the enemy of man and mankind — knows all of them. Today, on the contrary, France cannot obtain information on the production of advanced nuclear hydrogen bombs and has to spend millions for her own research in this field. So it comes about that the monopoly on nuclear weapons, upon which the future of the world depends to a large extent, remains solely in the hands of the USA on one hand and on the other hand, the Russians — the greatest tyrants of all times. It is a tragic partnership. Are the tyrants in the Kremlin closer to Washington, than the latter's allies in free Europe? How will the American policy develop next? We will have to wait and see. But at present, it is hopelessly strange. Quo Vadis, Occident?



ABN Public Meeting in Munich, Germany, on July 23rd, 1965.
From l. to r.: Dr. H. Lange; Mrs. Slava Stetsko; Winfried Martini; Prof. F. Durcansky;
Niko Prince Nakashidze; Franz Gaksch.

Spotlighting Soviet-Russian Imperialism

In his proclamation on July 4, President Lyndon B. Johnson stated that Congress on July 17, 1959, requested the President annually to proclaim a Captive Nations Week with "appropriate ceremonies and activities . . . until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world." On July 13, Mayor James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia issued a similar proclamation, and on June 24, Governor William W. Scranton had done so, citing "the plight of those made captive under the heavy yoke of Communism."

Congress in its Joint Resolution of 1959 specified such victims of "the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia" since 1918 as follows:

"Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others."

In the last six years that tragic rollcall, instead of shrinking, has swollen to include Cuba, off our own shores, and but for President Johnson's recent vigorous defensive action might by now have included South Vietnam and Santo Domingo.

It is to be hoped that Washington's prompt and determined action to prevent the Communist takeover of South Vietnam and the Dominican Republic signals a lasting, long overdue shift from appeasement to not only containment but liberation. Since twenty-five years ago, when Soviet Russia launched its second wave of Red imperialism, on June 12, 1940, by invading and crushing the independence of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, it has extended its slave empire over another 115,000,000 Europeans of seven once free nations and it has inflicted the Red tyranny on some 600,000,000 Asians.

When the Reds 25 years ago crushed the independence of the three little Christian Baltic nations, what Hungarian or East Berliner or Cuban feared that within a decade or two the heel of the Red slavery would be crushing him? Let us realize in time that if our generation does not now somehow manage to check and turn back Red infiltration and aggression, be it in Berlin, or Vietnam, or Cuba, or wherever, no American can feel secure that within another generation or two all of Europe will not be enslaved, and perhaps most or all of this hemisphere, including even the United States.

Therefore we must dedicate ourselves not only to containing Red imperialism but to rolling it back and liberating our brothers already crushed under it. The Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, said that America cannot endure half slave and half free. Who dares to hope that Berlin can endure half slave and half free — or Germany, or Korea, or Europe, or Central America?

Not only American security and our traditional Good Samaritanism require a policy of liberation. Justice also requires it, because of our share in occasioning much of the Red imperialism. It was the Rooseveltian betrayals and sellouts at Teheran and Yalta, unjustifiable, even treasonable appeasements, that helped to deliver much of Eastern Europe and all of mainland China into Communist enslavement.

But how, one asks, can a policy of liberation be implemented except by war? There is a way, a most effective way, the way that virtually ended colonialism in Africa without war and compelled the near dissolution of the once mighty British Empire. It is the spotlight of publicity and the club of public opinion. Ireland and India were not liberated by bombs and battalions but world opinion, especially by American opinion. Moral, economic, and diplomatic pressure, not nuclear bombs, achieved the often unhappily premature release from colonialism in Africa.

Not even the brute totalitarianism of the Russian imperialism can forever resist concerted public opinion backed by economic and diplomatic sanctions of America and the Free World. If the Free World would spotlight the Red colonialism as we allowed Communists and fellow travelers to traduce colonialism in Africa, so many flares of freedom would rise up behind the Iron Curtain, so much resistance, so many revolts, that no police state could put them all down. Where one Hungarian uprising, even without the proper moral support of the Free World, once rocked the Soviet Empire, dozens of them would soon do so, and with the proper moral, economic, and diplomatic support of the Free World would topple the Red tyrannies that are now crushing their peoples and endangering the world.

The fact is that only such a spotlighting by public opinion can hope to liberate the Captive Nations without a large-scale war. Furthermore, it is probably the only way at all for bypassing the increasing threat of a third world war. It is the one and only effective lever that Washington has not used nor encouraged against the Soviet Russian Empire. In fact, there is good evidence that at least until a year or two ago our State Department has instead championed the preservation of "the Soviet police system" in order to keep "law and order over 200 million Russians and many additional millions in the satellite states," and even urged this policy on the NATO allies. Prof. Lev E. Dobriensky in his "Outstanding U.S. Myths of the Captive Nations" gives references to this policy, which in effect makes our government a partner in maintaining the Soviet slave imperialism.

No wonder liberation so far has been nil and, until a few months ago, Red enslavement on the rise. No wonder more and more nations have become captive until — when all South Vietnam and perhaps all South-east Asia were about to become captive — the present administration firmly decided to protect them. May this mark the end of American collaboration with any sort of Red imperialism, and the beginning of a deliberate policy of liberation.

If there is to be any hope of such liberation for the captive nations — and indeed of avoiding a *third* world war to prevent the eventual enslavement of all Europe and Asia all of us and America and the Free World must realize:

(1) that the Soviet Russian imperialism is the worst and most extensive colonialism in history, so brutal and inhumane that it is the only imperialism that ever has needed to put a barbed wire entanglement around its borders, not to keep enemies out, but to keep its own people in;

(2) that this colonialism stretches over nations that have long been sufficiently developed for self-government and that have, in most instances (such as the

Baltic countries), proven this capacity far more than most of the African and Asian peoples liberated from West European colonialism;

(3) that by an inexorable development all empires maintained by force must and will dissolve, that the brutality of the Red system cannot ultimately prevent such dissolution, only delay it;

(4) that humanity and justice call for such dissolution now, and the security and peace of the world require it;

(5) and that the first step for accomplishing this dissolution of the Sino-Russian imperialism is for the Free World to demand it, to say so clearly and insistently.

The Free World, America, all of us must resolve to throw the spotlight of publicity on the brutal Red colonialism, must organize public opinion and the moral judgment of the world against it, must encourage the captive peoples to hope for liberation and to enlist every means at their disposal to achieve it, and finally and most of all, we who are free must require our governments to use every moral, economic, and diplomatic means to promote and provoke the liberation of the captive nations and the hundreds of millions now under the heavy yoke of Communism.



ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko with ABN Branch in Washington and Ukrainian Youth Group, July 14th, 1965

Atrocities Investigation

On June 15th, 1965 representative Michael Feighan (D.-O.) called on the House Armed Services Committee to make a full-scale investigation of the atrocities that the Communist Viet Cong and North Vietnamese are committing against U.S. and Vietnamese servicemen and civilians in the Viet Nam war.

In his floor speech, Representative Feighan charged that the atrocities being committed by the Communists were shockingly reminiscent of the atrocities committed by the Chinese and North Korean Communists during the Korean war, stating:

"American soldiers are not immune to this savagery. U.S. servicemen and government agents have been found dead after being tortured and shot to death. . . . American servicemen have been discovered with their hands tied behind their backs and shot in the back of the head. Their bodies were not given a decent burial, but thrown in jungle underbrush by their Viet Cong captors."

Citing facts and figures, Representative Feighan quoted a report put out by the South Vietnamese government which revealed that during 1963 the Communist Viet Cong committed 17,710 acts of terror against civilians in South Viet Nam, ranging from assassination to kidnapping.

He charged that "As in Korea, the Communists are now making reckless and wholesale violations of the provisions of the Geneva Convention."

"This record of atrocities in South Viet Nam deserves our attention. Again in our lifetime we witness a frightening abandonment of respect for the laws and standards of humane and civilized conduct. We have lived through Stalin's bloody purges, Khrushchov's butchery, Hitler's gas chambers, atrocities against U.N. Forces in Korea, and now Communist atrocities in South Viet Nam. I for one cannot get hardened to, or accept, such acts of horror and terror. The covenants of solemn agreements entered into by responsible nations signing the Geneva Convention which bind all belligerents in war have again been tossed aside by the Communist aggressor in South Viet Nam.

"The conduct of the aggressor is not the result of personal cruelty by isolated individuals or of Viet Cong who, without authorization, express their ideological sadism, but a conscious act of Communist policy. The pattern proves that these atrocities are deliberate. They reflect a system which consciously and actively rejects, subverts and destroys decent standards of conduct and the entire structure of humane values. This system denies that men are created in the image of God. They believe man is no more than an animal, and should be treated as such. This is the same system which displays by its acts, as Stalin said in words and deeds, 'Terror is the supreme argument of any power.'

"President Johnson is being criticized in some circles for his firm stand in Viet Nam. However, very little is being heard from these same outspoken critics on the terrible atrocities committed by the Communists.

"In an news conference on April 27, 1965, President Johnson said, 'I do sometimes wonder how some people can be so concerned with our bombing a cold bridge of steel and concrete in North Viet Nam, but never open their mouth about a bomb being placed in our Embassy in South Viet Nam.'

"No Communist has ever disavowed or is allowed to disavow Marx or Lenin. Their teachings on conscience and morality are consistent with their activities in South Viet Nam. Karl Marx said, 'Social existence of men — that is, the economic class to which they belong — determines their consciousness'. As to morality, Lenin said, 'We do not believe in eternal morality, and we expose all fables about morality — at the basis of Communist morality lies the struggle for the consolidation and consummation of Communism.'

"Modern interpretations of Lenin's teachings on morality are as follows: 'The basis of Communist morality, Lenin taught, is the struggle for strengthening and achieving Communism. For the Soviet people everything is moral that serves the victory of the Communist order.'

"This is a clear indication that the Communists reject universally accepted moral values.

"The forces against which we fight today in Viet Nam and in the Dominican Republic all owe allegiance to a single political movement known as world Communism.

"That the atrocities being committed are due to a conscious policy is suggested by the following facts which follow the same pattern as we knew it in Korea:

"Mass executions of civilians which include women and children, carried out under the authority of the North Vietnamese political officers and security agents.

"Prisoners are subjected to political jargon, preaching hatred and violence, prior to being executed in cold blood.

"In addition, we cannot ignore the following facts: that the top officials in the North Vietnamese Army and Government were largely trained in the Soviet Union and Communist China; and that Communist Chinese cadres and advisors are directing the operation; and that Soviet Russian troops in their thousands are present in North Viet Nam. They are headed by Lt. General Sherbakov, Russian ambassador to North Viet Nam. This Russian is a guerilla warfare expert. He headed Russian partisan units in Ukraine during World War II. He recently left from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. There he headed the 'National Liberation Movement' Branch. He has earned the nickname, 'The Assassin'.

"These facts indicate a common dedication to a system which encourages and practices brutality and terror as a basic instrument of policy. These acts are perpetrated by an authority which has a close bond with the Soviet Union and Communist China. Their actions reveal a vast, systematic and deliberate assault upon universally accepted standards of conduct and morality. They are criminal activities which offend civilized conscience and attack those basic tenets which we consider essential to freedom and the survival of all civilization.

"Mr. Speaker, there is an urgent need for an objective, systematic exposure of Communist atrocities in Viet Nam. The American people are entitled to have the full facts on these atrocities so that they may be completely aware of the nature of Communist aggression in Viet Nam. In my judgement Congress is the proper arm of government to undertake this objective and systematic exposure of thruth."

The Congo Must Be Saved

Continuation

II. Africa To The Africans

Our present policy is characterized by the fact that many institutions, which are not rooted in the tradition of the country and are hardly fitted to the existing conditions, force a foreign rhythm of life and a heterogeneous way of thinking on the people. The changes that have been undertaken since the acquisition of independence were inspired primarily by tactical considerations, instead of being oriented in the interest of the people. It was thought that the dissension among the various tribes could be removed by dividing the country into 24 provinces, instead of 6 as was the case formerly. Experience since that time has shown the extent of this miscalculation. If the statements of the most important leaders of the Congo are to be believed, then most of them already regret these senseless divisions and are seeking a suitable means of rectifying these measures. Actually, economically as well as in terms of administration, the old provinces were balanced. As far as I am concerned, I do not believe that it is enough to reestablish the old divisions. Rather this opportunity should be taken to reconsider all the fundamental problems of the constitution. Indeed, this matter, which appears to me personally to be urgent, is one of general discussion in the Congo at the moment. Under these conditions why shouldn't all of us make the attempt to create a structure which is fitted to the reality of the country, by rejecting every doctrine and suppressing every personal ambition, reservation and interest? Naturally, I am well aware that in this regard there will be quite a number of psychological obstacles to be hurdled. Nonetheless, this attempt should be made, because the attainment of this goal is just as indispensable as the preparation of the *soil for sowing and planting*.

Katangese Members of Parliament have submitted a constitutional project to the Parliament of Leopoldville. I do not think

that this is the place to stress the advantages of this project; it is sufficient if I express my conviction, that despite some insufficiencies, this suggestion goes very far toward meeting the most urgent demands.

All the provinces of the Congo are yearning for independence. On closer examination the indispensability of according all provinces a reasonable degree of autonomy becomes apparent. An administrative federation alone is not enough. Regional problems must and can be solved satisfactorily only by people from the regions concerned. The sole task of the federal authorities should be to coordinate and to harmonize the development of the entire nation.

All those who know our country will aver it again and again: "The Congo must be saved from the bottom." And this is right. The Congo, therefore, will not have peace until the notion that everything must be directed from Leopoldville is given up. It simply must not be overlooked that Bakavu, Elizabethville and Leopoldville are not only geographically, but even as far as mentality is concerned, about as far apart as Berlin, Barcelona and Athens. Viewed from this perspective, therefore, a monolithic Congo would always be an artificial creation — fragile and vulnerable in all its layers. Nonetheless, this truth, which is only too well known to everyone, is forgotten again and again in practice. This inconsistency is difficult to understand.

Only too often the corruption of the African elite has been justifiably pilloried. Nonetheless, I am firmly convinced that the African is basically honest. But he has repeatedly been the victim of incongruous institutions which created a gap between him and the facts. In this connection there is quite a bit to be said, and indeed much is being said about the relationship between structural needs and abuses of all kinds, and about the negative role which international competition has played as far as co-

operation is concerned. As soon as the slightest attempt at a bribe is made, the African elite must tell all people to their face, regardless of where they are from: "Africa is not for sale!" And I believe that such an attitude is possible in the Congo.

In view of the general elections, which will take place in April 1964, a number of new party and election group formations are to be observed in the Congo at present. Regrettably, however, there is no indication of a trend toward a unified conception. Nonetheless, I consider it possible to stir the Congolese leaders to accept a common programme. In my opinion, however, this should be an emergency programme, which on the one hand should be formulated in line with the necessity of saving the country; on the other hand, however, it should make initial provisions for a further normal democratic development.

Although it is not now a part of my intention to present such a programme, I do not think that it is out of place to sketch its general character. First of all this programme should proclaim our common goal: the attainment of a real, unrestricted independence and the assurance of our people's happiness.

In general I am convinced that foreign governments do not have our well-being in mind. On the contrary, each of them, without consideration for the destiny of our poverty-stricken farmers and starving unemployed, would like to secure as large a sphere of influence as possible. This is not meant to say that we have no friends abroad. There are such friends, but even they only seldom know the conditions of our native country. Apart from that it is not their responsibility to step in for us and to do what we ourselves should do.

Naturally I am in favour of receiving foreign help. The main burden must rest upon our shoulders, however, if we want to avoid a renewed enslavement.

This leads me to say a few words with regard to foreign policy. In my opinion all our efforts should be concentrated on domestic affairs in the foreseeable future. Understandably, however, our foreign policy must not be neglected. It should be so work-

ed out that it acts as a screen for our efforts with respect to the inner construction and consolidation of our independence. At the present time we are still too weak to risk the precarious equilibrium, which we have achieved, by ambitious foreign political adventure.

On the other hand, we must not be indifferent to the great currents that are shaking the world today. It is part of my firm conviction that some day this country will influence the existing currents, and I cherish the hope that in this dispute that is splitting the globe today, it will be able to mediate in a conciliatory and satisfactory way. Men have no interest in lacerating each other. I firmly believe in the brotherhood of man, despite all the differences between the peoples; and I know that on that day when one man respects another and one nation respects another, a great step forward toward human and social development will have been taken. I also believe that in the event of a clash, guilt, even if unequally, must be shared by both sides. If those in power in this world accepted this truth and attempted to understand one another, the existing disagreements would soon make room for a permanent partnership.

But even when one allows his thoughts to roam in idealistic spheres, one must always be aware that the world gives every utopia the lie and that there is no place for naive people in it. Individual men and women, as well as peoples are often forced to make a choice, even if they reject this choice in their innermost beings. There are indeed dark forces that disturb human relations. Nonetheless, I believe that the African peoples, which are still young in comparison to other peoples, might have the possibility of giving the world an example of political vision, inasmuch as they refuse to bow down before these dark forces. Therefore, I even dare to express the desire that the countries of Africa will not fall into a negative "neutralism", but will, instead, bring forth from their midst what I would like to designate as universal humanism.

We, the peoples of Africa, are neither financial powers nor industrial countries. Neither are we in a position to launch rock-

ets into the universe. But perhaps for this very reason our alienation from human reality is not as great as it is in the case of other peoples. In saying this, however, I do not want to say that we are more human. I only want to say that we have preserved our sense for happiness and the joy of life more than other peoples. I am well aware that we, as mortals, have our shortcomings. But we are in possession of a virtue, which, strangely enough, appears to be missing in other peoples — namely, spontaneity. More than other people, we regard nature with respect. We ignore the insanity of racism and we would regard it as being quite natural, if blacks, whites and yellows lived together in mutual esteem. This world, which is crisscrossed by antagonistic obstacles, strikes us with astonishment. We dream of the day when we might succeed in making the world understand that these obstacles must be removed so that humanity may be reborn: united and brotherly.

I know that even among us hostile obstacles separate the people. But the structure of our tribes and our institutions has coped with the necessities of life for many ages. To be able to survive in a hostile environment, as ours was at one time, we had to form clans of strong men among ourselves, who had to go into battle to assure the survival of the whole society. Even today tribal boundaries exist. Under the continuous pressure of modernism, however, they are gradually disappearing, and I am convinced that in the foreseeable future (with the understanding that order in the Congo be quickly reestablished) the existing animosities will be nothing more than bad memories. We came to understand — and this, among other things, was the purpose of my own fight — that the solidarity of the clans and of the tribes was only the preliminary toward the solidarity of the peoples. For young nations, like those of Africa, which have already accustomed themselves to making giant leaps into history, adjustments do not present any problem. And perhaps we ourselves will offer the world an example of a successful co-existence. I desire it with all my heart.

What I have stated above is not meant to indicate that the African people desire to cut themselves off from their own roots. Our traditions, our languages and customs are values that we continue to love and to respect. On the other hand, however, we have a firm desire to integrate our manifoldness, and we will certainly succeed in doing so. There is not a single intellectual among us who is Congolese in the truest sense of the word and is not at the same time faithful to his ethnic group. The one does not exclude the other. Denying this possibility was a mistake made by many foreigners. They went so far as to demand that either one return to the unity of the tribe, or that the past, based on the tribal principle, be completely destroyed. This was a gross mistake. Our ethnic groups are a fact. Basically, every ethnic group is a brick that will help to build Africa.

Regardless of whether people want to accept it or not: Africa is just now at the moment of birth. The birth is more difficult than usual. From the manifold birthpains that accompany this birth, however, Africa must forge the will to unfold and fulfill herself. Many ways are open to us. Numerous personalities have offered themselves as leaders of our continent. I respect their sincerity. They love Africa and they want to see her grow. I cannot always consider their political policy a good one, however, for it often reveals contradictions and not seldom degenerates into personal rivalries. This is in keeping with the laws of politics, however, and by political activity alone will Africa come into being.

Therefore, the rivalries must be accepted as facts. Nonetheless, I consider it not only necessary but also possible that some day these rivalries will soften before the inveterate will of the Africans to work together for the construction of Africa.

Foreign observers are often of the opinion that we need a dictator. Nothing could be less sure than this. I said it in the beginning and I want to repeat it now so that there will be no doubt as to my view on this matter: In Africa, nothing can be done without the participation of the people.

Democracy is in keeping with a long tradition among us. Even if our customs are different among the various tribes, we all have one thing in common: the existing chief is the father of his people. A chief, however, whose behaviour runs counter to the interest of the society will be rejected. Among us when a chief makes a decision, he makes it in agreement with the people and for their well-being. A chief heeds his people and acts according to its desire. In the truest sense of the word he is a leader. To be entrusted with the dignity of chief, very strict rules must be complied with. Not he who is strongest, but he who enjoys the greatest popularity among the majority of his tribe becomes chief. And without exception now, the people gather around him. The choice is accepted by everyone. This is the way African democracy works. There is nothing arbitrary in power. The instinct of self-preservation has enjoined certain rights and laws upon this form of democracy. Furthermore, however, it has entrusted a holy duty to everyone to defend the peace and the happiness of the society.

The peoples of the West and of the East have a different conception of democracy than we have. I myself am astonished by Western democracy: It accords the people all rights, but does not impose any duties upon them. As an African, I am always amazed that this system has brought forth such great peoples. In Africa — and there can be no doubt about it — it would lead to anarchy. One need only observe the Congo.

Among us — perhaps more than anywhere else — politics must serve the people. It must not make slaves of them. Therefore, we must not and will not choose among the existing systems. For that which we need, we can and must find in part in our own traditions.

That these traditions are not adapted to the demands of the modern world is clear. Nonetheless, they offer us the foundation upon which our democracy is to be erected. We must only be allowed the freedom to work on it undisturbedly.

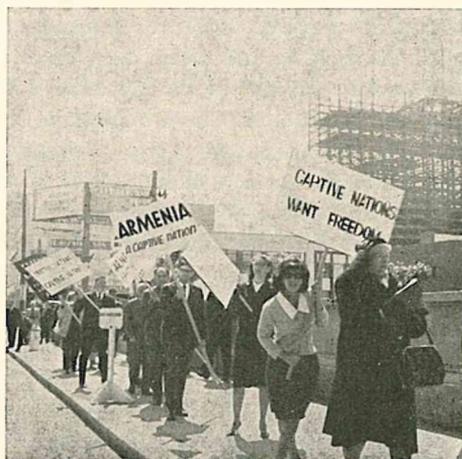
When I began to write these lines, I did not want to deal with these subjects yet.

Rather, they occurred to me one after the other, as is always the case, if one takes pains to comprehend man in general and man who is wrestling with his numerous problems in particular. It was my intention only to throw a bit of light on a certain situation and to indicate a certain path, which, in my opinion, ought to be taken. Perhaps I have even succeeded in doing this. This would only be the case, however, if I have brought forward proof that the Congo and all of Africa contain an inner potential for the solution of their problems.

If we, the modern Africans, do not succeed in finding such solutions, which, although they are rooted in our traditions are also in keeping with the demands of the modern world, then we are lost. Our task is nothing more and nothing less than the achievement of a new civilization. And if we ourselves do not succeed in attaining this goal, we can still prepare our children for this task. And perhaps some day the world will be thankful for the pain which we have endured on the threshold of this new era and in the birth of this new civilization.

I do not belong to those people who believe that our independence was premature. No one would have been able to prepare us for freedom. Freedom was our own work. But it is just beginning to be.

Madrid, December 30, 1963



ABN Demonstrating Group in Edmonton (Canada), July 1st, 1965.

The Case Of Santo Domingo

Is there danger of another Cuba?

By Jorge Prieto Laurens

The Dominican revolutionary movement which overthrew the military government of the country in order to put Juan Bosch back into power, had from its beginnings very suspicious characteristics. It was all too clear that Fidel Castro Ruz's plan to extend the influence of Sierra Maestra and produce another Cuba was at the bottom of the whole thing. Colonel Caamano, head of the movement, hailed the people and the newspaper reporters during the first days of the conflict with the unmistakable gesture of the Marx-Leninists with left arm raised and closed fist. Furthermore, he authorized that all kinds of weapons be distributed, without limit, among the people of Santo Domingo, with the evident object of imitating the Communist uprisings to form militias and trying to do away with the regular army of Santo Domingo. He also imported soldiers trained and armed in Cuba, which is a fact no one ignores. He began and still maintains constant radio communications with the government of Fidel Castro, who has headed the protests against the disembarkation of American marines and parachutists although the latter had been requested by the military and police authorities, as well as by the United States Ambassador, who realized the danger to foreign residents in Santo Domingo, and who likewise knew that they could not be guaranteed their lives, their freedom, and their interests, so seriously threatened by the armed rabble.

The United States Government did not hesitate to act as it did, in spite of being well aware of the legal and normal procedure through the Organization of American States, which would have been to request their intervention to try to obtain a suspension of hostilities between the fighting sectors. However, this would have meant a delay of several days which could have proved fatal for thousands of people not only of American nationality but from other countries who were trapped in Santo Domingo. President Johnson immediately got in touch with the O.A.S., and after a few days, an Investigating Committee was appointed and sent to the site of battle. After a few more days, the Assembly of the O.A.S. met and decided to form a multinational force to be sent to Santo Domingo to replace the American forces protecting the international zone of the embassies and other places where hundreds of foreigners have taken refuge, as well as to ensure that the opposing sectors would find a solution and restore peace and order and lead to the establishment of an authentic democratic government through free elections.

According to the report issued by the above-mentioned Investigating Committee of the O.A.S., the rebels of Caamano's party were unable to control the situation in the small zone of the Dominican Republic which they dominated, precisely because of the Communist elements which have infiltrated into their ranks. It is not necessary that these be in the majority in order to create problems, agitate and provoke the worst conditions, as they are very clever at doing everywhere. A well-known Spanish writer has humorously mentioned the 58 Red

leaders who have taken part in the Dominican rebellion, and whose names have been revealed by the international news agencies. The question is: are they such geniuses, or do they have such terrible weapons that they are able to control the Dominican army and the thousands of American marines and parachutists? Does this writer ignore or does he pretend to forget that the Reds have never needed to be in a great number, much less to be in a majority in order to achieve the greatest social and political upheavals, exploiting the unrest, the lacks, and the rebellions of all countries? From Lenin, Stalin, and Trotsky in Russia, to Fidel Castro Ruz and "Che" Guevara in Cuba, the Communists of all times and all latitudes have been able to overthrow the strongest governments, to disorganize regular armies, and have handed weapons to the people, taking nations by surprise.

The temporary invasion by American marines and parachutists, which has no other object than to give guarantees and maintain law and order in Santo Domingo until the Dominicans themselves are ready to go back to the normal state of things, under the protection and vigilance of the O.A.S., has given rise to a wave of all kinds of protests. However, it is curious to observe that in most Latin-American countries, the sponsors of the anti-American meetings have been the most prominent Communist leaders and their "fellow-travellers" and the "indispensable fools", with the ever present so-called representatives of the "Democratic-Christian" parties. In Mexico, where a shady Communist conspiracy aimed at the government was recently discovered by the Federal authorities, who collected abundant and varied subversive propaganda, as well as weapons, explosives, etc., the conspirators were granted their freedom by official instructions with a very mild reprimand, as if this ever produced any effect on Communist plans! These same people who had not been allowed to meet in public, even in closed sites, were given permission for a gigantic demonstration, apparently in approval of the Government's international policy, but which, in reality, turned into a violent demonstration against the United States of America, whose flag was burned in the public streets, in the midst of jubilant shouts and obscene insults, as was the image of Uncle Sam as a protest against the military occupation of Santo Domingo and as a request for the immediate withdrawal of the troops. All the "speakers" in this demonstration, strangely enough, were members of the "Mexican" Communist Party; of the National Liberation Movement; of the Independent Farm Center (Communist); and of the People's Electing Party (also of Red affiliation); as well as of the "Communist Youth", among which the following first-rank figures of the Mexican Marx-Leninists stood out: David Alfaro Siqueiros, Clementina Batalla Vda. de Bassols, Manuel Marcué Pardinas, Manuel Terracas, and Renato Leduc.

The hypocrisy of these Communists is really tremendous; all of them are sworn enemies of President Diaz Ordaz's government, which they have always attacked with the worst epithets and grossest slander. However, they must needs hide behind the mask of supporting the Government's international policy in order to achieve their goal of stirring up the people. Several of the posters carried in this demonstration clearly showed this by demanding that the President do his duty (?) and separate from the O.A.S., as well as loosen all ties with Yankee Imperialism (?) . . .

Summing up, there can be no doubt that this adverse opinion of the United States has been due to the Communists embedded in the Latin American countries, and this has been furthered by the grave mistakes and even graver hesitations of a few American officials, who try to impose coexistence between the Red faction of Caamano and the Military Junta. The latter is the only power against the Communist movement in Santo Domingo and their members are good and sincere friends of the United States of America.

Philadelphia Captive Nations Resolution

Excerpts from the resolution signed by representatives of member organizations of the Philadelphia Captive Nations Committee on the deck of Admiral Dewey's Flagship S. S. Olympia and approved by acclamation at the mass rally on Independence Mall, July 18, 1965.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Captive Nations Committee of Greater Philadelphia and this assemblage gathered at historic Independence Mall this July 18, 1965,

THAT the United States should consciously and professedly pursue a policy most likely to assure the dissolution of the Soviet Russian colonialism and Communist enslavement and the speedy liberation in peace and freedom of all the captive nations; and

THAT to this end, in the acclaimed conviction that conscience and moral pressure when rightly and consistently applied constitute irresistible dissolvents of tyrannical empires, the United States should apply every possible moral, economic, and diplomatic pressure; and

THAT all cultural and economic intercourse with Communist governments should be on the basis of concessions and considerations conducive to the eventual liberation of the enslaved peoples; and

THAT where Communist aggression or infiltration becomes acute, or as in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic have become so, the United States should intervene with whatever armed forces are necessary to repel the aggression and to forestall absolutely any further Communist takeovers; and

THAT American delegates to the United Nations and other councils should press for the complete exposure of Sino-Russian imperio-colonialism, including that in Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, and other captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union; and

THAT, to implement American dedication to the eventual independence of all the captive nations, the House of Representatives should establish a Special Committee on the Captive Nations; and

THAT a Captive Nations Freedom Stamp series should be inaugurated and a Freedom Academy established; and finally

THAT copies of these RESOLUTIONS be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, both senators from Pennsylvania, all the representatives of the Greater Philadelphia area, and to the newspapers, radio and television stations of the area.

Agriculture Constant Anxiety Of The Kremlin Rulers

In *Paris Match* of 31st October 1964 Mr. Raymond Cartier published a very well documented article on the changes in Soviet Russian policies which have followed the forced retirement of Nikita Khrushchov. The author stated with perfect correctness that, even should the new Soviet Russian dictators be moderate and realistic and sincerely intend to alter the course of political events, they would be prevented from doing so by Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine, this ideological cocktail which opposes any reform of the system and any deviation from the dogmas of Communism and the traditions of Russia.

As I am particularly interested in the agricultural sector of the Soviet economy, I very much appreciate the opinion expressed by Mr. Cartier that one can hardly expect any better results in agricultural production as long as the majority of tilled land remains in the hands of the *kollehozy* (collective farms). He adds that of the total cultivated area, 4% of it, adjacent to the labourers' dwellings and left to their individual exploitation, yields almost 45% of milk, 46% of meat, 75% of vegetables, and 78% of eggs, which means that the remaining 96% of the cultivated area is responsible for the production of only a small percentage of these staple goods. I should like to stress that this 96% of cultivated soil has not been able to feed the population of the Soviet Union, which has to be saved from starvation with corn imported from the West.

The population of the United States amounts to approximately 200 millions, of which only 15—20% work in agriculture and are still able not only to satisfy the needs of the nation but suffer from overproduction and have to export the surplus of their harvest from silos which are filled to bursting point. In the USSR, whose population exceeds 200 millions, in that vast area with a most fertile soil (to mention only the famous "black soil" of Ukraine), about 50% of the population works on the

land and is still unable to supply enough for the needs of internal consumption.

The development of the agricultural situation in the Soviet Union which has resulted in this climax has been such that the situation cannot easily be changed.

For centuries in all the provinces of Russia proper the land belonged either to the Church or to private landlords: princes, boyars, and noblemen. Until 1861 the peasant was little more than the slave of his master, attached to the soil by the laws of the country and exploited as manpower for all kinds of work, which were often quite alien to forming. The land was tilled by collectives of villagers. The latter formed the *mir* (commune), in which the "elders" or the strongest, or sometimes a kind of general assembly of the villagers, were responsible for the squire for the income of the estate.

The peasant was not the owner of the field on which he laboured; his only property was perhaps an axe, with which he cut trees in his landlord's forest. Whenever he wanted to find work outside the village he had to pay a special duty, the so-called *obrok*, to his *mir*, as otherwise he would be denied a pass permitting him to travel and to live in a town. That is why the history of the Russian Empire has always been characterized by violent peasant revolts, in which the names of Stenka Razin and Yemelka Pugachov acquired their sinister glory.

In 1861 the Tsar Alexander II freed the peasants from this bondage, not as individuals, but as members of the communal organization of the village. The Tsar did not trust his *muzhiks* and upheld the principle of collective responsibility, by replacing the power of the former landlord with the authority of the *mir*. The villagers remained illiterate, backward, retarded, superstitious, given to internal strife and jealousies, and above all desperately poor.

In Russia proper, work on the land was never very remunerative. Farmers often could not produce enough to maintain their families; they migrated to the towns in search of work in industry and the building trade. The latter, however, owing to the rigours of the Russian climate, could not employ them in winter, the season when the need for employment was most acute. Men went in search of work, leaving the land to be cultivated by women, who moreover also had the task of bringing up their children.

Before the liberation of the serfs, there had been some "happy villages", where a liberal and enlightened squire took care of his bondsmen and did not treat them as a kind of livestock. After the reform the power in the villages was taken over by the "elders", as uncouth and illiterate as the rest of the villagers. Thus the progress of the land population was greatly delayed, pending the upsurge of a new cadre of workers capable of taking over the leadership.

Prior to the revolution of 1905 only a few villagers, mostly shopkeepers, innkeepers, and usurers, had been able to acquire the ownership of land and establish themselves as small farmers; the majority, over 20 million families, remained subordinate to the *mir*. Prime Minister P. A. Stolypin, who in the course of his administrative career had had the opportunity to observe the life of independent farmers in provinces which had previously belonged to the Polish Republic, undertook a major agrarian reform. Availing himself of the support of the Agrarian Bank, he opened liberal credits for peasants wishing to acquire land and undertake independent farming. These farmers would then leave the village, usually stretching for some miles along a main road, and build their new granges in the centre of their own fields.

In this way Stolypin intended to remedy the absurd situation in which the land was nobody's responsibility, remained the property of the village collective, the *mir*, and in consequence was badly cultivated and unproductive. Stolypin was assassinated in

1911 and his reforms were not continued with the zeal characteristic of their initiator. Three years later began the First World War, which in the Russian Empire ended with the 1917 revolution.

Lenin's Reform

At the outset of the revolution peasants were misled by the slogans offering them free land. But the new dictator, Lenin, quick in seizing the supreme power, instead of dividing the land amongst the peasants, started establishing large state-owned farms (*sovkhozy*) or collective farms (*kolkhozy*) running mostly into thousands of hectares. The peasant-labourer remained a bondsman, this time as a serf of the state, paid only 3 kilogrammes (approx. 6 lbs. 10 oz.) of bread for a "day's work". Stalin pursued these reforms and enforced the establishment of collective farms, not without the aid of cruel reprisals costing many lives.

The opposition of the peasants was so violent that that famous minion of Stalin, Nikita Khrushchov, had to execute in Ukraine alone about 7 million peasants and to deport an equal number to Siberia. Millions of young villagers were forcibly despatched to work in heavy industry, mostly in munitions factories. Villages were left ruined or depopulated — which suited Stalin, who distrusted the peasants and preferred to have a mass of labourers reduced to impotence and blindly obedient to the Communist authorities.

Lenin thus made use of the Russian tradition of collective land ownership to enforce Communist doctrine on both the Russian and the non-Russian population of the Soviet Union. So Lenin crowned the traditional communal life of the peasant with a Marx-Engels wreath.

Revolts and Famine

Ukraine and Siberia were the scenes of the most violent peasant revolts, and this is understandable, considering that these countries had never known the institution of the village *mir*.

In other parts of the Soviet Union love of the soil was not so deeply rooted. The *kolkhozy* were established, the mechanization of agriculture decreed, but as these

measures had not been sufficiently prepared and as they met with the complete indifference of the population, the results went from bad to worse.

An outmoded economic system, based on the outdated ideas of Marx and on the ancient tradition of the *mir* resulted in a general famine in that very empire which before the revolution had been one of the greatest corn exporters, particularly from Ukraine, the Don and Volga Provinces and Siberia, well known as the major food providers of the Russian Empire.

In Poland, where a Communist regime was also perforce established after the last war the peasants decisively rejected the *kolkhoz* system in 1956. Fearing a general peasant revolt, the Communist government decided to retreat, and not only left the land belonging to the peasants in their possession but even allowed them to increase its extent with some land from the larger estates which at that time were nationalized. Consequently the Polish peasants remained faithful to the tradition of their country and succeeded in withholding their land from state control.

To conclude, it is interesting to observe that both England and Germany operate a system of subsidies to agriculture, in order to enhance production and maintain a low level of prices on the market, whilst the United States has introduced fixed prices and forcibly reduced the area given over to agriculture, in order to prevent over-production resulting from America's excellent farming technology. What a contrast to the Soviet Union!

The Mistakes of Nikita Khrushchov

At the very beginning of his rule, Khrushchov attempted to increase the area of cultivated land in the USSR by adding 50 million hectares (approx. 193,000 sq. mls.) of the "virgin lands" of Kazakhstan and Siberia. The climatic conditions, the shortage of water, too short a vegetation period, a severe winter without snow to protect the corn sown in autumn, the "black storms" (hurricanes carrying away not only the soil but the plants themselves) — all this was well known. Nevertheless, millions of men

were directed to these lands, enticed by bribes offered by the government. These young people found themselves in Kazakhstan and Siberia without shelter or fuel in a desert country; on the other hand agricultural machinery was transported there in abundance, to the detriment of the traditional agricultural areas where it was most needed.

The first year nearly justified the regime's promises. By a mere chance that year was a rainy one and allowed 15 quintals of corn to be harvested from a hectare, which was declared satisfactory, in spite of the fact that some of the older agricultural regions — Ukraine and the Altai and Volga provinces — produced up to 40 quintals per hectare previously.

The following years were less favourable. The climate returned to normal. Production fell to 5 quintals per hectare and the whole enterprise collapsed. The Siberians and Kazakhstanians justly say that their land might be good but their sky is bad!

The catastrophe was even more acute because Khrushchov, disregarding the character of the soil and the climate, forced the population to produce sweetcorn, to which he allotted 50 million hectares and which despite all efforts produced a very poor yield. About 45 million hectares of fallow land were added to the production cycle, which resulted in a lower average productivity rate for the whole Soviet Union.

Khrushchov endeavoured to break the vicious circle of the Communist "Utopia". Thus, for example, on receiving complaints about the inefficiency of tractors centres, he abolished them altogether and handed over the machinery and equipment to the *kolkhozy*. The results were deplorable. The best mechanics left the countryside to work in industry, while on the other hand the necessary spare parts were still missing. Eventually the machines, for lack of skilled specialist attention, were left to rust unused in the farmyards.

The Soviet Union paid dearly for Lenin's "Utopian" reforms, and after 44 years of Communist rule the Soviet government had to buy 15 million tons of corn from the

USA and Canada, an operation in which it was closely followed by the satellite countries. Stalin let his people starve. Khrushchov made an effort to save Communism with imports from the West. He understood that a stick can only produce a musical sound from a donkey-hide stretched on a drum!

Efforts to Save the Situation

A few years before his fall Khrushchov, in a public speech, praised the peasants of Poland for opposing collectivization, and again at Krasnodar in 1963 he admitted the complete breakdown of Soviet agrarian economy.

The continuous shortage of corn, the failure to provide for the needs of 200 million inhabitants from 350 million hectares (approx. 1,350,000 sq. mls.) of tilled land — all this forced Khrushchov to decentralize agricultural administration and to leave the organization of production in the hands of provincial authorities and of the *kolkhozy* themselves. Khrushchov even advised the *kolkhozy* to imitate the methods of Capitalist countries. This man, who bragged that he would outdo the Capitalist world and defeat it, now tried to save Communism by adopting the methods of his ideological foes. In this way he clearly proved the complete bankruptcy of his system. In his speech in February 1964 to the General Congress of the Party, he advised the introduction of a system of incentives in the form of “a pay corresponding to the quality and quantity of the harvest”. This was a step forward, but the first only. Khrushchov also opened large credits for the production of agricultural machinery, tractors, fertilizers, etc. — all those goods so important to Soviet agriculture. Great Britain, Poland, and other countries obtained large orders for the construction of these factories on Soviet soil.

Conclusion

Nevertheless, the dictators of the Russian empire still refuse to recognize the primordial truth that private ownership, personal interest in profits, and individual initiative are more important than compulsion and that without denationalization of the *kolkhozy*, agriculture in the Russian empire will never be able to regain its feet.

Khrushchov's successors have made further concessions to the *kolkhozy* by establishing a more liberal system of production and sale of crops; but it does not seem possible to “save face” and at the same time extricate agriculture from its present difficulties by creating “long-term” tenancies which would mean a more liberal regime of production and might put an end to the recurring famines. The result of such a measure would be incalculable, if we consider that 4% of cultivated land, in the individual care of the members of the *kolkhozy*, produce more than the remaining 96% of the land, which is exploited in the name of the state (this applies to milk, eggs, meat, and vegetables).

No sector of production needs more private initiative and personal devotion than farming. The long-term tenancies could become a first stage in the return to private ownership, as has often happened in the course of history. And this would perhaps be a step on the road towards saving the population of the Soviet Union from the grasp of Communism, although the only complete solution is, of course, the dismemberment of the Russian empire and the constitution of all the nations subjugated by it into sovereign and democratic national states.

HIGH TIME By N. D. P.

*This is not — not the time! Not the time
To serve Russia's imperial plan,
It's high time to end Russian injustice and crimes,
Regain freedom for all captive men!
It's high time! It's high time! It's high time!
For free people to answer the call:
Stop Russian expansion's aggressive designs,
Free the captives — each one and — them all!
Since this time is the ripest of times,
Let's get up and be counted, and stand —
Stand for justice to all and for true human rights,
Stand for freedom to nations and men!
This is not — not the time! Not the time
To serve Russia's imperial game.
It's high time to end Russian injustice and crimes
To regain free and sovereign Ukraine!*

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations (ABN)

Munich, Zeppelinstr. 67

On Captive Nations Week

The Divided World

World history has known many paradoxes, but the greatest of historical paradoxes will always be the alliance of the Western "Capitalist" powers with Communist Russia in the Second World War, since it is the latter's aim to annihilate just this very "Capitalist" world and to set up the dictatorship of the proletariat and its brutal reign of terror.

At this point we wish only to confirm this fact. The causes which led to this monstrous alliance belong to another chapter.

Its consequence, however, was that the world has been divided in two, and we still cannot state with certainty that far worse results are not still to come.

Blinded by hate and under the illusion that victory would bring into existence a new world of free peoples and secure world peace, the Western powers overlooked the danger not only of world Communism but also of Russian imperialism.

Russia occupied other countries and subjugated more peoples.

The Communist regime was set up in these "liberated" countries and they fell into utter vassalage to Russia.

In Asia Russia has pursued the aim she has striven after since time immemorial, that of driving out the Western powers — and this has happened.

In accordance with Russia's present imperialistic policies, certain Asian countries have turned Communist, and the struggle to extend Communist domination yet further is still continuing.

The Western powers have come to terms with the forcible extension of Russia's colonial empire, and are prepared to recog-

nize Russia's possession of countries and peoples as a vested right, again in the illusory hope that war may in this way be avoided and on the assumption that Russia would be transformed during the phase of "peaceful co-existence" and would gradually become a civilized state. But no such thing has been observed with the passage of time and individuals and peoples under Russian and Communist domination in general remain robbed of all human rights and of their freedom.

I. The Resolution of the United States Congress on "Captive Nations Week"

The colonial empires of the West have ceased to exist. Many independent states have come into being in Asia and Africa, among them some which never existed formerly, whose peoples were never separate nations, and which developed under the domination of a colonial power.

Only Russia's colonial empire, known as the "Soviet Union", has continued to exist — an empire in which ancient, historic, civilized peoples remain oppressed and subjugated, with that brutality which is peculiar to the Communist regime.

The captive nations have been left to their own resources and have fought desperately against the Russians. The national revolution in Hungary in 1956, the risings of the Ukrainians, the young Georgians, and the Poles in the same year, and in Berlin in 1953, were all drowned in blood by the Russians.

And although the West did nothing to help, the world was shocked into attention and men were deeply shaken by these events, so that it was no longer possible not to offer sympathy to these peoples and

not to grant them moral recognition of their rights.

Human rights and the right to self-determination — the right “to choose for oneself that form of government beneath which one wishes to live and which one desires; that sovereign rights and self-government be given back to those from whom they have been violently torn away” — these rights have been promised to all men and to all peoples.

“Furthermore, the prohibition of despotism belongs to that transcendental law which is of moral origin and which no state may leave completely unheeded” — if this state claims to be civilized.

In this divided world the USA has been chosen by history to be the great power which is to stand up for the principles of the civilized world, to strive for their realization and to oppose despotism.

The USA has officially proclaimed its readiness to do this through Congress. On 6th July 1959, Congress unanimously passed the “Resolution concerning Captive Nations Week” (S. J. Res. 111; H. J. Res. 454, 459), which was introduced by Senator Paul H. Douglas and supported by 18 Senators.

After the President had proclaimed this resolution of Congress, it acquired the force of law (Public Law 86—90) and is binding as such.

In this legally founded resolution, we read (extract):

WHEREAS since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

WHEREAS the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

WHEREAS these submerged nations look to the United States as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, and other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties;

WHEREAS the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

WHEREAS it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled,

That the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation on the Fourth of July, 1959, declaring the week following such day as “Captive Nations Week” and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation on each succeeding Fourth of July until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.”

This resolution was of historic importance, but it has found no fitting echo in the Free World. The public throughout the world, infatuated with thoughts of co-existence, took no notice of it: the world press completely ignored this resolution, in order to do the Russians a favour and not to irritate them.

Only the press of the Asian nations reported it fully, thanks to the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), and a resolution is passed at every annual conference of the League, recognizing the rights of all oppressed peoples and demanding the

re-establishment of their independent states.

But it is remarkable that neither the parliaments nor the governments of the divided countries, which were expressly mentioned in the US resolution — National China, Free Korea, Free Vietnam, Germany — have expressed any opinion about this resolution, which seems very odd. In fact, Japan should also approve the resolution of her own accord, although she is not named in it, since the Japanese island of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands have been annexed by Russia.

It is in the interest of these countries that they should still do this. Such indifference could have a very negative effect on the public of the USA, disappoint the USA with her good intentions, and procure influence for the adherents of co-existence and the friends of Russia and Red China. The consequence of this would be a fundamental change in the policies of the USA as regards the problem of the subjugated peoples. She could simply not take this into consideration any longer and drop the problem altogether.

This must be prevented, and for this reason we are making this declaration. It should serve as a reminder and a warning, and at the same time as an urgent appeal to all the nations concerned, that they should actively take up the problem of their own and of other captive nations, pursue it with all the means at their disposal, and win the support of the great powers in the West, especially of the USA, while on the other hand testifying before the USA to their readiness to fight for freedom and national independence.

II. *The Goal of the Captive Nations' Liberation Struggle*

As we have already said, the majority of the divided world is dominated by the Russian colonial empire, to which the non-Russian lands are held in subjugation by force and whose peoples have been degraded to disfranchised subjects of Russia. The other Communist-dominated countries which do not directly belong to this empire — the "Soviet Union" — are completely dependent upon it and utterly subject to it.

Bordering on it in the Far East is a large Communist country — Red China — which came into existence with Russia's help and will continue to exist just as long as the Russian colonial empire continues to exist. And not only this, but all the other Communist states, will continue to exist as long as the Russian Communist great power with its enormous military potential exists as their protective power. It is certain that with the collapse of the Russian colonial imperium all the other Communist states will also collapse, which continually keep the world in a state of unrest and represent a great danger.

For this reason, the problem of the nations subjugated by the Russians, and that of the divided countries, a part of each of which is ruled by the Communists, belongs to the main problems of the world at large. As long as it is not solved in a positive sense, that is, as long as these peoples are not free, there can be no security for the Free World or for world peace.

The peoples subjugated by the Russians are individual nations with their own cultures, which had existed for centuries as such within their own states before the Russian people even came into existence and the Muscovite state was founded.

States such as Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia were created artificially after the First World War, and Slovakia and Croatia were arbitrarily incorporated into them. With the Russians' help they were set up again after the Second World War and it is self-deception to assume that the governments of these Communist states are independent from Moscow.

It was Tito who fully approved of the cruel and bloody intervention of the Russians in Hungary in 1956.

The peoples of Asia whose countries are divided and in one part of which the Communist terror regime governs, also belong to the oldest civilized, historic nations.

All the subjugated nations are fighting, completely dependent on themselves, for their national freedoms and for the re-establishment of their independent states.

They have made countless sacrifices and are still making them today.

The fact that the resolution of the US Congress was silently disregarded in the Free World proves that the latter has not the courage to grant to these oppressed peoples the human rights and the right to individual existence at least from a theoretic moral point of view. One feels driven to cry in desperation, "L'Europe n'existe pas plus!" Men have simply become cowards seized by Existentialism, so that they overlook the terrible danger in which they are!

And the Russians are pushing onwards without delay: to India, Indonesia, Egypt, into other African countries, into Cuba — they have found a foothold everywhere. They are continually causing mischief in Central and South America, while the West concerns itself with theoretical disputes.

But this is not all. The Russians never stop speaking out against colonialism and imperialism and even for the "liberation" of peoples at the United Nations with that impertinence peculiar to them, with cynicism and baseness. And there is no one to give the appropriate answer, no one says that they themselves have the only colonial empire in the world, in which foreign peoples are oppressed by Bolshevik cruelty.

The West simply does not want to see that these subjugated peoples, struggling against Russian domination and Communism, are struggling for the preservation of the Free World and of civilization itself.

As the legitimate spokesmen and representatives of our peoples we demand from the Free World the immediate recognition of generally acknowledged rights of individuals and peoples for our nations.

There must be an end to the deceitful, deceptive and fatal policy of co-existence, and everything must be prepared and put into motion to destroy the Russian imperialism and to annihilate Communism.

Unrest must be caused in all Communist states and their rulers must be made uneasy; the subjugated peoples must be approached in the right manner and encouraged. For this, radio transmitters are necessary which broadcast uninterruptedly

day and night from every suitable point in the free countries. Radios "Free Europe" and "Liberty", their programmes inadequate and restrained in tone and content, are a charity organization, not a battle headquarters:

You cannot talk to the Russians as you would to a young lady or a gentleman — you must take the offensive, attack, strike.

The hope that the system in the Russian imperium may be liberalized is idiocy. By its very nature, dictatorship cannot be liberalized and Lenin's Bolshevism allows no liberalization, for this would mean the renunciation of Communism and the collapse of the whole structure of the state.

Moscow could never afford this, for the single reason that it already knows the centrifugal tendencies and forces of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, and is exactly aware that everything in it would then fall in like a house of cards.

The West should and must take advantage of the potential strength of the subjugated peoples, must support these peoples both morally and materially in their struggle, must inspire them and strengthen them, for only through the national revolutions of these peoples can the colossus of Russian power be made to collapse from within and can the world be saved from nuclear war.

III. *The Situation in Asia and our Liberation Struggle*

The conditions which came into being in Europe after the Second World War also came into being in Asia, due to the fact that the Great Powers were taken unawares by Russia.

The gigantic Chinese empire became Communist; Korea and Vietnam were divided and Communist states were set up in one part of each of these countries; the others are either pro-Communist or have close connections with the Communist great powers; part of Japan's territory was occupied by Russia. The Western great powers were driven out of Asia, and Russia reached the imperialistic goals she has been pursuing for years.

Asia has become a Russian sphere of in-

fluence. The assumption that Red China dominates in Asia is fundamentally wrong.

Neither economically nor militarily does Red China provide serious competition with Russia. Red China is not in a position to carry on an extended war. When she behaves as if she were on the offensive and throws out swaggering threats, she does so only because she knows that in an emergency she can rely on Russia and that Russia will be on Red China's side in every respect and can never allow that Communist China should cease to exist. For this would mean the defeat of world Communism, or in other words, of Russia's final goal, world domination.

The conflict between the two is not of a fundamental nature and would not hinder them from joint action in serious danger.

Red China's influence in Asia and Africa is relative, for she cannot afford the countries of these continents any significant assistance either economically or militarily. Nor can China impress with her nuclear test, for even if she should succeed in producing one or two atom bombs, she knows only too well that, if it came to war, hundreds of atom bombs would hail down on China.

The governments of the Communist countries in Asia know all this, and although they make eyes at Red China, their love does not stretch so far that they would rely completely and utterly on Red China.

Russia, on the other hand, is militarily and economically really a great power and the most important power factor in Asia. Russia appears in Asia as patron, helper and protector of peoples. In numerous African and Asian countries work technicians and doctors from Russia. They help to open up and to develop the country. They immediately make contact with the people of the country concerned and acquire the reputation of being good, likeable people.

These people are active not only in Communist states but also in such "neutrals" as Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Burma, as well as in the countries of Africa and in Cuba.

The non-Communist states of Asia see the Communist colossus of Red China standing directly and dangerously in front of them, and thus overlook Russia.

Red China's threatening gestures are a bluff. In the military field Red China can undertake nothing without Russia. In this respect Red China must adapt her policies to Russia's. And so there is resentment, since Russia cannot afford aggressive policies at the moment on account of the enormous strength of the USA, on whose side not only Great Britain and other European countries would be in an emergency, but also France, even if the latter does not approve of the measures at present being taken by the USA.

Secondly, and of decisive importance, Russia knows something which restrains her from military aggression, namely that, as soon as such a thing took place, all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and all the peoples of the so-called satellites would break their chains asunder, and Russia is well aware that this would mean the collapse and the annihilation of Communism.

Thus the struggle of the Asian peoples is closely bound to our struggle. They are united and form a global front for the liberation of all subjugated peoples, for the overthrow of Communism, for the destruction of Russian colonial power, for the establishment of a new world of free, independent peoples based on social justice and the guarantee of world peace.

The only way of reaching this goal is through national revolutions in the oppressed countries which will cause Communist domination to collapse from within.

The West is under an obligation to contribute to this with all the means at its disposal, to evolve these national revolutions, and to promote the rising of the peoples. Only in this way can nuclear war be avoided, for, if the present situation continues, it is inevitable just as soon as Russia has caught up with and overtaken the West in the technological and military fields.

That such a conflict is inevitable is determined by two historical facts: firstly, according to Marxist-Leninist teaching there

is in every state a permanent class struggle until the proletariat seizes power by revolution and wipes out the ruling class by a reign of terror and sets up a socialist state. The Russian Communist rulers have transferred this conception to foreign policy and it serves them as the firm basis of their world policies. According to this thesis there are on one side socialist (= Communist) states, on the other, Capitalist states. Just as there is a continual struggle within each and every state, so there is a continual struggle between these two worlds, which will continue until the "Capitalist" world has been annihilated and the proletariat has seized power. This revolution is inevitable, according to the Communists, as part of the law governing the internal development of a Capitalist economy. This world revolution is to be accomplished by Communist Russia, that is, by force — by war. To this purpose Russia is arming, and when she has reached a suitable point, she will strike, before the West can do so, for according to their Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Russian Bolsheviks firmly believe that the "Capitalist imperialists" must do so by virtue of their own class interests.

Secondly, it has always been the eternal dream and goal of Russian imperialism to dominate the world. It has been called to this and this is its mission.

From the strategic point of view, Russia controls the most favourable position and possesses not only a huge army but also adherents in the Free World, which will act as a fifth column attacking from the enemy's rear.

Thus one must either fight Russia with the same brutal methods as Russia herself employs, or remain completely exposed to her. To remove the latter danger, we must blow on the embers of the national revolutions of the subjugated peoples behind the enemy's back until they are fanned into flame.

This is National China's vocation in Asia. She is in a position with her intellectual, economic and military qualities to lead the peoples of Asia into battle, to stir up unrest in the countries under Communist rule, and to cause men to rebel against tyranny in

order to unite their divided lands.

The world must be brought to face the facts. We must cause unrest, just as the Communists do, and compel the Free World to take action.

ABN is a faithful and important ally in this struggle, and if it were provided with political, material, and technical support, then it could give shape to its activities over a wide area, for ABN is rooted in the homelands of the subjugated peoples. These peoples listen to its voice. It is not by chance that national leaders of the subjugated peoples in exile are murdered by Moscow's agents.

Moscow knows how dangerous a national revolutionary organization is.

The younger generation of our peoples provides violent resistance against Russian oppression. They rebel against the theory of melting together the peoples within the Communist state and fight for the preservation of their national existence and the individuality of their nations. These young people are the sons and daughters of the workers and peasants, for the older, upper ranks were either victims of the cruel terror or have meanwhile died out.

One must employ the same merciless measures against the Russian and Communist leadership as the Russians themselves use. Indulgence, humanity and tolerance are out of place when dealing with these tyrants.

We must be on the offensive instead of always remaining in our defensive positions.

IV. The Significance of the US Congress Resolution on Captive Nations Week for the Peoples of Asia

The resolution of the United States Congress of 6th July 1959 is of historic importance and is indicative of the guiding principles of the USA's policies. It is also an important contribution to international law, for it rests on the universally recognized rights of man and on the right to self-determination of every single people.

With this resolution the USA recognized expressly and without reservation the rights of the oppressed peoples, who have been forcibly robbed by Russia and by the Commu-

nist regime of their national sovereignty, and declared herself ready to support and to further the aspirations of these peoples to national independence and free life.

This means, both for our peoples and for the peoples of Asia, that the USA is both legally and morally their powerful ally, and this fact must be fittingly recognized.

In comparison with our peoples, whose countries are completely occupied by Russia, the peoples of Asia who are divided have a great advantage, for a part of each of their countries exists as a free sovereign state. They can appeal to this resolution of the United States Congress, and openly conduct the struggle against dictatorship in the other part of their countries. They are free to act and they possess all the requisites and opportunities to do so.

It must be openly stated here that it is politically disadvantageous that the parliaments and governments of the countries concerned have neglected to welcome the United States' resolution and to declare officially their solidarity with it.

This must be made up for, for in doing this the parliaments of these countries would speak as representatives of all the subjugated peoples.

And this should be done not only by the parliaments of the countries concerned, but by all the free states of Asia which are allies of these countries.

If this does not take place, then there could be very unfavourable consequences and it could be that other resolutions to the advantage of the subjugated peoples would not be passed.

It is high time to create a world front for the liberation of the subjugated peoples, for the re-unification of the divided countries, for the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, and for the annihilation of Communism. And the formation of such a front could be brought into the forefront of world publicity through a demonstration by the powers which were to form it, by the Anti-Communist World Congress.

This can only be done with the USA's support, but she will hesitate to do this until the free states whose territory is divided

and their allies approve her resolution, upon which they have as yet expressed no views.

By forming a common world front with the USA for the liberation struggle, we can gain tangible material and moral support for the conduct of our struggle. This will be a contribution which will accelerate the attainment of our aims.

About the fact that our peoples will one day tear their fetters asunder and attain freedom and independence, there can be no doubt. For the historical development of our epoch demands and is realizing individual and national freedoms and no one is capable of resisting this process and of bringing it to a standstill. We are living in the era of the awakening and liberation of nations, of enormous social and political change. And the Russian imperium will also be flooded and destroyed by this tidal wave.

The Western powers could contribute to the acceleration of this historical process, and the USA was the first of these to declare its readiness to do this through the resolution of Congress. Now it is up to the governments and parliaments of the countries concerned to take advantage of this, to take over leadership in the struggle of all subjugated peoples for freedom, and to develop this more actively with all the means at their disposal.

With the collapse of the Russian imperium, Red China would also collapse. The battle must be conducted simultaneously on all fronts, and without Russia, Red China will never dare to undertake anything, for she relies completely and utterly on Russia.

The struggle against the Communists must be conducted mercilessly on all sides. Everything must be so arranged that forces are gathered and allies are gained. The free states of Asia have every opportunity to compel the great powers to act in favour of the subjugated peoples. National China is a bastion of the Free World in the Far East and from here must come the main blow in every aspect of battle.

The peoples of Asia, who have also experienced foreign domination in the past, possess sufficient battle experience. Now they must make the Western world act.

V. *Germany's Eastern Policy and the Problem of the Subjugated Peoples in the USSR*

The opinion still prevails in Germany that re-unification can be accomplished separately from the problems of the other countries which are ruled by Russia or lie within its sphere of power.

In this respect it is forgotten that regions once occupied by Russia will never be given up voluntarily, for two reasons: firstly, because, as has already been said, Russia regards the conflict between the Socialist and the Capitalist worlds as inevitable on account of Marxist-Leninist teaching, and in expectation of this clash Russia will not, on strategic grounds, withdraw from favourable advance positions. Secondly, because it has always been an aim of Russian imperialism to command the Baltic Sea and to eliminate "the German danger" (*nemetskaya opasnost'*) for ever, and to acquire a firm foothold in the Balkans in order to have free access to the Mediterranean. All this Russia has accomplished, and he who believes that she will now give this up, is more than naive.

Thus there can be no solution to the German question, which is a constituent problem of the present world situation, as the German question is also inextricably bound up with the whole complex of today's world problems. As long as the Russian colonial empire, known as the "Soviet Union", remains in existence, these problems cannot be solved in their entirety. Whoever thinks otherwise is deceiving himself and surrendering himself to the world of illusions.

Furthermore German eastern policies are so adjusted that the question of Russian predominance in the Soviet Union is not touched on, but rather recognized as a completely legal state of affairs. For this reason all the non-Russian peoples driven into the Soviet Union by force are completely ignored and never mentioned by name. This applies not only to official sources but also to the allegedly "independent" press.

Whereas the right of the peoples of Africa to national independence is generally recognized and they are afforded every assistance,

our civilized peoples, who have grown with history, have not once been theoretically and morally granted the right of self-determination. No politician, no press organ wastes a word on this.

But it is right here that Germany has been offered a great chance of winning the confidence of these peoples — by her government and parliament combining and raising the question of German re-unification with a demand for independent states for all the subjugated peoples. But if this chance is missed today, no diplomat can make up for it later.

Germany should play a leading role in the struggle for the national freedom of peoples in general, but it seems that the men responsible do not feel ready to do this.

Germany has a wonderful opportunity to make a declaration of solidarity with the resolution of the United States Congress on Captive Nations Week, especially as the resolution expressly mentions the re-unification of Germany. In this way the right to self-determination — to national political independence — of all peoples could have been confirmed by Germany, but this chance was neglected.

In conversations with our American friends — Congressmen and Senators — we have always perceived their consternation at the fact that official German sources not only failed to welcome Congress's resolution, but did not even mention it once in the press. It clearly follows that the Americans should ask themselves why they should take up Germany's cause, when the Germans have not shown themselves to be especially interested in it.

We believe that we are right in thinking that it is a moral obligation of the German Parliament to acknowledge the universally recognized rights of all individuals and all peoples — including the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union — and to affirm this through an explicit declaration before the whole world.

Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

June 1965

The Situation In South-East Asia

In order to understand the present political situation in South-East Asia, one must bear in mind the fact that there is hardly a country or a region in the world which is not affected by international politics.

The military achievements of the Japanese against the colonial powers during the Second World War disposed for ever of the Asiatic peoples' belief in white supremacy: these peoples have become aware that they can enjoy freedom and independence.

Indonesia began by forming with the Netherlands the Dutch-Indonesian Union, then made herself completely independent, and finally even seized West New Guinea from the Netherlands. In order to keep an area important both strategically and economically, Great Britain helped to create Malaysia, where the Chinese will soon be in the overwhelming majority, due to the rapid increase in their population. Indonesia also claims this area and is conducting a bush war there. In the struggle for Malaysia she is drawing further and further away from the Anglo-Americans and constantly slipping more deeply into the Red Chinese sphere of interest. The Communists are already playing a significant role in the leadership of Indonesian political life.

During the War the Japanese also occupied French Indochina. It was after the Japanese occupation that nationalists led the Vietnamese people into battle against France. In consequence France was compelled in 1949 to grant independence to Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam within the French Union. They made Bao Dai, son of the former Emperor of Annam, Vietnamese Head of State. But the war continued and led to the complete defeat of the French. The position of these peoples was laid down by the Geneva Agreement in 1954: Laos and Cambodia were recognized as independent states and Vietnam was temporarily divided into two parts. The part north of the 17th parallel was handed over to the Communist Ho Chi-Minh, whilst the part to the south was placed under American

protection and also recognized as an independent state.

President Ngo Dinh Diem recognized too late that the support given by the Americans was in no way unselfish. But after this was recognized, he devoted his undivided attention to preserving the independence of his country, which understandably displeased the Americans.

Communist propaganda has taken advantage of these misguided efforts on the part of the USA in Vietnam. American "advisers", supported by the American liberal press, tried to play off the Buddhists against the "Catholic domination" of Ngo Dinh Diem. Other Communist agents stirred up the people against the Americans. The Americans were not aware of the fact that the monks, who had reached the South by secret paths from North Vietnam, were Communist agents. But apart from this, it was not difficult to stir up the people against the dollar-wasting Americans. Even the Protestant missionaries from America remarked bitterly that a common infantryman earned more than they themselves. A Chinese colonel receives 20 US Dollars monthly, an American infantryman several hundred.

Ngo Dinh Diem's government wanted only to hold to democratic principles, and afforded the country comparatively great freedom. After his assassination it became known that there were in South Vietnam only 600 political prisoners, which for a land of 14,000,000 people engaged in jungle warfare is really very few.

The agents filtering in from the North have not only organized the proletariat but are insinuating themselves into the government and into key political positions, in which they have had the support of a number of newspaper correspondents.

It is astonishing that the liberal American press has never noticed that those people whom it is supporting are Communists. The liberal forces involved here are the same as those who supported Tito's guerrillas during the Second World War, instead

of the Serbian War Minister's Chetniks; instead of Chiang Kai-shek they supported Mao Tse-tung, whom they looked upon as an agrarian reformer. This same press and the organizations hidden behind it have emphasized for years that Castro is not a Communist but an anti-Fascist, and this same press asserts even today that the peoples subjugated by Russia are getting on splendidly. It was also this press which turned the American government against the Diem regime. As a result the Communists have gained more and more ground in South Vietnam and extended their power over two thirds of the country.

While the Americans were desisting from activities which the Soviet Union regards as interference in its sphere of interest, the Russians created for themselves in Cuba a base against the United States. Through propaganda and espionage they have influenced the public opinion, and today their confidants even occupy key positions in the American political life.

A three-party coalition vegetates in Laos. At a suitable moment the Communists make a well-planned attack on the government, in order — after weeks or months of fighting — to establish a peace by which they retain their newly won positions. But when generals with nationalist objects make a *coup d'état*, they are soon forced to withdraw, as otherwise American assistance is withheld.

This, broadly speaking, was the political situation in South-East Asia as long as France was occupied with her African colony in Algeria. But after the loss of Algeria, de Gaulle's government turned its attention to the richest of its former colonies, Indochina. France had made many friends here during her fifty-year rule, especially amongst the educated. The French government cannot come to terms with the fact that the United States lent support to all the French colonies so that they could attain independence.

American circles in Taipeh — journalists and officers — have been well aware of French activities in what was formerly Indochina, but have not attributed any great significance to these. They have been of the

opinion that France is no longer a great power — in which respect they have perhaps been right, thinking that France was not a great power in comparison with the USA and Russia. But these gentlemen have apparently forgotten that it was French diplomacy which, after the World War I which had been won with America's help, re-drew the map of Europe; for during the peace negotiations it succeeded in getting its will accepted right along the line. The American peace delegation was to return home with a peace treaty in its pocket which had not been approved by Congress. This diplomacy, refined over the centuries, now has a hold in Indochina, Europe and Latin America.

De Gaulle's first announcement that he envisaged the foundation of a Europe stretching to the Urals was dispatched by the international press with the comment that de Gaulle's political thinking was very complicated. But de Gaulle's announcement has had one consequence which cannot be ignored: the blood has been drained from the friendship established with Germany under Adenauer, as the less romantically-minded Erhard does not wish to do without American support for his policies.

When de Gaulle made his announcement the writer of these lines immediately asked himself: how does de Gaulle imagine this United States of Europe to the Urals? Russia this side of the Urals is to belong to it, but Siberia, on the other side, not. Would he like to disintegrate the Empire? What is to become of Siberia? The answer to these questions was not long in coming. De Gaulle — apparently at Mao Tse-tung's demand — broke off diplomatic relations with National China and established them with Red China. Has de Gaulle promised to support Mao Tse-tung's claim to Siberia? In this case the plan for a united Europe as far as the Urals would become comprehensible. Russia sacrificed Khrushchov. Nevertheless, relations between Russia and Red China have not become markedly better.

What did de Gaulle demand in return for the recognition of Red China and his support of Mao Tse-tung? In all probability the neutralization of the former French Indochina. Such a treaty probably exists, for

not only the French, but also Ho Chi-Minh and Mao Tse-tung demand the neutralization of Indochina. Cambodia has even threatened the USA that she would call on the assistance of the Red Chinese Army and has recently broken off diplomatic relations with the USA. The situation became more tense as the days went by. The "Democrat" government named the "Republican" Cabot Lodge as US Ambassador to Vietnam. Finally he found several generals who were prepared, on the condition that the lives of the president and his family would be preserved, to make a *coup d'état*. At 5 o'clock in the morning Ngo Dinh Diem telegraphed Cabot Lodge and asked him if he knew about the *coup* and what his attitude was towards it. Lodge replied that an aircraft had been placed at his disposal if he wished to leave Vietnam. But Ngo did not wish to do so, and fled to Father Jaeger's church. The "revolutionaries" found him there, dragged him out, and murdered him together with his brother in a jeep.

The new government's first reform was to lift the ban on the negro-American dance "Swift". Apparently the Vietnamese people is not in need of any more important reforms.

This *coup d'état* and murder threw Vietnam into complete chaos. The regime of Ngo Dinh Diem was at least supported by the two-and-a-half million Catholics, for they are well aware that they would be exterminated right down to the last man if the Communists were to win in Vietnam. The governments which have followed Diem's regime have not been supported by the masses. The members of these new governments have only gone out of their way to build themselves western-style houses and to obtain the money necessary to do this.

In the *coups* which so rapidly followed each other the Americans found their favourite in the person of Nguyen Khan. He was the most unpopular man in South Vietnam — no one liked him except the Americans. His half-brother lives in Paris and works there for the neutralization of Vietnam. Apart from the Americans, no one liked him. Another of his brothers lives in Hanoi. He is a Communist and works

with Ho Chi-Minh. His wife's brother is envoy to Hongkong, where his aunt visits him every week in order to carry on business operations. When the "Young Turk" generals ousted him, the Americans did everything in their power to put him back into power. Only after he was no longer to be found in Vietnam did the Americans recognize the "Young Turk" government.

During the gloomy period since Ngo Dinh Diem's assassination, the Viet-Cong have undertaken military and terrorist activities on all fronts and met with considerable success against the Vietnamese-American forces. The Americans have suffered heavy losses. Restaurants, barracks, and headquarters have been destroyed. On 4th March the Viet-Cong even destroyed Bien-Hoa airport and the aircraft standing there ready for take-off. Much has changed during the last eighteen months. The Americans describe the situation as "very serious and grave, but not hopeless".

The aggressive activities of the Viet-Cong, growing stronger and stronger every day, have proved to the Americans that their policies in South-East Asia have landed in a cul-de-sac. It is an irony of fate that Johnson's government was forced to take those measures against the Viet-Cong and their supporters which had been advocated by Barry Goldwater during the presidential election and which at that time were attacked not only by the Democrats but also by the liberal wing of the Republicans. Goldwater did indeed lose in the election, but his policies are already to some extent victorious, and it is to be hoped that the rest of his programme will become reality as well.

First of all the Americans evacuated the wives and children of American soldiers from Vietnam, as their lives were no longer safe there. Then they landed two battalions to defend the air-base at Da-Nang, whilst the strengthened Seventh Fleet blockaded the coast of North Vietnam. After these preparations, almost on the same day as Kosygin was in Hanoi, the first air attack on the terrorists' training and supply camps to the north of the 17th parallel took place. This American display of strength

took the Communists by surprise, and the Americans were inundated with threats: "If the United States crosses the 17th parallel, China will immediately intervene." When this threat was repeated, the sentence, "when North Vietnam requests her to," was added. The USA had made it known that American aircraft would attack China immediately if she dared to interfere. Kosygin has of course promised complete support to North Vietnam. The American liberal press has demanded — as it always does when the Communists are doing badly — peace negotiations. America's answer to Communist threats was the intensification of air attacks on North Vietnam, 20,000 reinforcements, intensification of the blockade on North Vietnam, and the landing of an unknown number of American troops in Asia.

At the same time American circles have emphasized that North Vietnam is also in difficulties — it lacks food, communications, etc. The Americans could give valuable help in removing these difficulties. As later became known, the British and Canadian governments had started preparing for peace negotiations. But the Communists have stressed that they are not ready to enter into negotiations until the Americans have stopped bombing North Vietnam and withdrawn completely from South Vietnam. Meanwhile, American and South Vietnamese troops continued the bombardment without the North Vietnamese taking any counter-measures. It looked as if the Vietnam problem would quite soon be solved. When military and transport installations have been destroyed by air attacks, Hanoi will no longer be supporting the Viet-Cong, so that the latter will have to give up the fight. On 1st April the mediation of 17 neutral states was announced, and met with a favorable reception from the Americans. They stopped bombing, and instead tried systematically to wipe out the Viet-Cong stationed in South Vietnam. They even used tear-gas, which displeased not only the Communists but also the liberal press. Johnson had to confirm that no one had obtained his agreement to a gas attack. The Viet-Cong also seemed to have stopped their

military and terrorist activities. And then came the completely unexpected destruction of the American embassy in Saigon. Everyone expected Hanoi to be bombed, but the American government declared that it was not thinking in terms of retaliation but of the solution of the Vietnam question.

During the bombardment of North Vietnam on 3rd April two American aircraft were shot down by Russian MIGs. Was this already the promised Russian assistance to North Vietnam?

President Johnson announced that he was ready to take part in preliminary negotiation. What is more, he declared that the USA was ready to give up to a billion dollars assistance to South-East Asian countries. The Communists categorically rejected this offer. They maintain that only the participants at the Geneva Conference can negotiate on the Vietnam question. A vicious circle has appeared between the two enemies — neither wants to take part in peace negotiations which would entail a loss of prestige. The military and political situation has become more tense. The Viet-Cong have fired 125 cannon shots over the headquarters of the Military Assistance Commando at Quang-Tri.

The United States *will* defend Vietnam. Saigon Radio has started anti-French broadcasts. The "Young Turk" generals have replaced the City Commandant of Saigon, and the naval Commander and his deputy. 1,400 American seamen have landed at Da-Nang. Behind all these military and political threats peace negotiations are in top gear. President Johnson is so convinced of his "Billion Plan" for South-East Asia that he has even instructed the ex-Director of the International Bank, Secretary of State Ball, to work out this plan.

In order to understand future developments in the Vietnam situation properly, we must take a close look at the interests and forces which are working against each other there.

1) The USA does not want war. She wishes only to purge South Vietnam of the Viet-Cong's spurious peace offers. She wishes to remove the peasants, at present under Communist administration, from the Commu-

nist sphere of interest. When the Viet-Cong forces in South Vietnam have been systematically eliminated, the peasantry, which is not yet Communist, will be easy to release from the Communist embrace.

For it would suffer a bitter fate — the collectivization of property, a slave economy, etc. The Ngo Dinh Diem government and the *comp* governments which have followed have all neglected the enlightenment of the people. The people have been left at the mercy of Communist propaganda. At present the Americans are distributing 200,000 radio sets amongst the people, so that they can also hear counter-propaganda. The USA is at great pains to convince Ho Chi-Minh that she has no intention whatsoever of wiping out Communism in North Vietnam, although the North Vietnamese should free themselves from China and build up their economy with American help.

American propaganda against Red China is being intensified daily. The US Government is said to have been preparing for years for a "rebuilding of continental China". The number of American students learning Chinese in National China is far above the number needed to maintain contacts with National China herself. China is situated on the seaboard of the Pacific Ocean, and this has belonged to the American sphere of interest since the war.

2) The Communist Bloc does not wish to start an all-out war in South Vietnam either: firstly, because Soviet weapons have not yet reached the level of American weapons; secondly, because the Soviet Union had not yet "digested" her captive nations, which constitute over 50% of the entire population; and thirdly, because the Central and South-East European peoples ceded to the Soviet Russian colonial empire by Roosevelt after the Second World War, which together with the USSR's non-Russian nations constitute two thirds of the Warsaw Pact countries, have not yet been ideologically re-educated, and could start an open war against Russia. These peoples are Soviet Russia's Achilles' heel.

The Red Chinese could not conduct a war against the USA without Russian par-

ticipation. Red China admits this herself when she says that the USA has only started the war in North Vietnam in order to annihilate China's military power before she has developed atomic weapons.

What *does* the Communist bloc want, then, if it does not want to start an all-out war and if the Viet-Cong (without effective support from Hanoi) cannot continue its bush war? Peking cannot give up the fight, because to do so would be to recognize in principle Russia's policy of co-existence.

For the Communists the ideal situation would be the one which prevailed from the Ngo Dinh Diem regime to the American reprisals: a situation where well-trained guerilla fighters can launch surprise attacks and acts of terror at the right time, thereby crushing their opponent's strength and taking possession step by step of as large an area as possible. I think I am not mistaken when I say that before Mao Tse-tung's eyes is the image of the Spanish Civil War. He has announced that "tens of thousands of Korean, Indonesian, Venezuelan and Japanese people have volunteered to go and fight in South Vietnam." International brigades formed from fearless Communists and trained perhaps by the master of bush war himself, Ho Chi-Minh, would take advantage of the climatic conditions to cause the Americans and the South Vietnamese tremendous losses and make life unbearable for them. One wonders whether Ho Chi-Minh can afford the heavy bombardment of his already exhausted country. It could be that he might remain Communist in accordance with a motto of Tito's — "a clever lamb is suckled by two mothers" — while accepting American help and putting off settling accounts with the Capitalist countries until a more convenient occasion. In order to make such a decision possible, President Johnson said recently that the USA has no intention of crossing the 17th parallel and annihilating Communism in North Vietnam. Since Kosygin's visit there have been more and more signs that Ho Chi-Minh is on Moscow's side in the Moscow-Peking conflict. Furthermore, Sukarno has invited Kosygin to Indonesia, which can be interpreted as a sign of the increase of Rus-

sian influence in South-East Asia as opposed to that of the Red Chinese.

Will the Soviet Union give the North Vietnamese any significant help? We have already seen that Russian radar installations and MIG fighters have successfully intervened in one air attack. As long as this assistance does not exceed its present proportions, it will not represent a danger. But should this help be so increased — perhaps in conjunction with international brigades — that it threatens the USA's positions in South-East Asia, then President Johnson would find himself forced not only to begin Barry Goldwater's programme, but to carry it out to the bitter end — to the source of the Red attack, to Moscow. The USA could not abandon South-East Asia to the Communists. Nor could Great Britain keep to its word — that it would not provide any assistance in a war in South-East Asia. For if former French Indochina were to fall into the hands of the Communists, Sukarno would immediately invade Malaysia, and Mao Tse-tung India and Burma.

3) Great Britain should make preparations for the defence of Malaysia against landings carried out in small boats and canoes and against Communist infiltration. A few tens of thousands of well-trained guerrillas could easily take possession of Malaysia, because there are so many circles in Malaysia which sympathize with Sukarno. During the war the Japanese did not take Singapore from the sea, where it was protected by the British fleet, but from the mainland. If the Indian Ocean once fell into Communist hands, Australia and New Zealand would be unable to defend themselves against Communist invasion.

4) There is in Indochina an important party on the French pattern which demands the re-unification of Vietnam and the neutralization of Indochina. As long as the Americans prove to be powerless in face of the Viet-Cong, this party will grow larger from day to day. But if the USA were to make effective counter-attacks, French influence would correspondingly decrease as a consequence of human nature and the tendency to follow the strongest. Indeed

the South Vietnamese Government has recently taken strong measures against French journalists and the radio station has introduced anti-French broadcasts. One thing is certainly clear — that French propaganda in South-East Asia is working against the USA and for the Communists and attempting to play Red China off against the USA and the Soviet Union.

In order to attenuate these anti-Russian policies, the Soviet Government has sent Valerian Zorin, the most important politician in foreign affairs after Gromyko, as ambassador to Paris. On taking office he defined his task by wanting to negotiate on the removal of the Americans from Europe and the "United States of Europe", which is to stretch as far as the Urals. The Russians have often suggested that they would withdraw their military forces from the Warsaw Pact countries if the Americans were to withdraw their troops from Europe. But in this connection is should be noted that not only the Russian government, but also Mao and Tito, stressed at the time of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 that the socialist countries could not allow the destruction of socialist attainments in any single state.

At the Conference of Yalta during the war, the three great powers redrew the map of Europe and shared it out into their spheres of interest. De Gaulle was not invited to this conference. He now asserts that the time has come to establish a new order in Europe. But the borders of the European states are not to be altered.

During the war and after it the Paris Freemasons' Lodge "Grand Orient" worked out a plan for the "new order" in Europe. According to this, Europe is to be divided into three zones: The West — as far as the eastern frontier of Germany and including Italy. These countries are first of all to organize a common market and later a United States of Europe. The second part is to consist of the Baltic countries, Poland, the states of the earlier Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Balkan states. When the latter have reached the economic and cultural level of Western Europe, they are to be allowed to attach themselves to the West. The third, and most backward, part, the Soviet Union,

is also to be added to these two parts when it has reached the same level. This plan was also put forward at Yalta by Churchill, but Roosevelt surrendered the lands of the second zone to the Russian Communist imperium. "In twenty years these people will accept voluntarily Russian rule, which is steadily growing milder", asserted Roosevelt.

There were international congresses of historians in Prague in 1955 and in Budapest in 1958 and 1964. It is indeed well known that even scholars are not allowed to have opinions of their own in Communist countries if they are not in agreement with the official point of view. At conferences they receive directives on how to handle certain questions.

At these 3 conferences, the representatives of the Communist countries agreed unanimously that the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a great mistake. The peoples of the Empire should have built up Socialism together within the borders of this territory. Is this assertion supposed to indicate some sort of union of states between the satellites countries? Do France and Russia want to realize the "new order" in Europe according to this plan?

One must admit that in announcements about the negotiations between Gro-

myko and the French Government, not a word — at least as far as I know — was mentioned about the subjugated peoples. Simultaneously with the joint official communiqué on the negotiations between the two powers, there appeared in the newspapers a comment of de Gaulle's to the effect that neither the Americans nor the Russians might spread themselves by dominating alien peoples.

Since President Johnson's offer of unconditional negotiations on South-East Asia have been categorically rejected by Ho Chi-Minh and Mao Tse-tung, the USA has no alternative but to put an end to Communism in North Vietnam and Red China with all her energy and as quickly as possible, while there is still a split between Red China and Russia and the former has not yet had a chance to fully develop her atomic weapons; for in a few years the USA will no longer be in a position to undertake such a step.

If the USA were to reach a settlement in South Vietnam through Russian mediation, they would in a few years have the same problems as they have today. National China, the Philippines, Korea, and the peoples subjugated by Russia would be the USA's truest allies and comrades in arms in a war of liberation. Taipei, May, 1965

"I do not believe that the French nation must disappear, nor that it can disappear. However much a European confederation is a part of normal development, I cannot see, either tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, the formation of a European nation. In twenty or twenty-five years Europe will still be a Europe of nations.

"One does not have to be a nationalist to believe that a nation can only be the fruit of a long history. To envisage the foundation of a European state today would mean calling national progress into question." Michel Debré, former French Prime Minister

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"The French Right is a huge fused mass of elemental reaction, anti-Communist, to be sure, but concerned for stability and therefore for detail. I don't want to say because of this that nationalism must be partisan to a revolution; only that stability combined with mediocrity is one day going to suffer an inevitable downfall. For this reason, if what we call the French "Right" is not enlivened by a nationalism that is coherent and utterly alien to all conservatism — for nationalism means evolution — it seems to me that there remains to us little hope of fighting effectively against Marxism.

"Nationalism is a leaven. And it is a leaven which is fitted to prepare for tomorrow in the bosom not only of the French "Right" but also of the hardened "Left" . . ."

Tixier-Vignancour

Translated from Ukrainian by Nestor D. Procyk

The Obelisks Of Granite

*The obelisks of granite, like medusas,
They crawled, and crawled — until worn out of strength.
On mournful graveyards of squad-fired illusions
There is no further space for graves of any length.*

*The millions of faiths — plowed deep into black soil,
The millions of fortunes — all blown out into dust . . .
My soul is all on fire, my angry mind just pain-boils,
My hate explodes in laughter that swirls with wily gusts.*

*If only all, once duped, their sight again recovered,
If only all the slaughtered could be revived somehow,
The sky itself, condemned — by curse — to dark-gray color
Would certainly, from shame and fierce disgrace, crack down.*

*Tremble all you assassins! Think well, blood-thirsty dastards.
For, life doesn't fit at all upon your hoofs so narrow.
You understand? Take look: upon illusions' graveyards
There's no more space now left for any tombs nor barrows.*

*My nation now — one wound that's mighty soar, but — solid,
Our soil, from bloodshed, has become like beast of prey,
For each and every tyrant — do you know it? —
Waiting already, is — well twisted — iron brace!*

*Those hunted down, those killed and torn to pieces
Are getting up. They march to bring the trial day.
Their maledictions sad, their damned and frenzied speeches
Shall fall upon the well-fed, mouldy species,
And on the branches of a sturdy tree — these
Apostles of the crime and of deceit shall sway.*

W. SYMONENKO was a young Ukrainian poet of the new Ukrainian generation living under the dreadful Soviet regime of imperial Russia. He died in December, 1963, at the age of 28, the cause of his death being unclear. Knowing, however, the kind of Soviet-Russian regime in Ukraine and considering S.'s daring literary works — mostly poetry, we could guess what kind of death he had.

For each reader, Symonenko's work brings a courageous word of his justified protest and passionate ire against the outrage and violations of the independence, freedom, and liberties of the Ukrainian people by Russian invaders and of the Ukrainian right to live peacefully and fearlessly on their own ethnic soil, under God.

The above poem, translated from the Ukrainian, is an eloquent example of how Symonenko and many other young Ukrainian patriots feel, living under the Soviet-Russian regime of oppression, although not many of them dared to speak as Symonenko did.

Malaysia — A True Friend Of The West

Malaysia occupies a central position within the area commonly known as South-East Asia, being a part both of the Asian land mass and of the island world of the Malay Archipelago. It covers an area of about 130,000 square miles, occupying two distinct regions, the Malay peninsula, which extends south-west from the narrow Kra Isthmus to the island of Singapore, and the north-western coastal area of the island of Borneo. The two regions are separated by about 40 miles of the South China Sea. It comprises the former Federation of Malaya, the former self-governing State of Singapore and the former British colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak. The tiny enclave of Brunei between Sarawak and Sabah (as North Borneo is now known) is, however, not within the Federation.

Malaysia has a diversity of races and cultures in a population of just over 10 millions. The indigenous people of Sarawak are made up of 137,000 Malays, 246,000 Sea Dayaks, 61,000 Land Dayaks, 46,000 Melanau, and 39,000 people of other minor groups. The indigenous people of Sabah consist of 152,000 Dusuns and Kadzans, 63,000 Bajans, 22,000 Murus and 83,000 Brunei Malays, Kedanyans and other minor groups. The indigenous people of Malaya are practically all Malays.

In Malaya, the Malays form 50% of the population, the Chinese 37%, the Indians and Pakistans just over 11% and people of other origins make up the rest. In Singapore the Chinese form an absolute majority and make up 75% of the population, as against the Malays 14% and the Indians 8.3%. The Chinese are more numerous in the west coast states, in the towns and industrial areas, while the Malays predominate in the east coast states and in rural and agricultural areas. The Indians are either town dwellers or workers on rubber estates.

Though many tongues are spoken in Malaysia, for many years most people have made use of simple Malay as the *lingua franca*. There is an increasing use at all

levels of the rapidly developing Malay language, Malaysia's national language which will be the vehicle in which Malaysian culture and consciousness will soon express itself.

Malaysia was formed on September 16, 1963, after over two years of consultation and negotiation. It consists of the eleven states of Malaya (Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Penang, Perak, Perlis, Selangor and Trengganu), plus the Borneo States, namely, Sabah and Sarawak, and the State of Singapore. Immediately before Malaysia Day, the States of Malaya were an independent and sovereign Federation which came into being on August 31, 1957. Singapore was administered as a separate colony after the Pacific war, attaining full internal self-government in June, 1959. Both Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak came under the British Crown in July 1946.

The first hint of the project which gradually took shape as the Federation of Malaysia was contained in a speech by the Tunku Abdul Rahman in Singapore, May 27, 1961. He said, "Malaya today as a nation realises that she cannot stand alone and in isolation . . . sooner or later she should have an understanding with Britain and the peoples of the territories of Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak. It is premature for me to say how this closer understanding can be brought about, but it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this objective and think of a plan whereby these territories can be brought closer together in political and economic co-operation."

Two months later Malaya made the first major move to translate this idea into reality by establishing the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, composed of leading personalities from each of the five territories (the Brunei representatives sitting as observers). They were asked to study the possibility of the plan, develop a program of action and suggest how local interests and requirements ought to be reconciled.

The committee held series of meetings in the North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak capitals and in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. On November 23, 1963, the Tunku reached agreement in principle with Prime Minister Macmillan on the advisability of creating Malaysia and on the appointment of an Anglo-Malayan Commissioner to inquire into the proposal on the spot and make recommendations. Lord Cobbold, former Governor of the Bank of England, was named head of the Commission, with two experienced members of the British Foreign Service and two nominees of the Malayan Government as his associates.

It was at this juncture that Foreign Minister Subandrio of Indonesia intervened in the discussion of the Malaysia proposal. He was then in New York, attending the U.N. General Assembly at which the Indonesian claim to West Irian was being considered. In order to dispel the idea that the acquisition of West Irian would be only a *first step* in an Indonesian program of expansion, he wrote a letter to the *New York Times*, dated November 13, 1961, citing "As an example of our honesty, and lack of expansionist intent" the fact that Indonesia "does not offer any objection" toward the Malayan policy of merger with the British territories in Borneo. And speaking in the General Assembly a week later, on November 20, 1961, Subandrio said further:

"We are not only disclaiming the territories outside the former Netherlands East Indies, though they are of the same island (Borneo), but — more than that — when Malaya told us of its intention to merge with the three British Crown Colonies of Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo as one Federation, we told them that we had no objections and that we wished them success with this merger so that everyone might live in peace and freedom."

The friendly attitude thus expressed did not long survive.

There followed tripartite discussions in Manila, and a summit meeting of the Presidents of Indonesia and Philippines and the Prime Minister of Malaya. It was agreed that Indonesia and the Philippines would

welcome the formation of Malaysia if the Secretary General of the United Nations, after carrying out an assessment on public feeling in the Borneo States, reported that Malaysia was being formed in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Meanwhile, Malaysia Day was postponed, and a new date, September 16, was set a few days before U Thant's assessment of opinion was known. In his assessment, U Thant said he had no doubt that the people of Sarawak and Sabah had freely chosen federation. In Singapore a referendum on the broad terms of merger resulted in a 71 per cent vote for Malaysia.

The new nation Malaysia offered to the Federation of Malaya a way of associating with Singapore and the Borneo territories without creating a disadvantageous racial balance and at the same time enabled the central government to have greater control over *Communist subversive* elements in these territories. It also offered a quick means of ending colonial rule and of closer economic cooperation with Malaya, on which its property as a port and industrial center so much depended, and to the people of Borneo territories. Malaysia offered the quickest means of achieving independence.

Nevertheless, Indonesian opposition to Malaysia was then expressed by a policy of confrontation, which has included the rupture of all trade relations and active support for guerilla bands which have been operating from Indonesia across the borders of Sarawak and Sabah.

In spite of confrontation, Malaysia continues to develop and maintain a viable, stable and prosperous economy. The recent landings, the airdrop of paratroopers in the mainland of Malaya, the senseless shooting war along the Borneo border and piracy in the Straits of Malacca have all served to unite the multiracial people of Malaysia and to rally them round the government of Tunku Abdul Rahman in the first year of this young nation's existence.

The first 12 months of Malaysia's independence have also brought not just support and sympathy from the Commonwealth countries, but also much needed aid in cash and kind from many leading countries

which have pledged to back Malaysia to the full.

The government, saddled with increasing expenditure for defence, has not dragged its feet over extensive development projects and has gone ahead with the building of new schools, roads, bridges, community centers, mosques, hospitals and wharves.

The business community, encouraged by foreign investors, has matched the government's schemes by building more factories and new plants, as well as by opening up more tin mines and rubber estates.

As a result, today this young nation of 10 million people, is selling more rubber, tin, iron, coconut oil, palm oil, timber, pine-apples and even cotton goods than ever before.

And the people are enjoying more social benefits and bringing home more in their pay packets than ever before. This is all proof that the establishment of Malaysia has provided opportunities galore as well as challenges. The people of Malaysia will not rest on their laurels and allow any force from outside to hinder the progress and prosperity that rightly belong to Malaysia, a country described by some as "God's little acre in Asia".

Despite confrontation, hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent on rural development, not only in Malaya and Singapore but also in the less developed Sabah and Sarawak — proof that Malaysia in one united nation, bent on further raising the standard of living of its peoples.

The start of comprehensive schooling next year in Malaysia is a bold move in the right direction, whereby young Malaysians can stay on in schools till they reach the age of 15 and be given a chance to learn a trade, according to their aptitudes.

Few countries in Asia can match the strides taken by Malaysia to keep abreast with the times and provide amenities for the people.

In Malaysia, as in other developing countries, the emphasis is on achieving an accelerated rate of economic growth, and therefore an increasing proportion of the country's available resources is being devoted to this purpose. Thus, for the former Federa-

tion of Malaya, the total planned increase in the public sector is from \$ 1,150 million in the first five year plan (1956—60), to \$ 2,150 million in the second five year plan (1961—65), in addition to the large investments expected to be made by the private sector of the economy. It is important, therefore, that a dynamic banking system should be evolved, and that financial resources required for development activities should be forthcoming. In recent years, there has been considerable expansion of banking services in Malaysia. At the end of 1963 there were 42 licensed banks with 355 banking offices. Of these banks, 21 are local banks operating 221 banking offices, compared with 134 banking offices operated by the 21 foreign banks. Of this total of 355 banking offices, 209 (142 local and 67 foreign) are in Malaya, 110 (64 local and 46 foreign) in Sarawak and 18 (5 local and 13 foreign) in Sabah.

Reflecting the expansion of banking facilities and the increase in the use of these facilities by the people in urban and rural areas, bank deposits and advances in Malaysia have been showing a rising trend in recent years.

Deposits increased from \$ 1,524 million at the end of 1958 to \$ 2,490 million at the end of 1963. Advances increased from \$ 797 million during the corresponding period. At the end of May 1964, deposits showed a further increase to \$ 2,550 million and advances to \$ 2,160 million.

Industrialization in Malaysia has hit the headlines lately for many obvious reasons. The nation is seeking to diversify its economy and the government is placing greater emphasis on industrialization as a means of easing the unemployment problem. The establishment of local industries to manufacture products for the local market means that we no longer need to import these goods for domestic consumption. No money, therefore, flows out of the country for the consumption of goods that are made locally. To use a technical expression, the country saves foreign exchange. At the same time, our industries can also produce for the export market, thereby earning foreign exchange. At present the following products

are being manufactured in the country: food stuffs, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, petroleum products, paints, toilet products, batteries, cable accessories, metal products, textile products, asbestos, cement sheets, tyres and plastic articles. However, heavy industries such as iron and steel, pulps and paper and motor vehicle assembly industries will be established at a later date. A company under pioneer status enjoys two to five year's income tax exemption (Relief from Income Tax Ordinance 1958). This period can be extended by another year if the capital investment is no less than \$ 100,000 and by another three years if not less than \$ 250,000.

The Federation of Malaysia was created on September 16, 1963, uniting Malaya, Singapore, and the Borneo States. Whereas in the past each of the states was isolationist in its thinking, now all of them have to adjust their thinking within the framework of Malaysia. One of the most formidable tasks of the Central Government is the co-ordination of economic activities throughout Malaysia. The Tariff Advisory Board has been established with an able Chairman for the purpose of giving the Federal Government advice in connection with the creation of a common market in Malaysia and the imposition and alternation of protective and other customs duties. The Board in its recommendations will take into consideration the interests of existing industries and of consumers in Malaysia, including cost of living, cost of production of industries and, in particular, of export industries and cost

of development works in the public sector of the national economy.

The Malaysian Government will, therefore, embark upon an ambitious economic program aiming at balanced development of all the States, thereby reducing the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots". There can be unity in the nation only when its people are happy. Malaysia has been able to boast the second highest living standard in Asia and to lay claim to being a leading democratic nation in this part of the world. The foundation of parliamentary democracy can be preserved only if there is economic stability in the country. And there is a lot to show that Malaysia is both politically and economically stable.

Malaysia is a nation which has realized the wisdom of the free enterprise system. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that Malaysia is a shining example of free enterprise. The Malaysian second five year plan places great emphasis on the development of the private sector because it will provide the nation with the needed increases in employment, income and production. The nation is a beehive of economic activity. Construction business is booming everywhere and new factories are springing up because of the sound financial and investment climate in the country. There are now 105 pioneer companies in Malaysia with a total nominal capital of \$ 646,660,000. Out of a total paid up capital of \$ 158,472,892, some \$ 50 million have come from local sources. These are good signs and indicate that there is much scope for rapid industrialization in Malaysia.



View of ABN Meeting in Munich on July 23rd, 1965.

No Peace With The Servants Of The "Father Of The Lie"

Somebody once said that the Devil's most dangerous lie is wanting to convince men that he doesn't exist.

Many of the leaders of our "progressive", "democratic" world would laugh at such "superstitions", but they themselves are nevertheless implicated — whether consciously or unconsciously — in the Sabbath orgy over which the "Father of the Lie" has been presiding on Earth — for nearly half a century in the USSR. The entire cultural, economic, and political life there is branded with the all-embracing, universal, compulsory lie. A world of lies! Even the name alone is a lie — "Union of Peoples", "Free Republics".

That the bondage of the peasants, abolished in Russia in 1863, no longer exists in the USSR, is a lie, too, for this bondage has meanwhile been re-introduced for all classes.

That the bandits who rule this slave empire from the Kremlin are an "elite" freely elected by the people, is also a lie.

That the famine tragedy, which was organized by Moscow in the thirties in Ukraine and cost about seven million lives, was an "irresistible plague", is a diabolical lie.

That the imperium snatched together by Russia is a champion against colonialism and imperialism, is yet again an infamous lie.

That the nations shackled together in the USSR have an unlimited right to self-determination, and even the right to secede from the "Union", is a cynical lie. The mass graves in Basar, Katyn, and Vynnytsia, etc., speak eloquently of the nature of this right, however much trouble TASS, Moscow's main agency of lies, may take to deny the truth.

The statement that the USSR, which has sought to kindle civil war all over Europe, Asia, Africa, and America since 1917 and is striving to conquer more and more countries, is a pacifist state, is also a monstrous lie.

That this empire, which is straining to annihilate religion with all the Devil's means, which has made the Russian Orthodox Church the willing propaganda instrument of a godless anti-Christian gang of thieves, that this empire tolerates freedom of conscience, is the biggest lie of all!

The lie, whose father is the Devil, is the latter's seal on every aspect of public life in the USSR. The symbol of Antichrist. There, informers are heroes. The real heroes, who protest against tyranny by word and deed, are enemies of the people. The infamous hangmen of the regime wear a breastful of medals, and the basest flatterers, who glorify each new Kremlin robber-chief as a demigod, are declared great literary geniuses. There, hangmen are politicians and diplomats, and those who revere Stalin, Khrushchov, or Shelepin as ruler by the Grace of God, are called Patriarchs and Bishops . . .

A whole legion of these greater and lesser angel-faced servants of the Devil has invaded every area of public life in the West since the glorious Nuremberg Trials, in which leading roles were played by Russia's mass-murderers, and the

establishment of United Nations, and is continuing its activities, aimed at ruining intellectual resistance and morale.

Although they sympathize with the USSR, they avoid appearing as Communists. God forbid! At meetings, in the Press, in street demonstrations, everywhere they appear as peace-loving pacifists, as philanthropic democrats, as progressives, as anti-Nazis — an excellent lie! But against Russian genocide, Russian realism, Russian despotism, Russian thirst for conquest, they hold their tongues as if they were deaf and dumb, these servants of the Father of the Lie.

But those who fight for the freedom and existence of their people, as do the Ukrainians, the Caucasians, the Baltic peoples, the Hungarians, the Spanish, they are libelled by the Press as “extremist nationalists”, “Fascists”, “disturbers of the peace”. The Communists are tried democrats, or agrarian reformers like the Castro Communists, or Republicans like General Franco’s Communist opponents, but the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and such leaders of the Ukrainian liberation struggle as Simon Petlura and Stepan Bandera are anti-Semites. The beasts in human form, the murderers of Konovalets and Petlura — Valukh and Schwarzbard — who were both Communists, were glorified as heroes in the “democratic” Press.

The servants of the Father of the Lie assert that it is their aim to free the nations from the yoke of “reactionary totalitarianism”. This again is a lie. For their real aim is to kill all national patriotism as pernicious “superstition” and to set up over the nations a so-called world government with a “democratic”, philanthropic, and peaceloving Nero with his legions and proconsuls.

The word “modern” is a “sacred” word in the language of the black magicians of the Lie. Everything which is baptized “modern” is sacred. Modern dancing, modern television, modern painting like that of the Communist Picasso, modern literature like Sartre’s, modern radio programmes, modern theatrical performances, modern twist music. All that reeks of shamelessness, bad taste, pornography, vulgarity, of sex, perversion, crime, treachery, indiscipline, atheism, of Communism and Moscow is glorious. Just because it is modern in the eyes of the Devil’s servants.

Indeed, they are hypocritical enough to call themselves Christians here in the West. They only forbid crosses in cemeteries and prayer in schools, as these are not in keeping with the Constitution. They even discuss whether it would be more in keeping with the times to choose a symbol other than the Cross for the Christian religion.

Lies, lies, and more lies! With these transparently fictitious arguments they endeavour to disguise their real aim — the annihilation of Christian civilization — which Ulyanov-Lenin, Bronstein-Trotsky, Stalin, and Kaganovitch wanted to attain fifty years ago.

This is the deeper reason why so many Western “democrats” and “progressives”, as they are in the habit of calling themselves, cherish such a liking for Bolshevik Moscow and have patronized it so cordially since Yalta and Potsdam; why they also advocate the policies of appeasement, of co-existence of “cultural exchange”, and of the immutability of the frontiers of the USSR. These agents are erecting a platform on the professorial chairs of the universities, in order to disseminate from there Marxist philosophy and its lies among the

young of the West. Russian propaganda literature has free access to the countries of the West, as do Communism's Russian "salesmen".

The "democratic" Press of the West ridicules the idea of patriotism ("right-wing extremism", "narrow-minded nationalism"), Christianity ("bigotry"), all idealism in politics (for politics are "business"), and libels as reactionaries and warmongers those who afford resistance to this flood of propaganda and expose these lies.

The secret Mafia of the servants of the Lie is first striving, like its political comrades in the USSR, to paralyse and eliminate the reason, the spirit and the will of the masses and to demoralize them. Money and pleasure, *penem et circenses*. No morality, no idealism, only a physical paradise. Above all, the will to resist must be broken. The great masses are to become a herd of two-legged cattle, the docile instrument of Communist "philanthropists". These servants of the Devil reserve for themselves a rod of iron to rule these masses "democratically". The activities of fellow-travellers in the West greatly endanger our freedom, our Christian faith, and our Western civilization.

When one of the earliest propagandists of the Russian Communist lie, Dostoevsky, wrote his novel "The Possessed", the great French writer, M. de Vogue, remarked: "The greatest merit of this confused work, weighed down with apocalyptic theories as it is, is that it leaves us with a clear picture of where the Nihilists' strength lies." (The predecessors of today's Bolsheviks were then known as Nihilists). "Their strength lies in the character of certain people, their souls as cold as steel, and in the indecision and despondency of their opponents — the ruling class. When these people go into action, they will look similar to our revolutionaries. But when one examines them more closely, one can see the same difference between them as between a beast of prey and a domestic animal. Our worst revolutionaries are in comparison with them only angry dogs — the Russian nihilist is a ravening wolf." These wolves are preparing for the enslavement of the Occident in ceaseless haste, together with the servants of the "Father of the Lie". Woe is to him who seeks a compromise with the Devil!

St James writes: "Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the Devil" (chap. 4, v. 7). Only one stipulation — no peace, no compromise with the Father of the Lie either abroad or in our own countries. This can only be accomplished by men who break with materialism and declare war on it, men of the new spirit; not the "sophists, economists and calculators", but men of the new chivalry, men of faith, of idealism, who have the courage and the iron will to fight evil — the patriots and the nationalists. To find such men in every country — this is one of the greatest tasks which ABN is fulfilling in our critical times.

Tito, Russia's Ally In Case Of War

Tito regards himself as an ally of the Soviet Union, should war be made on the East European bloc. This opinion was implied in a speech made by him in Sverdlovsk. There had been misunderstandings between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, he said, but not a single Yugoslav Communist had ever thought that Yugoslavia would not stand alongside the Soviet Union, should a difficult time come.

Setting The Record Straight

By John D. Hofton

In an address delivered during the latter part of January, 1965, to the Washington, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Mr. William P. Bundy reviewed the historical and political factors involved in South Vietnam and South-East Asia.

Speaking of the communization of China, Mr. Bundy stated that "We assisted that Government (Chiang Kai-shek's) in every way possible. Mistakes may have been made, but in the last analysis mainland China could not have been saved from Communism without the commitment of major U.S. ground and air forces to a second war on the Asian mainland."

Unfortunately, the record does not bear Mr. Bundy out. We did not assist Chiang Kai-shek's Government in every way possible and to say differently is to grossly misrepresent the facts.

Following World War II, many highly authoritative individuals, among whom were Generals MacArthur, Wedemeyer, Chennault, and Hurley, insisted that the United States Government should be more generous with its aid to the Chinese Nationalists. Political advisers in the State Department opposed this school of thought and China was lost.

Commenting on this tragic mistake in the October, 1950, issue of the *Catholic Digest*, General MacArthur noted: "Our failure to help China effectively at the end of the war will turn out, I fear, to be the greatest single blunder in the history of the United States."

Exactly how much aid was given to Nationalist China? According to the figures given on pages 1043—1044 of the State Department's own White Paper on China, Chiang Kai-shek received an over-all figure of 2 billion dollars in postwar aid from the United States Government. This figure includes \$ 799 million in "economic aid" and \$ 797.7 million in "military aid".

The largest single item in Mr. Acheson's total of \$ 797.7 million of military aid is "services and expenses" amounting to

\$ 335.8 million. The services referred to consisted of the cost of repatriating the million or so Japanese soldiers in China, and of transporting the Chinese Nationalist forces to accept the surrender of the Japanese Army. This leaves approximately \$ 461.9 million of postwar military aid to China.

Colonel L. B. Moody, a U.S. Army Ordinance Officer, now retired, has made an intensive and detailed study of aid to China. He said that in China, "... the side which had the predominating infantry weapons, and especially ammunition . . . held all aces. The foreseen and inevitable defeat of the Nationalist Armies was due to a Nationalist deficit in these items, and the Communist superiority therein, resulting from persistent U.S. action . . ."

Furthermore, the \$ 125 million of munitions allocated under the April, 1948, China Aid Act, was not delivered until nine months or a year later, and by that time the Communists had already taken over much of the mainland.

The reason given for the delay was that availability studies, priorities, export licenses, and various other bureaucratic procedures had snarled deliveries. A curious excuse indeed, when a study of American shipments to Britain made after Dunkirk shows that shipments were *en route* from U.S. ports within one week after Churchill informed Roosevelt of England's desperate need.

In view of the ample evidence to the contrary, Mr. Bundy's contention that we assisted the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek, "... in every way possible" seems to show a callous disregard for the facts. Senator Jenner's respect for reality seems much more commendable, when on the floor of the House of Representatives on May 18, 1949, he said, "Of this much we can be sure, Mr. President: as matters now stand, the Chinese Communist conquest of Asia was not made possible in China. It was engineered right here in Washington by top policy makers of this Government."

Russian Imperialism In The Ideas and Policies of Lenin

Continuation

5. Russian approach to the major political problems

All the major problems which Lenin considered were treated from a national standpoint; were they resolved favorably to Russia — they were called wise and just, but were they detrimental and ruinous to Russia — they were labelled wrong and bad. The uppermost consideration in Lenin's mind was the wellbeing and progress of his Russian fatherland. The major objective of the new elite was to lead the nation. All classes had accordingly to act always in the interests of the whole society.

About the role of the Russian proletariat Lenin said: "Truly, the proletariat here comes forth as the representative of the whole nation, of all that is vital and honest in all classes, of the vast majority of the petty bourgeoisie..." (51) In a letter to the Petrograd workers Lenin taught them not to forget that they are "a small part of the workers of Russia", and the best group "of Russia". Their duty is "as frequently happened at critical moments in the life of a nation" to lead Russia. (52) In 1905 Lenin warned his associates that a revolutionary movement in Russia would be successful only if it relied "on the overwhelming majority of the people", if it became a truly national movement:

The Russian proletariat, however, at present constitutes a minority of the population in Russia. It can become the great overwhelming majority only if it combines with the mass of semi-proletarians, semi-small proprietors, i. e. with the mass of the petty-bourgeois, urban and rural poor. (53)

The Russian proletarians, led by Lenin throughout the whole period since their organization into a political movement, unswervingly followed a national course. To repeat Lenin's statement: in 1905 the proletariat fought in the interests of "the whole nation." (54) And looking at the events of 1905—07 from the distance of years Lenin

again claimed that the "Russian proletariat won for itself and for the Russian people gains that took other nations decades to win." These gains were "won for all the oppressed and exploited classes of Russia..." (55) As was mentioned above, the question of concessions was also considered from the aspect of the interests of "Mother Russia." (56) Lenin regarded the whole anti-tsarist anti-bourgeois revolution as a matter of the whole Russian nation, as we saw from the proclamation to all citizens. (57)

The struggle against the Entente in 1918—19 was regarded by Lenin as a national defensive war:

The terror was forced on us by the terrorism of the Entente, by the terror of all-powerful capitalism, which stifled and is stifling workers and peasants and is condemning them to starvation solely for the reason that they are fighting for the freedom of their country. (58)

The triumph of Socialism in Russia was viewed by Lenin as an international event, in which Russia was involved as a nation. We noted that from World War I, "the only nation that emerged" with a Bolshevik government, "was the Russian nation, and it was the Russian revolution that extricated it" from the dependency on foreign nations. (59) He declared that Russia and not the proletariat found itself between two hostile camps:

Russia came out of the war, and owing to the fact that she came out of the war alone she found herself between two gangs of imperialist pirates, each of which is clutching at her, strangling her and taking advantage of her temporary defenselessness and disarmament. (60)

So he called for total mobilization of national forces, because the enemies of Russia were powerful and national independence might easily be lost:

The instability of the peace is due to the fact that in the imperialist states border-

ing on Russia on the West and the East, which command enormous military forces, the military party, tempted by the momentary weakness of Russia and egged on by capitalists who hate socialism and are eager for plunder, may secure supremacy at any moment. (61)

Lenin treated international affairs according to the principle that Russia's advancement and security were of primary importance. About this principle Lionel Gelber drew the truest conclusion when he stated: "in Soviet world policy it is a national rather than ideological interest which is supreme . . . Behind the Russian lurks the Tatar and when the Communist is scratched the Russian will found." (62) And Lenin referred to "Russia" and "Russian territory", which were attacked by the Japanese and the British, fearing that "they want to enslave the Russian workers and peasants." (63) When Yoffe was sent to China his avowed aim was "to establish friendly and good relations between the Russian and Chinese peoples." (64) Concerned with the loss of domination over the Chinese Eastern Railway, Yoffe, one of Lenin's top diplomats, declared:

As a matter of fact, the Russian Government alone has the right practically to interfere, being more than any other Government concerned with the future of this railroad, since it was built with the Russian people's funds and is Russian property until Russia, of her own free will, decides to confer elsewhere her right to ownership. (65)

Another prominent partner of Lenin, Karakhan, on January 15, 1921, dispatched a note to Peking in which he sharply criticized the abuse by Chinese officials of a Russian cooperative, Tsentrosoyuz, in Urga. He argued, that since it was a genuine "co-operative, uniting large circles of Russian population", such acts of the Chinese government were actually "directed against the entire Russian populace." (66) Karakhan treated the affair according to the national, not the Communist, principle.

Allen S. Whiting, analyzing Lenin's Far Eastern policy, similarly deduced that it was nationally oriented:

Lenin commented hopefully in late 1920 that contradictions between Japan and America made a Pacific war "inevitable". In such an event, it would be the task of Russian diplomacy to assure the exclusion of its nearest rival, Japan, from its weakest neighbor, China. There was little Marxist reasoning given for this choice of Japan, instead of Britain as the arch-enemy, or for the choice of America instead of Japan as a possible ally in the Pacific. It was apparently dictated by the same motivations of self-interest that moved diplomats in all quarters of the globe. (67)

Another proof of Lenin's national Russian policy is a book by his fellow-worker I. Maisky, entitled *Sovremennaya Mongolia* (Contemporary Mongolia) in which the author wrote:

Mongolia's significance for Russia was twofold. Economically, it could provide cattle and fodder in almost limitless quantities, while its mineral resources were most promising. Politically, it could provide a "neutral zone" between Russia and a newly militarized China. Russia will not only be serving her own interest; she will at the same time be carrying out her natural historic mission. By its geographical position . . . Russia is the connecting link between two great Continents — its head in Europe; its feet in Asia. (68)

Karl Radek, an outstanding Bolshevik leader, aired similar views on the subject of Russian relations with Poland:

Every bourgeois patriot in Russia understands perfectly well that the Poles are not interested in overwhelming the Bolsheviks; . . . we preach that this is a war for Russian independence; when we assert that we are employing in this war every available source of aid, not primarily to defend the Soviet government and Communism, but to defend the independence of Russia . . . The moment the Entente backed up the Polish reactionaries, it made implacable enemies of the Russian reactionaries. The Soviet Government is defending the unity and independence of the territory inhabited by the Russian nation . . . If a reactionary Poland

utterly refuses to be a peaceful neighbor of Soviet Russia, the existence of a reactionary Poland becomes impossible. (69)

Radek's approach to the problem was clearly national, not Marxist.

The Red Army from the start displayed the character of a popular Russian army. It was organized on the basis of Russian imperial interests. Lenin approved of the fact that "the Red Army has become an army of the people." (70) The composition of its personnel reflected the change in political systems less than any other institution, because "tens of thousands of former officers and colonels are working in the Red Army. If we had not engaged their services and compelled them to work for us we should have been unable to create an army." (71)

Finally, major aspects of the internal policies of the new regime were treated as national in scope and approach. Lenin explained them:

It is our business to help in every possible way to secure a "last" chance for a peaceful development of the revolution. We can help to bring this about by expounding our program, by explaining its general national characters and its absolute harmony with the interests and demands of the enormous majority of the population. (72)

When the Bolsheviks gained power in Russia he exclaimed with satisfaction: "We, the Bolshevik Party, have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. Now we must *administer* Russia." (73) But the new regime encountered many practical obstacles in governing the nation. Therefore Lenin addressed the nation in the following exhortation: "We will say: let the Russian people understand that they must become disciplined and organized, and then they will be able to withstand all the Tilsit peace treaties." (74) Lenin complained about too few public workers being nationally conscious and nationally-minded. He believed that the order of the day should include the education of new cadres prepared to work for the good of the whole Russian nation:

... the difficulty lies in appointing hundreds and thousands of reliable workers to

responsible posts, workers who understand that they are not working in their local cause but in the cause of the whole of Russia. (75)

6. Marxism and Bolshevism

At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that the primary aim of Lenin was to contribute to the advancement of Russia's interests. Early in life, however, Lenin came into contact with Marxist ideology and soon accepted it as his own. Propagation and application of Marxism became Lenin's second main objective. It seems that theoretically Russian national interests and orthodox Marxist objectives are incompatible, because they are contradictory. Lenin, nevertheless, united both into a *new* theory and system known as Bolshevism. This movement, in other words, is the new Russian elite, to which he gave the Marxist ideology. He made both ideas (Russian national and Communist) supplementary to each other and compatible. In effect Russian objectives and Communist objectives became identical: "The interest (not in a peasant sense) of the national pride of the Great Russians concurs with the Socialist interests of the Great Russian (and of all other) proletarians." (76)

To Lenin Marxist ideology was the means by which to combat other Russian groups and by which he strove to aggrandize Russia. (77) He exploited Marx and Engels as authorities to support his new Russian messianism, who foretold the future greatness of Russia, and gave him the ideas by means of which he could realize Russia's potentialities. (78) Lenin's "Marxism" grew in Russia in a natural way, as a Russian system, and not as something artificially grafted from outside. Lenin's elaboration as to how the socialist press developed in Russia may serve as a good illustration. He treated the subject as an element of Russian culture:

The labour press in Russia has almost a century of history behind it — first, the preparatory phase, that is, the history not of the labour movement, not of the proletarian movement, but of the "general-democratic", i. e., the bourgeois-democratic movement for emancipation — and then its

own history, the twenty-year history of the proletarian movement, proletarian democracy, or Social-Democracy. (79)

When the Bolshevik movement seized power in Russia and created a new government, Lenin made a statement, which cleared any doubts about the nature of the new regime. He said: "The Soviets are the Russian form of the proletarian dictatorship." (80) This very important confession means that Russia adapted the ideology of Marx to her national needs. To repeat the conclusion drawn by Lionel Gelber: "in Soviet world policy it is a national rather than ideological interest which is supreme . . . Behind the Russian lurks the Tatar and when the Communist is scratched the Russian will be found." (81)

Calling for the education of administrators and managers from among the proletariat and the Bolshevik Party, Lenin did not distinguish between Russian national tasks and Marxist tasks. (82) So, when he criticized the Cadet party for not being sufficiently patriotic but, rather, traitorous, he meant that his party was more patriotic and more nationally minded, which in his concepts did not contradict with Marxist objectives. (83) Another above-mentioned quotation (84) also proves that Marxism was used by Lenin as a tool of Russian national interests. He declared therein that the best policy for saving "the independence and freedom of Russia" is by "the world socialist revolution, world Bolshevism". On a different occasion Lenin boasted that his Marxist class-conscious proletariat of Petrograd had contributed greatly to the victory of his party over the internal and external enemies of the Russian nation. (85) Finally, Lenin argued that the anti-regime revolution and Marxist revolution combined would best serve Russian interests. He expressed such a belief before the November revolution when propagating the overthrow of the Provisional Government:

. . . an insurrection on the part of the workers of Petrograd and Moscow is absolutely necessary in order to save the revolution and in order to save Russia from being "separately" divided up among the

imperialists of both coalitions . . . (86)

Prof. N. V. Ustrialov wrote: "What a great misunderstanding it is to consider the Russian revolution as non-national." (87)

7. Soviet Government

Lenin created a new Russian government, whose duty it was to lead Russia more effectively than the previous tsarist and provisional governments. He never entertained any thoughts of forming a government which would act against the interests of the Russian people and would be a non-national class government. In 1903 Lenin propounded the necessity to establish a truly national government, which would reflect people's desires, would work for the people, and would get support of the whole nation. (88) Later, when the Bolsheviks came to power, he re-stated the same principle:

. . . in Russia only a government that managed to organize the working class and the majority of the peasantry, all the toiling and exploited classes, in a single, inseparably inter-connected force fighting against the landlords and the bourgeoisie, could remain in power for any length of time. (89)

The Soviet Government thus became a truly Russian government. Its objectives were to serve Russia, its organizers were Russians, and its power rested upon the Russian people:

. . . the fundamental principle of the new revolution, namely, all power to the Soviets. There must be no other government in Russia than a Soviet government. The Soviet power has been won in Russia . . . The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets has given a majority to the Party of the Bolsheviks. Therefore, only a government formed by that Party will be a Soviet government. (90)

The well-known historian H. G. Wells supports our thesis that "For five years the Russian people, under this strange and unprecedented rule, maintained its solidarity against every attempt to divide and subjugate it." (91) In Russia the Soviet government enjoyed the confidence and cooperation of the whole nation (or at least of its majority) and realized policies which were

beneficial to the whole nation. It was able to maintain its power because it managed to extend its rule over the whole of Russia and received support from the majority of the Russian people. In Lenin's words, "In our country, after the first few months of the revolution, the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies embraced almost the whole country." (92) The new regime was a national system: "... the Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Laborers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies are admittedly the direct and immediate organization of the *majority* of the people." (93) Lenin organized the Soviet government best suited to Russian needs and tasks: "... the Russian soldiers, workers and peasants were able to create an apparatus which informed the whole world of its methods of struggle, viz., the Soviet government." (94) Soviet government meant Russian national government enveloped in terms of Marxist ideology: "We know that the activities of all our institutions should be combined by a single principle, and this principle we express in the words: 'Russia is declared to be a Socialist Republic of Soviets.'" (95) The Soviet government was created in a Russian way:

... all we had to do was ... to transform the power of the Soviets from the embryonic state in which it was in the first months of the revolution into a legally recognized form which has become established as the Russian state, i. e., the Russian Soviet Republic. (96)

The "Russian way" of the Bolshevik revolution will be explained in succeeding sections. Lenin then triumphantly declared: "Historically, it cannot be denied that Russia has created a Soviet republic." (97)

He was satisfied for his predictions came through; he won over other groups, and was overjoyed that this theory was really in harmony with the Russian culture. The old worthless regime was destroyed and was replaced by a new dynamic and optimistic one: "The Russian proletariat, immediately it conquered the state power, in the course of a few hours dissolved the old state machine ... and handed over the *entire power* to the Soviets." (98) Lenin boasted about his work: "The Soviets of Workers' and Sol-

diers' Deputies are a form of state without parallel ... The Russian revolution created the Soviets." (99) This national pride of the new government is reflected, for example, in the Protest against the exclusion of Russia from participation in the Washington Conference (July 1921). In this relatively short document the following terms are used: "Russian Government" - 10 times, "Russia" - 7 times, "Russian Republic" - 2 times, "Government of RSFSR", "Russian workers and peasants", "Government of Russia" - once each, but "Workers' and Peasants, Government" only once and "Soviet Government" - 4 times.

H. G. Wells made the well-founded observation: "In spite of the internationalist theories of the Marxists, the Bolshevik government in Moscow became a patriotic government, defending the government against foreigners ..." (100) In the field of foreign policy, the Soviet government did not conceal its national nature. For example, Yoffe's statement (101) made in an official capacity is in this respect adequate proof; in it he identified Soviet Government with Russian Government. 1922 an outstanding former anti-Bolshevik Russian, S. Lukianov, declared:

Who would have then thought (in 1917) that those who rejected "war to the glorious end", those who advocated extreme internationalism ... those who seemingly were completely composed of anti-state and anti-national elements, will organize the real basis of a future Russian deeply state-like and completely "national" government! (102) (To be continued)

51. "Can Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" 1917, v. 6, p. 259
52. *supra*, p. 8
53. "Social-Democracy and Provisional Revolutionary Government", 1905, v. 3, p. 35
54. *supra*, p. 8
55. *supra*, p. 3
56. *supra*, p. 10
57. *supra*, p. 4
58. "Report at 7th Congress of Soviets", 1919, v. 8, p. 67
59. *supra*, p. 5
60. "4th Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committee of Moscow", 1918, v. 7, p. 397
61. "Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government", 1918, v. 7, p. 313
62. *Reprieve From War*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1950, p. 66
63. *supra*, p. 9
64. J. Hart, "Mr. Yoffe and the Failure of Chinese-Russian Negotiations" in *China Weekly Reviews*, January 27, 1923, p. 340, underlining is mine - A.B.

From Washington AF ABN Branch Leaflet

Taking the ABN aims, the American Friends of ABN supports political objectives of ABN because we believe that the alternative to a thermo-nuclear war is not a policy of "coexistence", which leads necessarily to the outbreak of an atomic war, but a policy of liberation. Liberation of the captive nations and not disarmament of the free world, bold and decisive resistance to Russian Communist aggression and not appeasing it — this is the urgent requirement for the West today . . .

Such is the spirit of the "Captive Nations Resolution" enacted by the US-Congress in 1959. In essence, this resolution supports the break-up of the Russian empire, the restoration of state sovereignty to all the captive nations in the USSR and in its extended territorial empire. It is precisely this concept that should mold the basic offensive of the free world against the forces of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism.



View of ABN Meeting in Munich on July 23rd, 1965.

65. North China Herald, November 18, 1922, p. 426; Izvestia, No. 255 (1694), Nov. 11, 1922, p.
66. Izvestia, No. 26 (1153), February 6, 1921, p. 2
67. *op. cit.*, p. 112
68. Moscow, p. 329
69. "The War with Poland" in Freiheit, July 27 — Aug. 7, 1920, transl. in Living Age, Sept. 11 & 18, 1920
70. "Report at the 7th Congress of Soviets", 1919, v. 8, p. 73
71. Lenin, "On the Work in the Rural Districts", 1919, v. 8, p. 194
72. "The Aims of the Revolution", 1917, v. 6, p. 241
73. "Immediate Tasks of Soviet Government", 1918, v. 7, p. 316
74. "War and Peace", 1918, v. 7, p. 302
75. "4th Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees", 1918, v. 7, p. 423, my underlining - A.B.
76. Lenin, Collected Works, v. 18, p. 83
77. *cf. supra*, p. 4
78. *supra*, p. 11
79. "From the History of Labour Press in Russia", 1914, v. 11, p. 66
80. "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky", 1918, v. 7, p. 145
81. *supra*, p. 13
82. *cf. supra*, p. 16
83. *cf. supra*, p. 7
84. *supra*, p. 10
85. *supra*, p. 8
86. "Marxism and Insurrection", 1917, v. 6, p. 222, my italics
87. the Soviet publication "Smiena viekh", Prague, 1922, a collection of statements by former anti-Bolshevik Russian leaders
88. *infra*, p. 21
89. "Activities of the Council of People's Commissars", 1918, v. 7, p. 266
90. Lenin, "From the Central Committee of R.S.D.P. (B.)", 1917, v. 6, p. 413
91. The Outline of History, II vols., Garden City Books, New York, 1949, p. 1133
92. "Reply to Discussion on Party Program", 1919, v. 8, p. 361
93. Lenin, "Letters on Tactics", 1917, v. 6
94. Lenin, "Activities of the Council of People's Commissars", 1918, v. 7, p. 266
95. Lenin, *ibidem*, p. 275
96. "War and Peace", 1918, v. 7, p. 286
97. "On Revising Party Programme and Name", 1918, v. 8, p. 321
98. Lenin, "Elections to the Constituent Assembly and Dictatorship of the Proletariat", 1919, v. 6, pp. 473-4
99. "Report on Current Situation", 1917, v. 6, p. 100
100. *op. cit.*, p. 1132
101. *supra*, p. 14
102. Smiena viekh, *op. cit.*, p. 78

East Europe — The Real Battleground

The present highly explosive international situation caused by renewed political and military pressure on the part of the Soviet Union and Communist China requires a considerable readjustment of the policies of the Western powers in their dealings with the new Sino-Soviet attempts of aggression.

The political and military measures introduced by the United States in response to the aggressive plans of the Communist powers in South Vietnam and very recently in the Dominican Republic indicate the considerable seriousness of the situation, as well as the willingness of the American government to withstand aggression even if it should lead to a military showdown.

Up to now, however, this response lacks an adequate political programme with clearly specified political aims and objectives directed against the Communist colonial empires of Russia and China. The so-called limited objectives, which aim at the maintenance of the *status quo* in particular areas only, are not effective as a deterrent for Moscow and Peking. The reason is quite obvious: these limited objectives do not represent a real and direct danger to the totalitarian powers, since the ultimate aim of the struggle waged by the United States and their allies does not go beyond containment of the aggressors. As a result, the Soviet Russian and Red Chinese leaders are convinced that even if they suffer some loss in a certain peripheral area, they will retain their power and that the security of their empires will not be jeopardized.

It is true that President Lyndon B. Johnson declared that there will be no sanctuary for a would-be aggressor and this policy is already being applied against North Vietnam, which provides support to Communist guerillas in South Vietnam. But neither the Communist guerillas nor North Vietnam are the *principals* in this war in South-East Asia. They are, technically speaking, the agents of Moscow and Peking, who are behind this so-called war of liberation.

The real battleground, therefore, is not South or North Vietnam, nor the Dominican Republic or Cuba, but the territory of the *Soviet* bloc itself. There, on the territories under Russian or Red Chinese domination, where both Moscow and Peking are confronted by formidable political and military liabilities, will the issue between the Western powers and the Communist world be decided.

Yet, as it was pointed out by a well known authority on Soviet affairs, Robert Strausz-Hupe, "liabilities become vulnerabilities only if a determined and purposive opponent stands ready and willing to exploit them".

The same author stresses further that "the Soviet Russians have persistently sought to shift the Cold War from Eastern Europe to another battleground — the underdeveloped and uncommitted nations. While the Communists warn the West against proselytizing the subject peoples of Eastern Europe, they insist that the colonial and erstwhile colonial areas are the battleground where the issue between the West and the Communist system will be decided . . .

"What behoves American strategy at this juncture of the conflict is not disengagement, but *commitment* — commitment to a dynamic psychopolitical strategy to lift the Iron Curtain and shift the diplomatic and ideological struggle onto Communist terrain. Only in this way can the engine of Communist conflict

be brought to a halt. Only in this way can we hope to trigger off the kind of meaningful change within the Communist system which may lay the ultimate basis for a conclusive settlement of the current struggle." (*Satellite empire — Achilles heel*, National review, 1960).

The whole chain of peripheral wars triggered off by Moscow during the period since the last World War indicates that as long as the Western powers adhere to rules imposed by the Soviet Russians, their chances of containing aggressions will always be in a very precarious balance. Political warfare and a concerted diplomatic offensive brought directly into Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia will reverse the whole situation and will compel both Moscow and Peking to change their aggressive plans.

But, first of all, Western statesmen must overcome the notion that any proposal relating to the freedom and independence of the nations subjugated within the Soviet bloc would be unrealistic. As a matter of fact, such a policy is not only realistic, but the sole prerequisite of a clear success in dealing with the Communist colonial powers.



ABN President Yaroslav Stetsko Addressing Mass Rally of US and Canadian Ukrainians in Toronto (Canada) on June 27th, 1965.

A Hideous Anniversary

On April 7, 1930, Major General Unt was shot and killed in the Estonian capital, Tallinn. General Unt was the commanding officer of military units in Tallinn. Estonian officers who conducted an investigation into the crime were able to say nothing more than that the man who committed the crime disappeared in the direction of the Soviet Legation.

During the German-Soviet war, German counter-intelligence officers successfully investigated the crime committed against General Unt. The investigation revealed that there was in Siberia a man who had several times quite openly boasted to his fellow-workers that he was the man who had killed General Unt in Tallinn and that he had fled Estonia with the assistance of Soviet officials.

During the night between 14th and 15th June, 1941, about 300 Estonian officers were arrested by Soviet political commissars and politruks. The Soviet authorities in occupied Estonia, as well as in other countries, have refused to give any explanations as to the whereabouts of these Estonian officers. There has been no indication of what happened to them. Thus there is good reason to speak of a Estonian Katyn.

E. L.

News And Views

The Real Face of Soviet Russian Nationality Policy

(Ukrainian scholars denounce Russification of the non-Russian nationalities in the USSR and the cultural genocide carried on by the present Soviet Russian regime)

Following the initiative of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Canada, a scientific conference was held in Toronto on June 6th to review recent trends in the Soviet Russian nationality policy as far as the non-Russian nationalities within the Soviet Union are concerned.

A number of well known Ukrainian scholars who at present are doing research work in Canada and in the United States or are teaching at Canadian or American universities read papers which covered various aspects of Soviet Russian policy in Ukraine, especially in the field of the cultural development of the Ukrainian people under Soviet Russian rule.

The following topics were presented and discussed at this conference: *Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in Ukraine* (Prof. Hryhor Luzhnytsky); *Ukrainian Science in the Ukrainian SSR* (Prof. Nicholas Chyrovsky); *Ukrainian Literature in the Ukrainian SSR* (Prof. Bohdan Romanenchuk); *Socialistic Realism in Literature and Fine Art* (Dr. Bohdan Stebelsky); *Formation of the "Soviet Nation" as a Step to Liquidate the National Differences in the Soviet Union* (Viacheslav Davydenko); *Ukrainian Statehood and Russian Policy* (Prof. Matviy Stakhiv); *Ukrainian Women and Child in the Ukrainian SSR* (Irene Polenska); *Ukrainian Youth in the Soviet Union* (Dr. Mykhaylo Kushnir); *Moscow's Genocide* (Prof. Lev Shantkovsky).

The conference was sponsored by the

Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Canada; Senators Hon. Paul Yuzyk and Hon. John Hnatyshyn; Hon. Michael Starr, MP and former Minister of Labour; Hon. John Yaremko, Minister of Citizenship and Provincial Secretary of the Government of Ontario; Prof. Dr. Lev Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of the United States; Prof. Dr. Roman Smal-Stocky, President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Chairman of its American branch; Prof. Dr. Constantine Bida, Chairman of the Slavic Department of the University of Ottawa; Prof. Dr. Yaroslav Pasternak, Professor of the Free Ukrainian University in Munich; Ulas Samchuk, writer, Michael Cheresniovsky, sculptor.

IN PROTEST AGAINST THE DELIBERATE DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE LIBRARY IN KYIV

Ukrainians throughout Canada have protested against the burning of the State Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv a year ago. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee plans to file a protest through the Canadian government, taking into account the fact that evidence was obtained which proves that the fire was deliberately started with the tacit approval of the Soviet Russian authorities.

The fire destroyed ca. 600,000 volumes of books and archival material, including the whole section where the documents of the Ukrainian State of 1917—20 were stored.

"We are as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed."

II Corinthians, VI.9

We Protest Against Inhumanity

Harsh practices of Danish Police towards Refugees seeking asylum

It has now accidentally become known that the treatment by the Danish authorities of refugees from the Communist States of East Europe has for a considerable time been much more severe than it used to be. Whereas formerly Poles, Czechs and Hungarians seeking political asylum used to acquire a residence permit without any great difficulties, the police has changed its practices over the last two years so that the permit is now only granted to persons who can prove beyond reasonable doubt that they are exposed to political persecution in their homelands. Anyone who is unable to prove this is deported and taken by the police on a ferry from Gedser harbour to Warnemünde, where the East German People's Police undertake their transport home.

It was only thanks to the fact that a Polish student seeking last-minute assistance contacted the Copenhagen newspaper *Politiken* that the public came to know of this practice of extradition, which is suspiciously reminiscent of the methods employed towards refugees and emigrants from the Third Reich in the thirties. Just as troubled as the public were the Chief of the Aliens Police and the Minister of Justice, who is responsible for this asylum policy, but for a different reason — because this change of course, which had been kept strictly secret, has now become public.

Official sources are trying to allay fears

by declaring that liberalization has made such progress in the European Communist bloc over the last few years that deportees no longer have any (or any especially severe) punishment to fear on their return home. Official announcements are hushing up the fact that "attempting to flee" is still as much a crime in Communist countries as it has always been.

Furthermore it is said that the "criterion of persecution" with regard to the issuing of residence permits had to be introduced, since otherwise the citizens of East European States would be in a more favourable position than their Western counterparts, who are not allowed to stay in the country for more than three months without police permission. It has been pointed out that in many cases political persecution can hardly be "proved" by the production of papers, but no answer to this has been forthcoming, nor to the obvious question as to why those who cannot furnish proof of persecution are not at least allowed to continue their journey to some other democratic country with a more liberal asylum policy. The police only behaves this humanely towards refugees from East Germany, who are unfailingly put on the next train to Hamburg.

There is no reliable evidence available of the number of East Europeans deported, but it must be considerable, in view of the fact that almost every group of tourists from the Communist bloc includes a few "deserters".

Süddeutsche Zeitung
Munich, 14th June 1965

Anti-Communists Protest At Ballet

Fifteen members of the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine stood outside the St. Catherine Street entrance to Place des Arts handing out anti-Communist literature prior to the first performance of the Soviet Moiseyew Dancers last night.

The group formed at the entrance shortly before 8 p. m. and handed three assorted sheets of literature to persons entering to see the show.

Montreal police, aware of the gathering, watched them closely but reported that everything went off without any trouble.

At the end of the show, a smaller group stood outside and handed out the same literature denouncing Russian colonialism.

Meanwhile, another demonstration, one that started last Tuesday, continues around-the-clock outside the U.S. consulate on McGregor Avenue.

The Montreal Star, Saturday, May 20, 1965

Resolution Passed By ABN Branch In Australia

The Public Meeting convened by the Central Delegation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations for Australia and New Zealand, and held in the Latvian Hall, Parnell Street, Strathfield, N.S.W., on 19th June, 1965 after having heard the reports on:

- a) The grave threat to the Free World by Communism;*
- b) The struggle for their freedom by nations enslaved by Communism, and*
- c) the need to provide immediately help, both moral and otherwise, to the enslaved nations,*

has adopted the following resolution in support of a proclamation by the Australian Federal Government of a "Captive Nations Week".

The meeting felt that:

WHEREAS Soviet Imperialism tries to foster through propaganda media the idea of peaceful co-existence, and

WHEREAS on the other hand the same tyrannical Communism wages an all-out war of aggression and subversion against the Free World, and

WHEREAS the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by the Communist Imperialism makes a mockery of the said propaganda of peaceful co-existence, and

WHEREAS the recent Communist enslavement of Tibet, military attacks on India, open aggression in Korea, and the present aggression in South Vietnam, is a further proof of the true face of tyrannical Communism and constitutes a grave threat to Australia, and

WHEREAS the aggressive policy of the Soviet Imperialistic Communism has led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of national and/or individual freedom and independence of North Korea, North Vietnam, mainland China, Mongolia, Ukraine, Albania, Azerbaijan, Croatia, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, East Germany, Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Cossackia, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cuba and others, and

WHEREAS these enslaved nations look towards Australia and the Free World for support in bringing about their liberation and independence and restoration of their religious freedom, and

WHEREAS freedom is indivisible, it is vital to the security of Australia and the Free World that the desire for Freedom and Independence on the part of the enslaved nations be kept alive by clear manifestation to them through appropriate channels, that the people of Australia share with them their aspirations for the restoration of their Freedom and Independence,

Now, therefore,

This meeting kindly requests the Federal Government of Australia to proclaim a CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, and invite the people to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and further requests that such a proclamation be issued each and every year, until such time as Freedom and Independence shall have been restored to all the enslaved nations of the world.

Dr. C. I. Untaru,
Chairman.

O. Schwarz,
Secretary.

Demonstration In Toronto

The English-language Press, radio, and television in Canada has reported the demonstration against the Moyseyev Ensemble during the latter's appearance in Toronto. For three days — before and during performances — about forty people with banners stood in front of the building in which the performances of the dance ensemble were taking place. This demonstration was organized by the Toronto branch of SVU (Association for the Liberation of Ukraine). As well as members of this organization representatives of the Baltic peoples, Byelorussians, Hungarians, and students from Toronto and Hamilton Universities took part in the demonstration. About 10,000 leaflets in English entitled "Russians, get out of Ukraine" were distributed to theatre-goers, and some hundreds to members of the dance group. The slogans on the banners and the text of the leaflets gave particulars of Russian crimes in Ukraine and amongst the other captive nations. It was clearly indicated in the leaflet that the Russians only wish to camouflage their policies with these dance groups, choirs, and similar forms of "cultural exchange".

The English-language Canadian news-

paper *Telegram* drew its readers' attention to the demonstration in advance. On 11th May both Canadian television channels, CBC and CTB, showed a film of the demonstration with their own commentary. Toronto Radio also informed its listeners of the demonstration and on 12th May all the larger daily newspapers contained news items on the progress of the demonstration.

As a result of this more than half the seats in Maple Leaf Gardens were empty. The hall, with a capacity of 15,000, had an audience of only 6000. Following performances were even worse attended, so that the Moscow artists returned home with only a few dollars in their pockets. Thus a drive to enlighten the public has been successfully carried out and had an effect on the man in the street, so that new friends have been won for the politics of liberation. The spies and MVD agents were far too occupied with watching the members of the ensemble to be able to carry out any other mission.

In connection with this demonstration the well-known Canadian journalist, Mackenzie Potter, wrote a very positive article on Ukraine and her struggle during the Second World War and on the activities of ABN under Yaroslav Stetzko's leadership.

German Message To Captive Nations Committee

1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

*Text of Message from Honorable Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer,
former German Federal Minister, M.P.*

I am sending my warmest greetings to you on the celebration of Captive Nations Week.

As a proof of our solidarity in the struggle of the subjugated peoples against Bolshevism, I submitted not so long ago in our Parliament an interpellation in the sense of the U.S. Congress' Resolution on the Captive Nations. The great part of our nation is oppressed by Communist dictatorship too.

Our Minister of Foreign Affairs responded that our Government feels the closest connection with all people who are striving for national independence and for human freedom. The German Government demands the right to freedom, self-determination and national independence not only for the German people, but for all the peoples of the world. It is seeking to realize this.

I strongly believe that only with a united front of all freedom-loving people can we achieve the human freedom and national independence for the peoples subjugated by godless Bolshevism.

Leaflets At San Francisco Demonstration

News Release on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of United Nations Charter. San Francisco, California, June 21-26, 1965.

Twenty years ago delegates of democratic Ukrainian organizations attended the San Francisco conference, then as now obviously in an unofficial capacity. These representatives, determined to make full use of this international gathering, exerted themselves to the utmost to tell the whole world that Ukraine as a nation has the right to be a member of the United Nations, and that the Kremlin henchmen displaying the credentials of duly elected representatives of the entire Ukrainian nation had no mandate from our peace-loving Ukrainian people.

The world situation since June 1945 has changed considerably, but the Ukrainian question has remained unchanged. Today, we still repeat emphatically, we represent the same group of democratic Ukrainian organizations, work for the same enslaved nation and subscribe to the same ideological tradition.

The Charter of the United Nations which provides the fundamental human rights — equal rights for all, tolerance, dignity and worth of the human person, justice and respect under international law — has been willfully and repeatedly violated by the Russian colonial empire known as the Soviet Union.

Therefore, the position that was taken twenty years ago, and present circumstances are ample evidence of the fact that there are actually two Ukraines.

The real Ukraine is a country of over 45 million Ukrainians, a democratic and peace-loving nation, spiritually part of the West and its civilization. This Ukraine is persecuted by Moscow, and its cultural and religious life is being brutally and continually suppressed. This Ukraine exists underground (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was active for many years) in its imprisoned Catholic and Orthodox clergy and in the millions of Ukrainians who fill the slave labor camps of Vorkuta, Kolyma, in Siberia and in Kazakhstan.

This Ukraine has no equal rights, nor is there tolerance and freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Therefore such persistent violations of the Principles of the United Nations Charter are not only endangering world peace; they are a direct threat to international peace and security for all nations.

Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
San Francisco Branch.

From Letters To ABN:

Comunidad de los Rumanos en Espana (Community of Rumanians in Spain)

Homero, 12

Madrid 7

Madrid, 1st May 1965

To Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of A.B.N.

Sir:

We should like to inform you that in recognition of the exceptional and outstanding services which you have rendered the common cause of our struggle against atheistic Marxism and Russian imperialism and considering your resolute and courageous stand for the strengthening of intellectual values in our world and the devotion and selflessness with which you are conducting this struggle, the Community of Rumanians in Spain has unanimously decided to nominate you as an honorary member of this association.

I am pleased to convey to you my best wishes and my thanks.

With the highest regard and esteem, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
George Demetrescu
President

Hon. John Henry Okwanyo, M. P.

Kenya National Assembly, Chairman Kanu South Nyanza, President South Nyanza

Hon. Jaroslav Stetsko, A.B.N.

Dear Sir,

I must thank you very much for your kind letter which I received a few days ago. I have decided to write again and tell you about the current struggle in Kenya. We have formed a strong organization against Communism. The Communists and their agents are working harder than ever before, because this is going to be the most decisive time in the history of Africa. The two problems facing us immediately are poverty and illiteracy, and because of these problems we are finding it very difficult to raise enough funds locally to be able to keep the struggle alive all the time . . .

Showing films is another way of teaching illiterate people, instead of their reading magazines and newspapers.

I am enclosing some cuttings to show you how we and our Government are working to stop Communist infiltration.

I hope you will do all you can to help us.

Yours sincerely,

J. H. Okwanyo

UCCA Endorses President Johnson's Policies in Vietnam

New York, N.Y. — On Saturday, March 20, 1965 the Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America held a meeting, at which a special resolution was adopted expressing full and unequivocal support of President Johnson in his policies and actions in Vietnam.

The telegram, dispatched to President Johnson, read as follows:

Dear Mr. President:

The Board of Directors of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, speaking on behalf of over 2 million Americans of Ukrainian descent at a meeting held at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York City on Saturday, March 20, 1965, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

We wholeheartedly support your recent decision to apply sterner steps and measures in Vietnam not only to protect American Soldiers, Marines, Sailors and Aviators who were sent to South Vietnam under express agreement between the United States Government and the Government of South Vietnam, but also to manifest the willingness of our great country to prevent Communist takeover of Southeast Asia. The United States Government, as the leading power in the world, cannot afford to withdraw from South Vietnam because such a step would be tantamount to surrender and shameless retreat before Communist aggressors from Hanoi, Peking and Moscow. Moreover, in view of your intrepid and far-sighted move to root out Communist guerillas in South Vietnam, we urge you to accommodate South Vietnamese psycho-political warfare further north, to North Vietnam, warning the captive people of that Communist satellite that their aggressive Communist masters will eventually meet their doom. We further add that all your actions in the promotion of peace, justice and freedom in the world will be fully and unequivocally supported by our organization and our membership at large.

Board of Directors,

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

Canada And The Captive Nations of Europe And Asia

In a concrete way, as one of the measures to be undertaken by the Canadian government we suggest that Canada should establish a Captive Nations Week to remind Canadians of the people who are behind the Iran Curtain. This measure would indicate that our Government is going to take an official cognizance of the very important fact that the Soviet Union itself is an empire. By such a declaration it would be shown that Canada and the Canadian people are fully aware of the captive status of all non-Russian nations in the USSR and that these nations deserve freedom and independence. This would also provide moral support to millions of people within the Soviet Russian empire, giving them new strength in their liberation efforts.

The imperialism and colonialism of Moscow is the enemy of Canada and of the entire free world and therefore it is of utmost importance to accentuate the strategic, political and military value of all the captive nations, both within and outside the Soviet Union. Confronted with such a psychological and political offensive Moscow would not push its borderline policy as well as its subversive activities in the underdeveloped areas. At the same time it would be possible to build up a common front of the free world and the captive nations in the struggle against the menace of Soviet Russian imperialism. This would be the only adequate prerequisite of victory over tyranny and Communist totalitarianism without resorting to global nuclear war. If the East and Central European and Central Asiatic nations had the support of the free world in their quest for freedom and political independence, Moscow would have neither time nor opportunity to retaliate. It would be forced to retreat and to surrender its imperialistic world-wide ambitions and plans.

When Canada adopts this new forceful policy and influences the other free nations to follow its example, only then, quoting the Shah of Iran, will Canada fulfill its international mission and be "a brilliant example for other progressive nations".

"Our Viewpoint" — No. 2/65, Ottawa, Canada

Yugoslav Hypocrites Against Spain

WORLD UNION OF CROATIAN YOUTH

We have learnt that in number 20 of The Youth Courier, which is edited by the Committee of Cuban Youth Organizations in Exile, a Declaration has been signed in the city of Stuttgart, West Germany, directed against Franco's Regime, in which democratic liberties are petitioned for all students in Spain.

It has come to our attention that the said Declaration has also been signed by "Leaders of Yugoslavian students".

In the Declaration, mentioned above. "the suppression and denial of the aspirations, native tongues and home rule of the Basques, Catalans and other ethnic minorities" is condemned.

To call oneself "Yugoslav" (a Slav from the South) lacks any sense whatsoever, be it historical or ethnic — and means the denial of these same rights to the Croatians, Slovenes, Macedonian-Bulgarians, and all the other ethnic minorities forced today to live together in Tito's Communist Yugoslavia.

Therefore:

1 — We protest against the presence at meetings of democratic youth of "Leaders of Yugoslavian Youth", be it that they oppose Communist ideologies or monarchic-fascist.

2 — We reaffirm the democratic position of the Croatian people and their demand for liberty and National Independence.

*Vicepresident:
Domagoj Vlahovic*

*President:
Zvonko Hasenay*



ABN Demonstration in Edmonton (Canada) July 1st, 1965.

The Struggle Against Godlessness

Pilgrimages

In its edition of 26th March the newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina* (Soviet Ukraine) sounded the alarm and called on atheists to take "measures on a massive scale" to check the spread of church activity amongst the Ukrainian population. For up to now all the Russian occupiers' attempts to stamp out religion and the Church in Ukraine have been totally unsuccessful. The Ukrainian people is holding firmly to the faith of its forefathers. "Comrade" M. Medvedenko writes in his article, "What is it that is holding you up, then, militant atheists?" He puts this question with great irritation and exasperation with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and her faithful members in the Bohordchany District of the Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanislaviv) Region, for in this region pilgrimages are made in masses to Mount Seredne, where the Virgin

Mary is said to have appeared. The Russian Bolshevick authorities are helpless in the face of such a phenomenon:

"Several families in the village of Porohy have fallen into the net of the screaming Catholics and given credence to the 'miracle of Mount Seredne'; the Mother of God (the expression is printed without capitals) is said to have appeared to the 'enlightened' in all her glory and healing springs are supposed to have suddenly bubbled forth. Many pilgrims hasten towards the mountain from distant places, while the church bell rings over the village.

"There's nothing we can do about it," says the chairman of the village soviet, Communist Vasyl Tsiomko, helplessly."

But what vexes the Red Devil most of all is that young people attend church and get married there — and these even include Communists. Reprisals are useless. The article continues:

"As a girl Donia Bytkovska studied for eleven years in the local school. Here she

received a Pioneer tie, and later a Komso-mol badge and a school leaving certificate. For some time after she had finished her studies she was employed in the school library . . . But when the time came to found a family, she was unable to resist the demands of the bridegroom's parents and was married in church . . .

"Later Donia was dismissed from her job and expelled from the Communist youth organization.

"From time to time talks are given in the Club, atheistic films are often shown, atheistic evening entertainments are put on — but the believers take no part in these . . ."

The Russian occupiers have certainly enslaved Ukraine and have initiated a bitter struggle against religion and national achievements, but they are in no position at all to expunge belief in God from the hearts of the Ukrainian people, nor to extinguish their native customs or their love for and devotion to the Ukrainian Church. The Ukrainian Church lives on in the catacombs, and the struggle for God and for freedom is continuing uninterrupted.

Zaporizhya

Anti-regilious attacks on the Church and on believers have been reduced recently. During services the church is so full that many Christians have to follow the service from the street. As has also been noted in other places in Ukraine, services are being attended more and more by girls and youths.

Zhdanov (formerly Mariupil)

There is only one church in the town — by the harbour. What is so striking in Mariupil is the fact that the number of young people attending services exceeds the number of older believers, although churchgoers are exposed to various pieces of chicanery and persecution by the Russian occupiers.

Novoshakhtynsk (Rostov region)

The town's only church is quite often attended by young people. Recently the atheist scoundrels have taken no steps against the Church or against believers, as Christianity is too steadfastly practised for this.

The Crimea and its surroundings

In Yalta there is massive Ukrainian participation in services. The amateur Ukrainian women's choir there sings ancient hymns, although the church also has a professional choir of its own. Churchgoers include young people and children. Until now the church has surprisingly remained quite well preserved, for tourists who visit the Crimea in summer make a by no means insignificant contribution towards its upkeep.

In the well-known Black Sea resort of Sochi, for which Khrushchov had a great liking, services are held in the mountain church, which is attended above all by women pilgrims. Here too, ancient hymns are sung. The priest is comparatively young — not more than 45 years old. At the same time, obstinate rumours have been spreading that before long a church in the immediate neighbourhood is to be closed.

The Ukrainian Far East (the "Green Ukraine")

In this region the two churches in the town of Khabarovsk deserve special mention. One of them is built of wood, stands right next to the station, and holds at the most two hundred people. The other is even tinier. In spite of Russian-Red Chinese tension (the town is no more than 38 miles from the Chinese frontier) Chinese Christians are to be seen praying peaceably beside Ukrainians and others.

Byelorussia

Tourists have learned from natives of Smolensk that this Byelorussian town has three churches. The four remaining priests are young and make a good impression as intelligent and tactful men both on those around them and on foreigners.

Services are also attended by young people, although this can raise difficulties when one is looking for work or attending an educational establishment. These young churchgoers are still very frequently censured by the Soviet press.

Godless Russia will never be able to kill God in the hearts of men.

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U. S. Congressman

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*

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ABN CORRESPONDENCE

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS



Our Lady
(Kiev, Ukraine)
17th
century
on

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Picture on the cover:

Our Lady of Vyshhorod, 11th Century Icon. (Courtesy of "Ukrainian Arts")

This miraculous Ukrainian Icon of Our Lady was pillaged in 1155 from the monastery church of Vyshhorod, near Kyiv, by the Prince of Suzdal — Andrej Dowgoruky —, and brought to Suzdal. The stolen Ukrainian Madonna was wrongly called the "Madonna of Wladimir-Suzdal" by the Russians.

ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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Russia - Primary Enemy

The existing world crisis of today has been caused by the very existence of the Russian empire and the aggressive Communist ideology as a tool of Russian imperialism. Russian communism or Bolshevism is a product of the Russian way of life, it is but another phase in the centuries' long dream of the rulers of Russia, a dream of world conquest, regardless of ideological shading or social make-up. Therefore, a complete dissolution of the Russian empire would lead to the destruction of the communist system and the downfall of communism in other countries, including Red China. It is important to emphasize that Bolshevism is not the product of the Chinese mentality but the Russian, hence, Red China with its economic and technological potential is a power of secondary significance.

The principal task is to concentrate our attention and forces on the chief target and primary enemy: the Russian empire. Moscow deliberately draws the United States into secondary and peripheral wars involving in this manner more and more U.S. military and human resources and at the same time, protecting Moscow, headquarters of all these aggressions, from direct attack. The prospect of final victory over communism in such peripheral wars without creating similar fronts of the anti-communist forces within the territories of the Red Russian empire is practically nil. In order to win it is even more important that the U.S. abandon the concept of Yalta (dividing the world in half) and defend the sacred rights of human freedom and national independence on all continents, for all nations, and not only of the former British and French colonies but also of those nations which are today subject to the colonial yoke of the Russian empire.

We welcome the policy of strength in Vietnam, just and justly initiated by the present US administration, but why stop at the 17th parallel? The traffic of ideas is toll free.

If the Western powers find enough courage and resourcefulness to support actively the liberation movements of all peoples subjugated by Russian and Chinese communism, a nuclear war can be prevented. The sustained fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against the Russian tyranny proved the wisdom of the strategy of insurrection. Similar synchronized and coordinated national liberation revolutions, as a means of destroying the communist system and the Russian empire from within, are the only possible alternative to the thermo-nuclear war.

Revolutionary uprisings can be occasioned by events of an internal or external character, or both. Among the new manifestations of the fight for freedom and independence that can be observed in the subjugated nations are: strikes, demonstrations, armed clashes (Novocherkask, 1962; Donetsk Basin, 1963), revolts in concentration camps, etc. All these new forms of the revolutionary struggle should receive the support of the Free World since they must be regarded as a new phase in the unfolding of the national offensive which aims at a nationwide insurrection.

In the artistic and cultural achievements of the younger generation in the subjugated countries, e. g. Ukraine and others, even in officially released works,

there is clear evidence that the youth has remained faithful to the ideals of the nations, of religion, and of the country. *The young people do not shrink from writing anti-Russian and anti-communist poetry* (the well known case of Ukrainian poet Symonenko is an example).

We have information about the existence and a successful operation of hundreds of illegal transmitters which can give secret radio broadcasts.

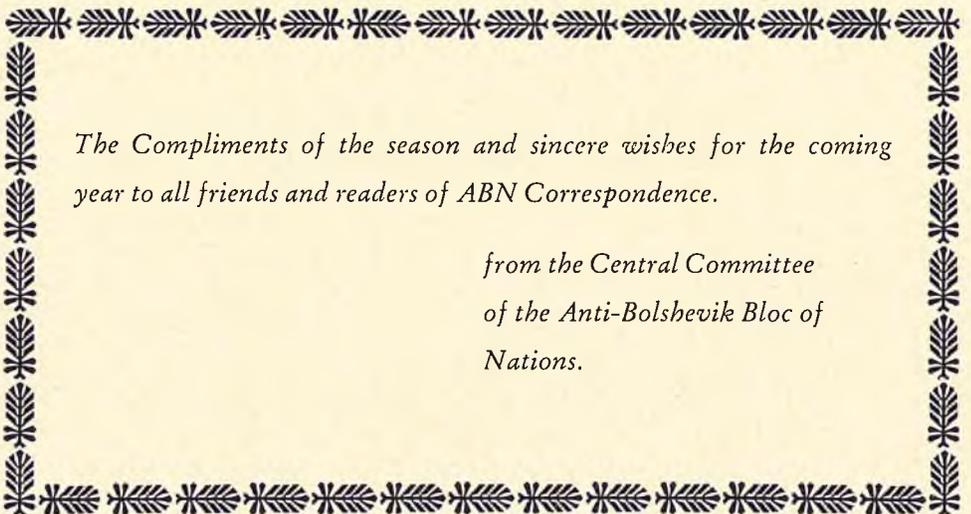
At the same time, however, in the Soviet government, new, and dangerous for the West, developments have been taking place. At present Deputy Prime Minister Shelepin, the man who controls the KGB and the Communist Party, is on the march to absolute power in the Kremlin.

The newspaper "Radianska Ukraina" ("Soviet Ukraine") in its June 19, 1965 edition published an article by the chief of the KGB in the UkrSSR, Gen. Niki-tchenko; the article praises the present and former members of the KGB, which rules and oversees the whole complex of the Soviet life: cultural, economic, administrative, etc.

A new generation of messianistic Russian chauvinists with a KGB mentality are preparing to take over the power in the Empire. It is the duty to unmask and disclose the true face of those criminals headed by Shelepin, especially to the newly created countries in Africa and Asia where these Shelepinites represent themselves as bearers of justice and national independence.

In this connection we wish to recall that according to the verdict of the German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe in 1962, Shelepin, a gangster-like leader, is the man who gave the orders for the assassination of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement (OUN), and Dr. Lev Rebet, anti-communist writer.

We call upon the leaders of the Free World not to cooperate with the murderers and tyrants, lest freedom and liberty lose their value.



The Compliments of the season and sincere wishes for the coming year to all friends and readers of ABN Correspondence.

*from the Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of
Nations.*

APACL Conference

Information Report on the 11th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), held at Manila/Philippines from 7—11 September 1965

The Conference was organised by the Philippine Anti-Communist Movement, which is headed by Senator Ramon Bagatsing (president), and Dr. José Ma. Hernandez (general secretary). The president of the APACL for 1965 was the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Cornelio T. Villareal.

132 representatives together took part in the Conference, from the Philippines, Australia, Ceylon, National China, Hongkong, India, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Kenya, Laos, Liberia, Macao, Pakistan, Somaliland, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam and the Ryukyu Islands. Representatives with the status of observers, but with the right to address the Conference, to suggest resolutions, take part in the debates and to vote on the committees were present from Malta, Spain, Sweden, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Malagasy Republic, Italy, the Congo (Leopoldville), Cuba, USA, Argentina, from the following international and national organisations: Continental Research Institute, All American Conference to Combat Communism (USA), American Afro-Asian Educational Exchange (USA), Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN), Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the UN (USA), Free Pacific Association, International Committee for Information and Social Activity (CIAS), represented by Alfred B. Gielen, Bonn; National Captive Nations Committee (USA) represented by Prof. Lev Dobrianskyj, International Conference on Political Warfare of the Soviets (France), Union of Russian Solidarists (NTS), Korean Freedom Board.

The ABN delegation consisted of: Jaroslav Stetsko (Chairman), Michael de Alshibaja (Georgia), Alexander Olechnik, representative of the White Ruthenian Youth in Australia and at the same time member of the Australian delegation; Mrs Slava Stetsko (Ukraine) as secretary to the dele-

gation and Rama Swarup, ABN Representative in India, as adviser.

The Conference worked in full sessions and in committees, which concerned themselves with the following problems:

- Committee 1: The problems of the Russian imperium, Red China and Indonesia
- Committee 2: The problems of Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia
- Committee 3: The problems of the Near East and Africa
- Committee 4: The problems of Europe, Australia and both Americas.

The task of the fifth committee consisted in formulating the declaration and of revising the wording of the resolutions.

His Eminence J. Cardinal Santos opened the Conference with a prayer. Then the President of the Philippine Anti-Communist Movement, Senator Ramon D. Bagatsing, welcomed the participants in the Conference. A report on the political situation was given by the President of the APACLROC (National China), Dr. Ku. Then the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of APACL, Cornelio T. Villareal, delivered an address. The main speaker was the Foreign Minister of Thailand, Dr. Thanat Khoman.

In the speeches which followed in the plenary session, the speakers concerned themselves with the position in their respective countries, with the Communist threat from Soviet Russia and Red China, and with the possibilities of meeting this danger effectively.

Here it must be stressed that most Asian representatives, under the direct pressure of Communist China, almost overlooked the originator of Communism — Russia. For this reason the presence of the European representatives and in particular of the ABN contributed greatly to a global consideration of the world position and to ascribing to the strategy of liberating the

subjugated nations an equal importance both in Asia and Europe.

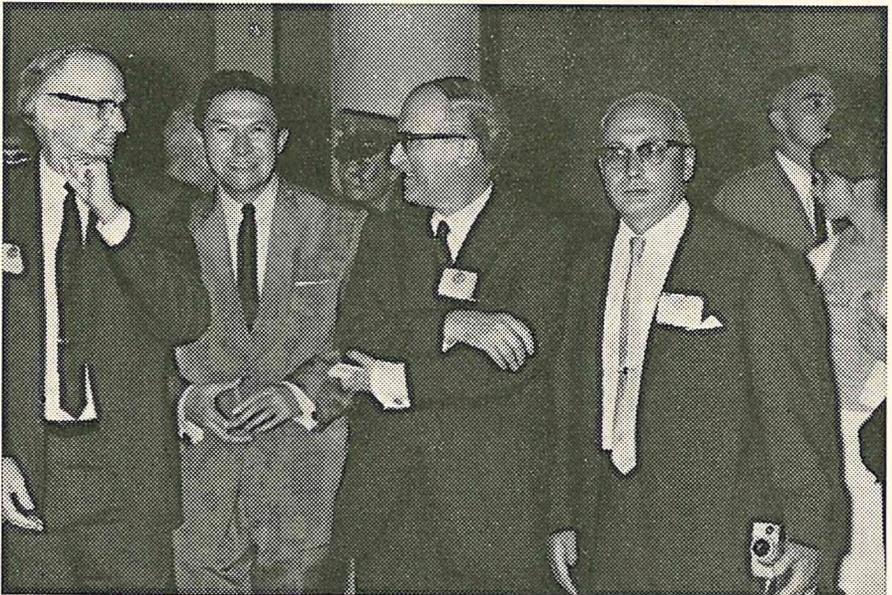
The resolutions, worked out in the committees and accepted in the plenary session, concerned the following:

the measures to be taken to destroy Red China's nuclear installations;
the elimination of the Iron Curtain in Asia;
the withdrawal of economic contact by the Free World with Red China;
the exposure of Mao's intrigues aimed at promoting world revolution;
the exposure of the Chinese Communist plans regarding the II. Afro-Asian Conference;
Communist infiltration and subversion in Africa and Latin America;
the Arab Palestine refugees;
the need of a Freedom Academy in the USA;
the increased economic cooperation between the free nations of Asia and the West Pacific;
support for the war in Vietnam against Communism;
the expansion of the Captive Nations Week movement;
an anti-Communist alliance of the free nations of Asia;

support for the freedom struggle on the Chinese mainland;
the necessity of sending military units of the free nations to South Vietnam, as Australia, New Zealand, Korea and naturally America already have;
a common strategy in the struggle against Communism;
support for the Tibetan people in their struggle against Communist China;
active support for Thailand against infiltration by Red China;
the non-admission of Red China to the UNO;
the creation of a military alliance of the free countries of Asia;
the destruction of Communist and Indonesian aggression in Malaysia and Singapore.

A resolution suggested by the ABN, on the liberation of the subjugated nations from Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism, was proposed in Committee 1 by the Turkish representative, Senator Fethi Tevetoglu, and the leader of the Korean delegation, the Hon. Kwan Soo Park.

The ABN resolution met with strong opposition from the Russian representative of the NTS. The representative of ACEN raised an objection to the point concerning



From l. to r.: Congressman Judd; Vice President of the Philippines; Mr. J. Stetsko, and the Swedish delegate Mr. A. Horm.



ABN delegation in the plenary session.

the independence of the Slovaks and the Croatians.

The American delegation, which was one of the strongest, was of divided opinion on the fundamental questions. One group, led by Prof. Row (American Afro-Asian Exchange) and Prof. L. Dobrianskyj, held the view that the Red Chinese danger should not obscure the Russian danger and that the liberation of the European peoples should be advocated in the same way as that of the Asian countries. Help now given by America to the Russians, would contribute ultimately to the strengthening of the Communist bloc.

Congressman Judd, however, was of the opinion that at the moment one should concentrate on the conflict in Southeast Asia, in order to reach the desired aim step by step.

After long arguments by the ABN, the ABN resolution was accepted unanimously in committee 1 and later in committee 5 and the plenary session. The ABN resolution was concerned with:

- a) the policy for the liberation of the subjugated peoples;
- b) the final dissolution of the Soviet Russian imperium into national, democratic states within their ethnographic boundaries;
- c) the re-establishment of those national states which had been forced to become

part of artificially created states, as in Yugoslavia and in Czecho-Slovakia;

- d) a common front against Moscow and Peking;
- e) the landing of National Chinese troops on the Chinese mainland and the liberation of all China, Vietnam, Korea etc.;
- f) support for the anti-Communist nations of Africa and Latin-America.

One of the aims of the 11th APACL Conference was to strengthen the anti-Communist Youth Front and for this reason the representatives of youth movements from the USA, National China, Vietnam, Korea, the Philippines, Japan, Australia and White Ruthenia were brought together. Three detailed resolutions devoted to the strengthening of the anti-Communist Youth Front and to the participation of young people at the APACL were accepted.

While the Conference was taking place, a large youth demonstration was held, in which about 18,000 Philippine students took part. At this meeting, besides the State Vice-President, who read an address from the State President, there also spoke youth representatives of the above mentioned countries. At the end a manifesto was adopted, in which the young people declared themselves for democratic freedom and promised to defend it wherever it is threatened and endangered. The manifesto urged all youth organisations to oppose Commu-

nist aggression and the manifold intrigues of the Communists, to unmask it and to join the ranks of the freedom fighters.

During the Conference an exhibition was presented by the Vietnamese delegation, in which the most interesting exhibits were weapons from the seat of war, proving without any doubt, that Red China and Russia are behind the Communist Viet Cong guerillas in South Vietnam.

The Conference sent a telegram to President Johnson, in which all participants declared their solidarity with the increased measures of war being taken in Vietnam.

All participants of the Conference were invited to the official dinners given by the Philippine Anti-Communist Movement, the Mayor of Manila, the Vietnamese and Chinese embassies, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, C. Villareal, in honour of the guests. They also laid a wreath on the grave of the Philippine national hero, Rizal.

During the Conference, the tenth anniversary of the Far East Defence Pact

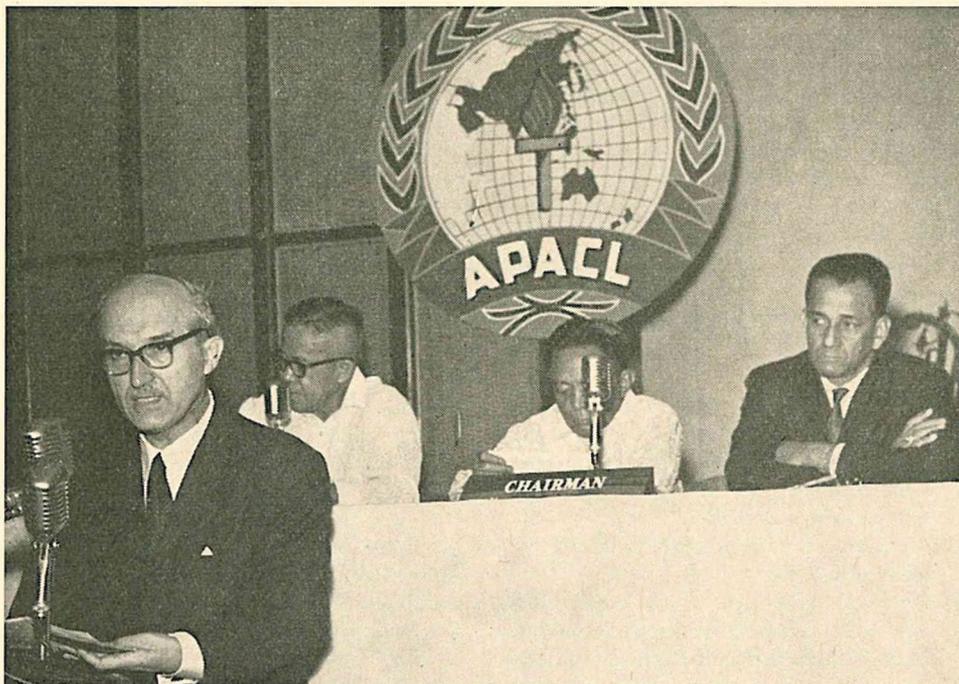
(SEATO), was celebrated. On this occasion different events took place, such as military parades. On the 9th September a military parade in Fort Bonifazio was organised in honour of the Conference participants.

The Conference and its participants received constant, very thorough coverage from radio, television and the Philippine press, as we could observe from the English speaking press.

The Korean delegate Kwan Soo Park was elected President of the League for next year; the 12th APACL Conference will take place in Korea.

The representatives of the CIAS, Alfred Gielen, and the ABN delegates were invited to a dinner at the German Embassy where the Ukrainian members were especially pleased to learn that the German ambassador, H. E. J. K. von Stechow, had a Ukrainian wife. He as an opponent of the Nazis had suffered much from the Gestapo, since he had always opposed the policies of Hitler.

ABN Press Bureau



The Presidium: Hon. C. Villareal, Speaker of the House; Hon. R. Bagatsing, Senator; Dr. J. Hernandez, Secretary General; Mr. J. Stetsko, addressing the plenary session.

Resolution

On the liberation of nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism.

In consideration of the following:

That all nations and people in the world are entitled to the same right to national independence, personal freedom and human dignity, and that in the present epoch the idea of national independence through the dissolution of empires maintains its glorious advance and, on this side of the Iron Curtain, leads to the realization of the rights of men and of nations;

That, however, at the same time in the Soviet Russian colonial empire, which was extended by force of arms not only over foreign countries inside the USSR, but even in the same way over the so-called satellite states, men and nations are held captive by a brutal rule of violence, and Russian Communist colonialism openly aims at the creation of a world empire of total slavery and degradation;

That in revolt against this world-wide enslavement of nations and individuals the idea of national liberation has remained alive inside the Russian sphere of power, and contains within it an enormous explosive force, by itself suited to cause the collapse not only of the Soviet Russian prison of nations, but also of world Communism;

That the concentration of technical, economic and military resources in the hands of the Russian-Bolshevist world conspiracy enables them to manufacture weapons of mass annihilation, with the aim of extending Communist tyranny over the whole world.

On the Policy of Liberation

The Eleventh APACL Conference, held in Manila, in September 1965, has decided the following:

The Conference calls upon the governments of the Free World to give up the policy of peaceful co-existence which ultimately amounts to a recognition of the status quo, that is to say of the right to exist of the aggressive Bolshevist tyranny as a springboard for the advancement of world conquest; furthermore the severance of all relations with Communist governments and the employment of all available resources in an

economic, political, moral and diplomatic offensive, if necessary even total blockades, and the introduction of a liberation policy by the Free World through active support of national liberation movements, to popular uprisings in the subjugated countries. In the present-day era a world-wide ideological conflict in the shadow of the thermonuclear threat makes insurgent warfare based on national revolutionary guerillas a decisive factor in the liquidation of the Soviet Russian empire as well as the aggressive Communist system, and at the same time this would avoid an atomic war.

On the Eventual Dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire.

The Conference advocates the dissolution of the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into independent, national, democratic states, based on the ethnographic boundaries of all the subjugated peoples therein; as well as the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the peoples in the so-called satellite countries, and also the dissolution of all artificial states created by coercion, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

It urges the destruction of aggressive Communism in its headquarters which disregard both freedom and human dignity, challenge international peace, and despise world safety.

On a Common Front Against Moscow and Peking

The Eleventh APACL Conference warns the Free World against the illusion that the Russian Communist tyranny could be induced, through peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation, to adopt liberal and democratic policies, since this grossly contradicts its innermost nature. It also warns the Free World against the deceptive hope of forming a common front with one Communist power against another, since even great differences between two tyrannical systems disappear before the contrast between freedom and despotism. The only prospect of success lies in a common front

by the Free World with the nations who have fallen victims to the tyranny of Moscow and Peking.

The Eleventh APACL Conference warns the Free World against supporting so-called national Communist governments, since they will not leave the side of tyranny at the decisive moment, and thus every help afforded them is indirectly of benefit to the Communist world headquarters, whilst the national revolutionary forces of the peoples concerned are thus only weakened.

The Eleventh Conference also warns the parliaments and governments of the Free World against ill-considered disarmament and against the exclusion of various democratic powers from control of thermonuclear weapons, since the Communists, according to experience, disregard international agreements, so that the limitation of atomic or conventional armaments would ultimately only strengthen the Communist world position.

On the Landing of Free Chinese troops on the Mainland and the Liberation of Vietnam

The Eleventh APACL Conference states that the final victory over world Communism can never be won through peripheral wars, but only through direct offensives against its world headquarters — Moscow and Peking — and through all round, even military support of national revolutions and wars of liberation in the Soviet Russian and Communist spheres of power.

The Eleventh APACL Conference calls upon the governments of the Free World to help the national revolutions of liberation in the subjugated countries succeed, by recognition and support of their national political aims. In particular it calls upon the Free World to make it possible for the Liberation Army of the Republic of China to land on the Chinese mainland, and to abandon the liberation policy bounded by the Seventeenth Parallel. Instead of this, the liberation of all Vietnam and the reunification in freedom of the divided countries of Asia and Europe should be adopted as a declared aim of Western policy. Concrete measures should include the harassment of the Chinese Reds in the Formosa Straits, encouragement of mass insurrection on

mainland China, the formation of an All-Asian Alliance, no political or military sanctuaries for Hanoi in an applied liberation of North Vietnam, opening a new front in the dynamic liberation of North Korea, agreement of the United States for the attack on mainland China, and the dismantling of Chinese nuclear installations.

The Eleventh APACL Conference appeals to the governments of the Free World to afford economic and other support, above all to those countries in Africa, Asia and Latin-America which have taken up a firm anti-Communist position and foresworn any form of neutralism.

And finally, this year's conference reaffirms the resolution of the Tenth APACL Conference on Soviet Russian colonialism, renews its solidarity with the US Congress resolution (Public Law 86-90/17th July 1959) on the subjugated nations, appeals to the parliaments and governments of the Free World to testify to their full solidarity with the struggle for independence of the nations forced into the Russian empire and Communist sphere of power and to demonstrate readiness to give universal support for this struggle.

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Delegate of India Chapter
(SGD) Mr. Chang Kuo-sin,
Chief Delegate of Hongkong
(SGD) Mr. Philibert Luyeye,
Observer, Congo (Leopoldville)
(SGD) Dr. Prof. Mahmud Brelvi,
Delegate of Pakistan
(SGD) Mr. Mahmud Essaid,
Delegate of Jordan
(SGD) Mr. George Elias Okwanyo,
Observer, Kenya
(SGD) Mr. Rakotoniaina,
Observer, Malagasy Republic

RUSSIAN Neo-Colonialism

And the Right to National Self-Determination

by Dr. Ctibor Pokorný

Since Communism took over power in Russia, the Communists have been constantly using the national right to self-determination in order to create agitation. They appeal to this right and demand its realisation everywhere it seems useful to them.

The Communists took over the idea of national self-determination from the ideology of democracy. The right to self-determination is of course a logical consequence of the principle of democracy, even a prerequisite for its realisation in international relations. A neglect of this right is scarcely conceivable in a genuine democracy. Democracy means in its original and unfalsified sense nothing but the rule of the people. Thus it is impossible to speak of the rule of the people if the people are not allowed to determine and form their own fate.

Therefore violation and neglect of the right to self-determination — considered from the viewpoint of democracy — can only lead to partial or pseudo solutions.

The idea of national self-determination is incompatible with the Communist ideology of bondage. It stands in opposition not only to Communist ideology but also to Communist reality.

The fact that national self-determination is not compatible with Communist theory as well as Communist practice does not mean however that Communist policy and agitation cannot make use of it in certain cases and situations as an argument or slogan.

Since basically every means which can serve to widen and strengthen their power appear to be permitted to the Communists, it is understandable that they have also taken over the idea or rather the slogan of national self-determination in order to abuse it for their own ends in the pursuit of power.

After the Communist seizure of power in Russia, there began a disastrous development which led to the unification of Bolshevik Communist interests with Russian national and imperial interests. This entanglement of interests was especially conspicuous during Stalin's reign. In fact this had already begun under Lenin and was also continued after the death of Stalin. In principle it has remained so up to today.

Agitation over the right to national self-determination has from the beginning been one of the constant weapons of the Soviet Russian foreign policy, but pursued always only in the interests of the Soviet Russian imperium.

The Communists proclaimed immediately after their acquisition of power in Russia the "unrestricted right to self-determination of all the peoples of the Russian empire including the right of separation". Doubtlessly the first Bolshevik government of Russia intended in this way to deceive world opinion and in particular to win the affection of the non-Russian nations for the Russian imperium. Above all, however, the Soviet government saw itself compelled to employ these tactics because it did not feel strong enough to be able to draw into its own sphere of power these nations, who represented an absolute majority of the total population of the Russian empire of that time. Thus they exerted themselves first only to secure and expand their power in the central area inhabited by Russians.

The peoples subjugated within the Russian empire, especially the historical nations of the so-called border lands, saw in the collapse of the Tsarist system and in the subsequent anarchy in the Russian empire a favorable opportunity to separate themselves from Russia, to gain their national independence and to either found or re-establish their own states.

After the Bolshevik Communist seizure of power in Russia many of these subjugated peoples of the former Russian Tsarist empire made use of this right to self-determination and in 1917 and 1918 declared their independence. This was carried out by the following nations: the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, White-Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Turkes-tanians and the people of North Caucasia and the Idel Ural.

This procedure was a natural development, a triumphant advance of freedom and self-determination in Eastern Europe and in part of Asia. In most cases it was not a question of new creations but the re-establishment or liberation of previously existing states. They were mostly states with their own culture, some of which possessed an older culture and history than the Russians: e.g. the Ukrainians and the Georgians.

It was hoped at that time that an auspicious period of liberty had begun in Eastern Europe. Unfortunately this hope soon proved to be deceptive.

The Russian Bolshevik government, after it felt itself strong enough, endeavoured to conquer the free and independent peoples and countries one after the other, and to attach them again to the Russian empire by force. They tried to regain for Russia step by step, at least the boundaries of the former Tsarist empire. Soviet Russia carried out under various pretexts, its wars of conquest against the single states, which had just become independent. These events are described in official histories as "civil wars". In reality they were national wars.

This process lasted for many years, since the single nations were not prepared to renounce without a fight their national freedom and independence as a state. They defended their freedom and independence resolutely and tenaciously as long as they were able.

White Ruthenia was the first victim of Soviet Russian expansion. This country had declared its independence on 25th March 1918. Soon after the declaration of inde-

pendence the White Ruthenian Republic was attacked by Soviet Russia and occupied in the same year.

During 1920 and 1921, after severe fighting, Soviet Russia succeeded through wars of conquest in occupying and reattaching to Russia, against international law, all four of the Caucasian republics, North Caucasia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia.

North Caucasia, inhabited by several small national groups, was occupied by Soviet Russia in 1920.

Armenia, which had declared its independence on 28th May 1918, was occupied by Soviet Russia in November 1920.

Georgia had been annexed by Russia at the beginning of the 19th century. On 26th May 1918 its independence was declared. Soviet Russia legally recognised the Georgian Republic through a peace treaty concluded in Moscow on 7th May 1920. Soon after Soviet Russia attacked and occupied the country in 1921.

In April 1921 Soviet Russia managed to occupy Azerbaijan, whose independence had been declared on 27th May 1918.

Soviet Russia also succeeded in conquering with military force the Cossack and Idel Ural states.

At the end of 1921 after long and severe fighting the Soviet Red Army conquered Ukraine. Ukraine (under Hetman Mazeppa in alliance with Sweden under Karl XII) was defeated in 1709 by Russia at the battle of Poltava. Even after two hundred years the Ukrainian nation was not prepared to renounce its freedom and to accept Russian foreign rule.

Ukraine had declared its independence on 22nd January 1918, and was legally recognised by the Soviet Russians as independent on 9th February 1918 by the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Despite this Soviet Russia afterwards fought a war of aggression against the independent Ukrainian state. After a war lasting several years the Red Army did indeed succeed in occupying Ukraine, but the war was not declared ended.

In 1922 the Soviet Russians were able after a long war of conquest to take pos-

session of the republic of Turkestan, which was once more forcibly taken back into the Russian empire. To break the resistance of this people against Moscow, Turkestan was divided administratively into the following five Soviet republics: Kazakhstan, Kirghistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan.

These wars of conquest allowed Soviet Russia to draw into its sphere of power almost all the official area of the former Russian Tsarist empire. Only Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland were able to preserve their independence, with the support of the West.

The Bolshevik rulers changed the name of the Russian empire in 1922, which became officially the "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics", in order to deceive world opinion as to the true character of the Soviet Russian imperium. The main purpose of this change of name was to represent the Soviet imperium as a free association of nations.

From the point of view of history and international law, the Soviet Union is identical with the old Russian empire. It is only a question of another name for the same state, whose form of government, economic system and social order have undergone a change.

The peoples drawn by force into the Soviet Russian imperium were and are not ready to accept the loss of their freedom and independence. They showed and are showing resistance to the foreign rule of the Russians and to the imposed economic and social system. It is true that up to now Moscow was successful in suppressing all uprisings and resistance action in the various countries under her rule, but resistance has never been completely broken. The enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union show in various ways opposition to the system in force, either actively or passively.

The Soviet rulers, however, were not prepared to be satisfied with these conquests already mentioned. Although they continued to propagate the right of self-determination of nations, they were anxious to draw further peoples and lands into their sphere of power.

Only a few examples will be given here of how the Bolshevik Communist party and government in Moscow practices this right of nations to self-determination.

During the Second World War, Moscow succeeded in occupying the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, after 20 years of flourishing national independent life, and to add them to the Soviet Union, in contradiction to international law.

This action by the Moscow government was not only a gross violation of the right to self-determination of the Baltic states, but also of international treaties. The following facts show clearly how Soviet Russia has violated its obligations under international law towards the individual Baltic states:

Estonia declared its independence on 24th February 1918. The Republic of Estonia was legally recognised by Soviet Russia on 2nd February 1920 through a peace treaty concluded in Dorpat. A non-aggression pact was signed between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Estonia on 4th May 1932, which was prolonged in April 1934 until 31st December 1945. On 16th June 1932 a convention on questions in dispute between both states was signed. On 28th September 1939 a bilateral pact of mutual assistance between the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union was concluded.

Despite these international treaties the Moscow government issued an ultimatum to the Estonian government, demanding the creation of a basis for the realisation of the mutual assistance pact, followed by the entry of Soviet troops. Estonia was occupied by Soviet troops and on 6th August joined to the Soviet Union as a "socialist republic", in contravention of international law.

Latvia had declared its independence on 18th November 1918. The Republic of Latvia was recognised legally by the Soviet Russian government through a peace treaty concluded in Moscow on 11th August 1920, and a non-aggression pact between the Republic of Latvia and the Soviet Union was signed on 5th February 1932, which was extended in 1934 to 31st December 1945.

Even in this case Moscow violated all its obligations under international law. Moscow issued an ultimatum to the Latvian government and occupied it with Soviet troops on 7th June 1940. Shortly afterwards on 5th August 1940 Latvia was also incorporated into the Soviet Union as a "socialist republic", in defiance of international law.

On 18th February 1918 Lithuania had proclaimed itself independent, and was legally recognised by Soviet Russia on 17th July 1920 through a peace treaty signed in Moscow. On 22nd September 1926 a non-aggression pact between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union was concluded. This was extended in 1934 until the 31st December 1945. The Soviet Union also completed a pact of mutual assistance with the republic of Lithuania (on 10th October 1939).

Nevertheless Moscow issued an ultimatum and occupied the country on 15th July 1940. On 21st July of the same year Lithuania was joined to the Soviet Union as a "socialist republic", in violation of international law.

But Moscow's expansionist policy was not ended with the occupation of the Baltic states. Moscow was anxious to add still further peoples and states to its own sphere of power.

In 1940 Moscow attempted to bring Finland also into its power — in the same way as it had acquired Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania —, although Soviet Russia had legally recognised the independence of Finland in the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Moscow's attempt, however, was foiled by the heroic resistance of the Finnish people. Finland chose rather to fight, than to capitulate before the Russian threats, and in this way succeeded in saving its independence, though some of its territory had to be ceded to the Soviet Union. Finland even managed to maintain its independence after the Second World War.

In every country occupied by the Soviet Army in 1944 and 1945 in the course of military operations, the population was faced with a *fait accompli*. Nearly all these areas were robbed of their independence,

in so far as they had been directly before independent states made subject by the Soviet empire.

Although these countries were not declared parts of the Soviet Union, but formally sovereign states, they were left in complete dependence on Moscow.

Even the Soviet political, economic and social order was introduced step by step into these countries under Moscow's rule, and imposed on the population. Their system of government was described as "People's Democracy", which after a few years turned out to be open Communist dictatorships.

Thus in 1944 and 1945 Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Poland and large parts of Germany were incorporated into the Russian Communist sphere of power, against the will of the population. In this way the Moscow Communist Party and state headquarters grossly violated the right to self-determination of many peoples.

In this process Moscow was concerned not only with states against which the Soviet Union had declared war, such as Germany, Roumania, Hungary, and Slovakia, but also Poland, which was in a state of war with Germany, and even Bulgaria, which had not declared war on the Soviet Union.

After the government of Marshal Antonescu in Roumania had fallen on 23rd August 1944 and the new government surrendered to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Army was able to occupy this state. The direct result of this occupation of Roumania was that this state lost its independence. Roumania fell into real dependence on Moscow and was drawn into the Soviet Russian sphere of power against the will of the Roumanian nation.

A "People's Democratic" regime was imposed on the Roumanian people by the Soviet occupation forces. The most important task of this regime was to sovietise the state step by step in accordance with directives from Moscow. Roumania was changed into a colony of Moscow.

After the occupation of Romania by the Soviet Army, Moscow decided to occupy Bulgaria, although this country had not

declared war on the Soviet Union. During the Second World War Bulgaria was in a state of war only with the Western powers. When the Bulgarian government had already taken steps to negotiate a cease-fire with the Western powers, the Soviet Union declared war on Bulgaria on 5th September 1944. The Soviet Army succeeded in occupying this state also, and in making it part of the Soviet sphere of power by force of arms. The "people's democratic" regime imposed by the Soviet Russian occupation force put down by bloody terror all resistance of the subjugated nation.

Moscow attempted to bring the remaining Balkan states also into its power. This attempt either failed or was without lasting success.

When the Soviet Army took Belgrade in the autumn of 1944, it handed over power to Tito, the leader of the Communist partisans, because of a secret agreement between him and Stalin. In 1948, however, Tito managed to become independent of Moscow and to go on his "own way to socialism". In the course of time Enver Hoxha, the Communist dictator who should have acted in Albania as Moscow's viceroy, also succeeded in cutting free from Moscow and ruling independently in his "people's republic". Moscow's attempt to dominate Greece failed completely.

During the course of military operations, the Soviet Army was able to occupy Hungary in the spring of 1945, and join this state to the Soviet Russian sphere of power. As in the case of Roumania and Bulgaria, it was a question of real, not formal dependence.

The Soviet occupation force also introduced in Hungary a similar "people's democratic" regime, as had been done in Roumania and Bulgaria. When on 23rd October 1956 there broke out in Hungary a general people's revolt for the freedom and independence of the country, it was clearly shown what the Hungarian people thought of the "people's democracy" and its "achievements", on the Soviet Russian model. Only by military force was Moscow able to suppress the uprising and keep Hungary in dependence and impose again a

"people's democratic" dictatorship on the Hungarian people.

By re-establishing, counter to international law, Czecho-Slovakia, Moscow violated above all the right to self-determination of the Slovak people. This conduct by Moscow was even more despicable, as the Communists had earlier agitated for the national independence of the Slovaks.

Not only the Slovak Communists were for the national independence of the Slovaks, but also the Communist Internationals were in favour of it, e.g. in the resolution of the fifth world congress of the Communist International in 1924, on the question of nationalities in Central Europe and the Balkans. This contained the following: "the Congress holds it necessary that the Communist party of Czecho-Slovakia, with regard to the national minorities, should proclaim the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, including the right of secession, and carry this into effect.; above all the Communist party of Czecho-Slovakia must support the struggle of the Slovaks for independence and always be ready to take this struggle out of the hands of the national bourgeoisie and unite it with the common struggle of the workers against Capitalism."

When the Slovak parliament proclaimed the independence of Slovakia on 14th March 1939, the Slovak Communists approved the setting up of the Slovak Republic. The Soviet Union had legally recognised the Slovak Republic on 16th September 1939.

The regime of the re-established Czecho-Slovakia was described from the beginning as a "people's democracy" and since 1960 even as a "dictatorship of the proletariat".

When the Soviet Army occupied Poland in the spring of 1945, Moscow put into power there a Communist government under its orders, regardless of the fact that there was in London a recognised Polish exile government. Since the USA and Great Britain were not prepared to recognise the Polish Communist government put in power by Moscow, after some delay, Moscow declared itself ready for a compromise solution in Poland. In reality however, it was

not a genuine compromise but a bluff of Soviet diplomacy. Some of the members of the exile government in London were taken into the government recognised by Moscow. It was soon shown that their membership of the government was in practice completely meaningless and was also only temporary.

Thus there came into being in Poland a "People's Democracy", which in reality was a Communist dictatorship dependent on Moscow, since from the beginning all key positions in the administration were in the hands of Communists.

It is understandable that such a "liberation" was a disappointment for the Polish people.

The Soviet Army succeeded in occupying large parts of Germany, in the last months of the Second World War. Nearly all these areas were made part of the Soviet Russian sphere of power, against the will of the native population, expressed in many different ways. This action by Moscow amounts to a flagrant violation of the right of self-determination of the German people, and is very instructive of how the Soviet Russians understand the term "right of nations to self-determination".

Moscow from the beginning considered and treated the so-called GDR as a colony. The Soviet troops commanded there in accordance with orders and directives from Moscow as if they were at home. A "people's democratic" dictatorship was imposed on the population, with the task of managing the zone on directives from Moscow and effecting a planned Sovietisation. The population was presented with a fait accompli. No one was or is asked what they wish to happen.

Moscow was not and is not ready to give up voluntarily its rule over the German territories. For this reason the Kremlin declared the Soviet occupation zone of Germany a separate German state in the autumn of 1949 and under the deceptive name of "German Democratic Republic (GDR)", turned it into a sham state.

The people's rising on 17th June 1953 in East Berlin and so-called GDR, to obtain the freedom and reunification of Germany,

clearly expressed the critical attitude of the population towards the Communist regime there and the division of Germany. Yet even in this case Moscow paid no attention to the general will of the people. Eleven million displaced persons and refugees are also a proof of Russia's idea of the "right of self-determination". The Soviet empire is the biggest and probably the last colonial power in the world. Soviet Russia also carried out a policy of expansion even in Mongolia and Eastern Asia.

We have seen that Soviet Russia has from the beginning employed every chance to expand its sphere of power, to conquer peoples and nations and to make its influence effective everywhere in the world. Moscow grew very strong particularly after the Second World War, since it was able to extend its sphere of power deeply into Central Europe, to secure for itself new economic and offensive bases.

Moscow causes trouble in the Free World, exploits all crises and tension in the free countries, to assert and to strengthen its influence.

The Soviet Russian rulers are especially anxious to incite the nations of Asia and Africa against the Western Powers, and to bring the newly created states there under its influence. The Soviet Russian government and its Communist puppet governments represent themselves all over the world as the champions of the right of nations to self-determination, although Moscow ignores and denies this right in its own sphere of power.

The Soviet Russian imperium is decidedly a colonial power. The important features of the colonial system are unmistakably present: political dependence and economic exploitation of the dependent countries. Soviet Russia dominates and exploits economically a series of peoples and lands, both inside and outside the Soviet Union.

It is a question, however, not of the conventional kind of colonialism, but of a new kind, a neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism is distinguished from conventional colonialism by the fact that

the colonial power tries in addition to impose its state ideology on the population of the countries dependent on and exploited by it. This is exactly the case in all the countries dependent on Moscow. In this way in a system of neo-colonialism actually dependent states can exist as formally sovereign states.

The Soviet Russian rulers and their supporters continue to appeal to the right of national self-determination, although the Soviet Russian imperium is the greatest colonial power in the world. This contradiction is explained by the fact that the Moscow party and state headquarters hold the view that the right of self-determination should not be exercised by the whole nation, but only by its "proletariat". By the term "proletariat", is meant in practice the Communist party of the country concerned.

The Communist party and state headquarters in Moscow is only prepared to recognise the right of a nation to self-determination, when in the given historical position the exercise of this right serves the interests of the "international workers

movement". There can be no doubt that Moscow by the term "international workers movement" understands in practice the International of its own Communist party. In the final analysis this means that Moscow will only agree to the self-determination of a people, if the exercise of this right seems useful to Moscow itself.

Therefore it is no wonder that various Communists outside the Soviet Russian sphere of power refuse to recognise Moscow's claims to leadership, but also that in different Communist parties within the Soviet Russian sphere of power dissatisfaction with Moscow's hegemony rules and makes itself known in various ways as tendencies to separate from Moscow.

From the previous experience of history it can be assumed that even the Moscow rulers will not succeed in the long run in breaking the yearning for freedom of the subjugated nations. The unquenchable longing of the nations for freedom, self-determination and national state independence will at some stage conquer even the Soviet Russian colonial power.



Byelorussian delegate in Manila Mr. Olechnik with the Mayor of Quezon City.

The U.S.S.R. And Russia

Since time eternal words have served just as much to travesty and to deform human thought as to define and to depict things.

In politics — above all in international politics — words have not only a variable weight and several senses, but also a colour and a tone which each man can interpret in his own way.

In a human race consisting of three thousand million human beings, in a century when a score or so of new states are bringing into the world their share of unrest and uncertainty, and when the declining ideologies of the nineteenth century are confronting the neo-racialist creeds of the various continents, it often becomes very difficult to guess what thought is really motivating particular words and particular declarations. To say the least, this has become the realm of "specialist" journalists.

The meaning of some words rapidly goes up in smoke in the ever moving atmosphere of events. For example, there are no longer people in the world naive enough to believe that "People's Republic" means "Republic originating from the people's will".

On the other hand, there are other words whose existence is lasting and whose sense persists like a hallucination. Further, there are "stereoscopic" words whose meanings appear double and revert to normal at the will of those who use them.

Thus, everyone knows that the USSR is a multinational country, where the Russians make up approximately 45 per cent of the population. Nevertheless, Westerners are in the habit — according to the law of least effort — of using the words USSR and Russia indifferently, as if they were perfect synonyms and completely exchangeable...

The Russians, be they "Whites" or "Reds", seem to share this conviction of their interchangeability, while in fact juggling with the two words according to a rule which serves their tactics and remains unobserved by the eyes of the Free World,

but which finally impregnates and lames both the subconscious and the conscious thoughts of the Westerner.

When he uses the words "Russia" and "USSR", or "Russian" and "Soviet", the Russian is at pains to associate the words "Russia" and "Russian" with concepts which are advantageous to Moscow (praiseworthy deeds, heroic exploits, demonstrations of power), but as soon as he is concerned with something calculated to call forth criticism or blame, he prefers to use the words "USSR" and "Soviet", thus transferring Moscow's responsibility or guilt to those very individuals who are her victims.

In this respect Russian journalists write just like their Western counterparts (without having the same excuse as the latter for ignoring the differences), that a particular scholar or a particular champion is *Russian*, although they know only too well that he is Armenian, Georgian, or Ukrainian, or perhaps Byelorussian or Uzbek. But when it comes to mentioning the bloody repression of the revolts in Tbilisi (Georgia), Poznan (Poland), or Budapest (Hungary), then the same journalist *must* write that the tanks were Soviet, or that Colonel Popov or Colonel Ivanov was a *Soviet* citizen!

Is it necessary for me to point out that when it comes to cosmonauts, Moscow always chooses Russians (with the single exception of Popovich, who is a Ukrainian), and that no Western journalist ever forgets that they are Russians?...

This theme has found its way so far into the language of Western journalists that in some cases their faculties of perception have been quite clogged up and circumstances which certainly deserve their attention escape analysis entirely.

I should just like to recall to the reader's mind as an example a series of recent events connected with the arrival in Paris of the new ambassador, Zorin, and the visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gro-

myko. Journalists were very alarmed by the attitude of the French Government, which has given some of them the impression of relying for the defence of the European sheepfold more on the Muscovite wolf than on the NATO shepherd . . .

We dare to hope that there is nothing in this. But our concern lies elsewhere; I simply want to underline the fact that not one specialist analyst has pointed out the *deliberate* use, with obvious forethought and in the appropriate places, both by the President of the French Republic and by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, of the word *Russia*, although according to the protocol they were definitely receiving the official representatives of the *USSR*.

Forgetfulness, or ignorance of the kind indicated above? Improbable and impossible! Even disregarding the exigencies of diplomacy, there is a well-known precision about General de Gaulle, the engineer of the whole business.

First of all, let us inspect his precision as regards facts. If I may rely on the newspaper *L'Aurore*, General de Gaulle said to Zorin: "It is 110 years since we fought against one another. On the contrary, *for most of the first World War and most of the second World War, Russia and France were allies for better or for worse*" (my italics). "For most of" is truly a happy choice, for "the rest of" the wars contained Brest-Litovsk and the Stalin-Ribbentrop agreements . . .

If one juxtaposes the sentences quoted from Zorin with those quotes from General de Gaulle, one sees that Zorin never stops repeating the expressions "USSR" and "Soviet", and the General never stops answering, "Russia", "Russian". The same parallelism occurred in the discussions of 25th April between Mr Couve de Murville and

Mr Gromyko, except that Mr Gromyko ended by counting on the fact that mutual understanding between the USSR and France "will serve to consolidate international security", whereas Mr Couve de Murville said much more subtly, "Our present and our future are inseparably involved; our views on the subject are in some respects very close, in others far apart; but at least we, *Russians* and Frenchmen, have one essential interest in common — that solutions should be found to every problem, and that there should be accord between all those *who can give independence and peace to all peoples*" (my italics).

If we make a little effort of memory, we discover in these discussions an idea which General de Gaulle set forth some time ago in his speech in Nice. He then said that Moscow the Colonialist could not teach France, who had decolonized, any lessons. Later, in another famous speech, General de Gaulle spoke of "Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals". (One of my friends put our feeling very pithily at the time by saying, "I should have been better pleased if the President had said, 'From the Atlantic to the Caspian'.")

It seems reasonable to suppose that the same thread runs right the way through these speeches. The idea seems to involve a Europe in which Russia, the road to this Europe, having hung up her imperialist aims and aggressive doctrines in the hall, will one day take part, with *equal* rights to those of all the *other countries of the USSR*, by that time independent, and of the satellite countries, which she today holds in her claws.

I believe that in a few months we shall know rather more on this subject and that this plan will have been better formulated.

*"Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and we are fighting for their liberty
in defending our own."*

Benjamin Franklin

The Message of Peace and a Thousand Million Slaves

The magnanimity of the supreme Head of the Catholic Church, who is ready to save peace at any price, even to the extent of breaking with previous practices of the Vatican, must truly move us all. For previous Popes influenced the world, among other ways, by their seclusion and isolation from it and by their being apart. Whether these new methods will prove themselves, only the future can show. The near future will also show whether it is advisable for the highest authority today available in moral matters for the world to support an institution which has become a place for unprofitable talk and the concocting of plots by the big powers, through the veto-right of the Russian Communist slave-owners and criminals; an institution which has never shown protection for the enslaved and tortured, the persecuted and those who are abused for their adherence to God, to their nation and to human dignity . . . For, this institution does not pursue the preservation of peace, but the retention of slavery (the status quo) and the muzzling of a thousand million people by the godless regimes of Moscow and Peking.

We can raise no objection to the lofty intentions of the Roman Pope, but at the same time the question is not necessarily settled as to whether it is purposeful and advisable to solemnly bless an institution and to give prominence to its merits at a time when they are completely without success in every case, when for example the Hungarian insurgents sacrificed their lives on the barricades for God and the nation, under the guns of the Russian atheist occupation troops. Similarly, it seems strange to us that the UNO kept silent when the Russians barbarians liquidated the Ukrainian Church and its bishops, these occupants of Ukraine even professing to be founder members of this organisation. In the same way this organisation was wraithed in a strange silence when the guilt of the

Russian government for the murder of the Ukrainian freedom hero Stefan Bandera was clearly denounced by the highest German court in Karlsruhe, that is to say a government which had violated the sovereignty of a foreign state, while no one was ready to be quiet about the abduction of Eichmann or about the Lumumba case.

This institution is trying to create a world government with new tyrants at the top, who will force their will on the small nations, in order to form a government under the decided influences of the Free Mason Lodges, who are anti-Christian . . . In this institution all worthy resolutions are prevented by the veto of the godless Russian tyrants. This institution smothered in blood the efforts to gain independence of little Katanga . . . The sponsors of this institution were Stalin and Roosevelt, who yielded half the world to the godless despots.

We are in no way against an international world organisation whose members, large and small, poor and rich, black and white, have equal rights, but we are against an organisation of the kind in which the spokesmen and executors of the will of the Anti-Christ, that is to say, the godless Russian tyrants sit with their accomplices at the same table as the noble and honourable fighters both for God and nation, and for the freedom of the individual and for human dignity. For this reason we cannot — despite our respect for the Head of the Catholic Church — approve the undeserved praise given in his address to this institution, which does not serve the ends of peace, but only the strengthening of the attempts to enslave nations which continue in force today. We dare to make this observation, since this was a *political* journey by the Pope, unrelated for us Catholics to His infallibility in dogma of faith and morals.

90% of the world press was pleased with the step taken by the Pope, yet we dread

a great new heretic, who in such circumstances could appear in the militant Church against the Anti-Christ from Moscow as a fighter for a true living God in our active life . . .

Perhaps the world was pleased because the Holy Father *shook the hand of Gromyko especially long*, and an informed Catholic commentator in the USA expressed himself as follows on this: "A decade may well pass before the mystery of this handshake can be completely explored. . .". We, however, were not at all pleased with this and do not share this joy, since we see in it a sign that there is no longer a militant Church in the West and therefore all the less a bulwark which can serve as an example by its unwillingness to compromise in the struggle against evil and its perpetrators. Pope Pius XII is no longer here to anathematise the Communists. Belief in the truth of God and its invincibility have slackened. People have a panic-stricken fear of atomic destruction, as if the purpose of human life is to remain alive *at any price*, and not to help the victory of God's truth at any price.

We may recall here the prophetic words of God's Servant, the Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrew Count Sheptytskyj, who in his pastoral letter thirty years ago called Communism the work of the devil and warned against any coming to terms with it. Man's aim should not be peace at any price, but he should strive for *something higher* than life, than prosperity and all other transient things. And this is the *free expression of the will of the individual, his dignity and the victory of justice* for the benefit of mankind and the peoples of the whole world. *Thus our goal is not so much peace as much more the victory of Christ on earth.* Christ did not bring us peace, but the sword for the struggle against evil. If we are to follow His commands, if we are to serve His truth, (which is at the same time the truth for Ukraine), then we should in no way fear atomic annihilation, since God's punishment cannot be allotted to us for our noble actions. For God does not punish for doing good, but for evil.

We dare to say still more: we hoped for an appeal from the Holy Father for the

realisation of *justice*, for the protection of the right to freedom and independence for all the enslaved and cruelly treated, for complete freedom for individual and nation; we further hoped for an appeal to the conscience of the tyrants and slave-drivers, a message of hope to the tortured and persecuted; we hoped for a Sermon on the Mount, given in human words . . .

Also we are *against* any *atomic* war; but we do not assume that this can be avoided by going to meet tyranny by the suggested acceptance of Red China into the United Nations. Yet there is no doubt that this admission of Red China is implicit in the message of peace. It is possible, then, for good and evil to live together in peace? Is there then no constant struggle with evil, the basic belief of the Christian faith? We believe that an anti-Bolshevist United Nations should be called into existence; in other words, the representatives of the atheist tyrannies should be excluded from the present organisation of the United Nations.

As we cannot then avoid a final decisive conflict with the forces of evil, we must arm ourselves spiritually and morally. We ought therefore to expect such a moral and ethical arming to come from the Church, and no evidence at all of a demobilisation in this struggle.

What especially disturbed us was that the final session of the Vatican Council ended without any mention of the most important problems of the present world. Various affairs became the object of investigation by the Council of Fathers, such as birth control, the Jewish question, the problem of peace, and war, even economic questions and the burden of guilt in accidents in view of modern methods of transport etc. . . It struck us as being very sad, and quite incomprehensible, how it was not possible to perceive from the present world the fact that a thousand million people, — the countless nations, both Christian and other God-fearing peoples — have been robbed by the Communists of their freedom.

The times of Diocletian and Nero lose colour, if we consider the unspeakable cruelty to which today millions and millions

of believers are subjected: they have died and are still dying under inhuman torture and cruelty; they are being martyred and put to death by methods of which those in the West can have no conception at all. If whole nations have been destroyed for decades, then we have been witnessing genocide. The Houses of God have been continually destroyed for decades, while the population languishes in prisons, penitentiaries, and concentration camps, for their belief in God. *From whom and from where are they to hear words of consolation?*

From the Council? From the Holy Father?

Did the Council meet *only* for free men and *free* believers, for *free* Christians and *only* for *free* Catholics? What happened to the terrible problem of the nations and people enslaved by the Communists? The Church is there to help the unfortunate, perhaps these above all!

The strength of the Church of Christ was always founded on the fact that it was persecuted and not favoured. And the strength of the Holy Apostles was in the fact that they were *not given a welcome but crucified!* This kind of Church, this kind of real catacomb Church in Ukraine and in the other countries enslaved by Moscow, was completely forgotten by the Ecumenical Council.

How alarming it is to realise that the Church had a "good press", yet this press does not serve the ends of justice but co-existence with the devil. The present-day press in its overwhelming majority extols a comfortable life, hedonistic pleasure and peace at any price. It has no *sympathy* for those who have died for Christ and their nation on the funeral pyre of the atheists. A "good press" is therefore no proof of the justice of ideas.

How different it would have been if the Holy Father had not made his speech of praise for the United Nations, but had castigated in his words the world of evil and complacency! He could have stirred up the conscience of mankind, if he had repeated in human words the fiery message of the Saviour used in the Sermon on the Mount on the blessedness of those perse-

cuted, imprisoned, and hunted in His Name. How different it would have been, if the sessions of the Council had resounded with tones fit to arouse the conscience of mankind and to make them aware of the danger from the Anti-Christ, so that it would have been possible for people to remember that they were children of God and as such ought to struggle for God's truth.

If one reads about a discussion during the Council on the opposition between the employer and the employee, on international trade and strikes, and yet hears nothing at all in the schema on the *demands of the Council* offering freedom to the countless nations and people subjugated by the atheist Communists, then one naturally asks oneself, is Communism no phenomenon in the *contemporary* world with which the Church preoccupies itself?

Why was there no discussion of the right of all nations in the world, above all of the nations enslaved by the godless regimes, to national independence? This is a thousand times more important than the judgement of traffic offences. Is there a more criminal offence than genocide? Or the enslavement of whole nations and a thousand million people?

Or why was there no discussion on the Church in the Catacombs or a condemnation of its persecution, as well as a declaration of solidarity in favour of these martyr Churches of Christ?

Why was there no analysis in any schema of the important phenomenon of our time — Communism and its condemnation from the standpoint of Christian belief and doctrine?

The danger of an atomic war is possible because of the existence of Bolshevism, a government of gangsters and criminals. These criminals seized power and set up the government of Anti-Christ. Any coming to terms with such governments will hurl those who act in this way into the precipice. For the servants of the devil, peace is merely another way of carrying on war.

No one expects from the Council any sort of plan for political action, beyond an *ethical judgment* and corresponding di-

rectives as a consequence of Christian doctrine.

Could then the Council not find any estimation of and any suggestion for the moral and ethical solution of this problem, for this phenomenon of a thousand million people in chains, a third of mankind in the stranglehold of the Anti-Christ? For this Council should really be above all for the *unfree*, not merely for the free. One can only consider that the attributes, such as the sanctification of free men in the Free World are quite different from those in the empire of the despots and the militant atheists. In the empire of Constantine the Great the attributes of sanctification were quite different from those in the empire of Diocletian, although the inner qualities of the saint may have been the same.

The ascetics and the self-sacrificing builders of the Houses of God are sometimes canonised in the Free World in our days, but as saints rank also the inhabitants of concentration camps and prisons in the Communist empire, who by openly declaring themselves to Christ are put to death for their belief.

We, who believe in Christ and are members of His Church, expect therefore from the Ecumenical Council even greater attention to the problems of our nations and our people, their sufferings and their ardent wishes, of our underground Church and the whole enslaved world — in all, a thousand million people. We sincerely hope that before the end of the Council a certain number of the Council Fathers, be it only a minority, will raise the question of the enslaved portion of the human race, including also Ukraine. In this way the

Council can fulfill the hopes, raised by themselves, of believers behind the Iron Curtain.

The enslaved people can hope for nothing from the United Nations, since their oppressors are members of the United Nations. In addition, the United Nations is in the political sense not a universal organisation, as is the Church in a spiritual sense, because neither the Russian tyrants nor their satellite puppets represent the will of the nations concerned. In comparison the Church is a voluntary, universal unity, so that there can be no parallel between the Church and the United Nations.

We expect from the Council as the highest authority of the Church, ethical and moral protection for the rights of nations and people, amongst them in particular of the nations and people in the Bolshevik prison of nations, support and solidarity for the Underground Church, for the martyrs and heroes in the struggle for Christ, giving prominence to what they deserve from all mankind in their struggles for the victory of Christ's truth, as the only means of bringing with it a lasting peace for the people and nations of the whole world without consideration of race, religion and riches, for such a peace would be based on God's justice and on the realisation of the rights of people and nations. We will only be victorious under the sign of militant Christianity. The Church's policy of coexistence with Bolshevism will corrupt the world! Our watchword must be: "With the sword of Christ against the Anti-Christ!"

October 1965.

"We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be regarded as our worst enemies. They preach love of one's neighbour and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christian love is an obstacle to the development of the Revolution. Down with love of one's neighbours. What we need is hatred. We must know how to hate; only thus shall we conquer the universe."

Anatole Lunarcharsky, former Russian Commissar of Education

The Communist Economic System In Blind Alley

The present-day Communist economic system owes its theoretical principles to Marxism. The point of departure therefore of the so-called socialist revolution carried out in the Soviet Union was the nationalisation of all means of production. Lenin, who considered himself the only true interpreter of the teachings of Marx and Engels, and who carried through with unrelenting hardness the nationalisation of the industries of the former Russian Tsarist empire, soon, however, saw himself faced by a difficult problem: what was to happen to agriculture? According to Communist dogmatic teaching, agriculture was a sector of the economy and a means of production, which should come under the iron law of nationalisation. Marx had in fact given no clear answer to this question, so that Lenin first had to supplement it by preparing an additional theory of collectivisation. (In the further course of history this supplementary theory formed a unique Russian variety of Marxism, so-called Marx-Leninism.)

Lenin knew that a radical putting into practice of collectivisation could shake the recently created Soviet regime, and so at first he postponed his plans in this field and instead he coined the expression: "land for the farmers." These tactics brought a large part of the peasants over to Bolshevism, since it allowed them to continue in their positions unaffected. At the same time, however, — with a view to weakening the country population as a class, and to make them submissive to future collectivisation, — Lenin turned to the old Roman method of "divide et impera" in the present form of the class struggle and divided the country population into three groups, — the poor, the medium propertied and the rich peasants (Kulaks). In the first phase of his policy he aimed at destroying the Kulaks, with the help of the poor and medium propertied peasants, so that he could later separate these two groups, as two classes.

The process of liquidating the peasants could not be carried out at the time of

Lenin. The general anarchy which arose from the radical reforms forcibly introduced, caused the first great famine in the USSR, in 1922.

Lenin saw himself forced to put on one side his plans for nationalisation and to make concessions to the sector of "private ownership", even partly in industry, and to a much larger extent in trade and, above all, in agriculture. This was the so-called NEP period (New Economic Policy) — a unique breathing space before the tragic era of Stalin.

Then after the death of Lenin, Stalin liquidated his party opponents and set himself up in the government as dictator and there began in the USSR a process which can be described as leading up to the first classical Communist economic system. Stalin didn't look for any new way to improve the organization of the already nationalised economy. In the first years of Stalinism industry had already assumed the form, widely known today, of a brutal centralism, and a soulless machine, which could only follow plans and orders dictated from above, and to which any thought and initiative were completely foreign.

The central point of the whole Soviet industry became heavy industry, which Stalin allowed to be built up at the expense of the living standards of the population. He did not shrink from breaking the resistance of the peasants by force, destroyed the private property of the country population, and forced total collectivisation on them. To gain its aim the party, under the iron leadership of Stalin, passed lightly over the bodies of millions of people, in the truest sense of the word. This collectivisation carried out by force almost completely disorganised agriculture, and when the party seized systematically almost all agricultural products from the peasants, (in fact only completely done in Ukraine), this led in 1932/33 to the most terrible famine in history, which claimed almost six million people as victims. The

famine and the mass deportation of the Kulaks, and later even the medium propertied peasants caused the resistance of the country population and gave the party the opportunity to carry out collectivisation completely. In theory this was done on the basis of cooperation. The collective farms received their own independent statutes, the agricultural population was officially the joint owner of the collective agricultural concerns, they chose the managing committee of the collective farm, and sold to the state their agricultural products. In reality they were just another will-less tool in the hands of the party and its exclusive property.

The main features of the Communist economic system formed at the time of Stalin were:

Complete nationalisation of all means of production and auxiliary branches of production — such as trade, handicrafts:

Centralised planning:

Party control over all economic life:

Preference given to heavy industry as opposed to other branches of industry, and associated with this neglect of the consumer goods industry.

The expansion of bureaucratic machinery, which became a blind organ for carrying out orders and the resultant elimination of all individual initiative:

Exploitation of the human labour force:

Fixing of the worker in his place of work, and of the peasants in their collective farms.

Common imposition of slave labour, forcing almost 20 million prisoners, guarded by special units of the NKWD, to work without wages.

Stalin thus destroyed the smallest feature of democracy, introduced terror and camouflaged it with outward signs of a democracy. The aim of this system culminated in the endeavour to gain all the votes of the population for itself. They had to praise everything and agree to all that the party did.

The measures of the Soviet economic system were declared the greatest triumph of socialism and Stalin tried to force them upon all the states drawn into the Soviet

Union's sphere of power after the second World War.

They began to imitate blindly the model of the Soviet economic system, according to the directives of Moscow. Industry was nationalised, agriculture collectivised, planning centralised, naturally with all the usual negative signs. The local Communist functionaries who thought independently and wanted to go "their own way to socialism", fell into disgrace, were executed or put behind bars for a long time. Only one monopolistic Communist economic system existed — the Soviet one.

Despite the ideological conflict between Moscow and Peking, the Soviet economy has remained the model for Red China. The Chinese Communists nationalised completely their poorly developed industries and promoted principally heavy industry — earlier with the help of the USSR, now with their own resources. From 1953—57 they brought agriculture under collective control, without giving to the peasants the slightest outward form of any control over their collective farm. The only economic experiment that was purely Red Chinese — the formation of communes according to the programme of Utopian socialism, each organisation containing light industries as well as agriculture, soon proved to be untenable and was given up by the Chinese Communists. Thus there exists no Communist economic system peculiarly Chinese. On the contrary, the Chinese Communists have always defended Stalin's classical form of economic organisation, and charged Khrushchov and the whole leadership of the Russian Communist Party with revisionism. However in this question they consider the Yugoslavian Communists as the greatest enemies, whom they reproach not only with politico-ideological but also economic revisionism.

We doubt if the Soviet regime would dare to introduce any far-reaching economic reforms, since they could bring with them many political consequences, unpleasant for the regime. Decentralisation of Soviet industry would certainly strengthen the tendencies towards political decentralisation in the Soviet member states,

which is in opposition to Moscow's plan of Russification, which at the moment is being forced under the subterfuge of a "coming together of the Soviet people". It is known that some small measures of decentralisation by Khrushchov brought to light so-called "local patriotism", that is to say, it mobilised the reluctance to export local production from the single republics into the market of the empire. In fact decentralisation measures would without doubt strengthen these national forces, even in the party, in the single Soviet states, since they stand anyway today in silent opposition to Russification measures and contend for national independence, firstly in the field of culture.

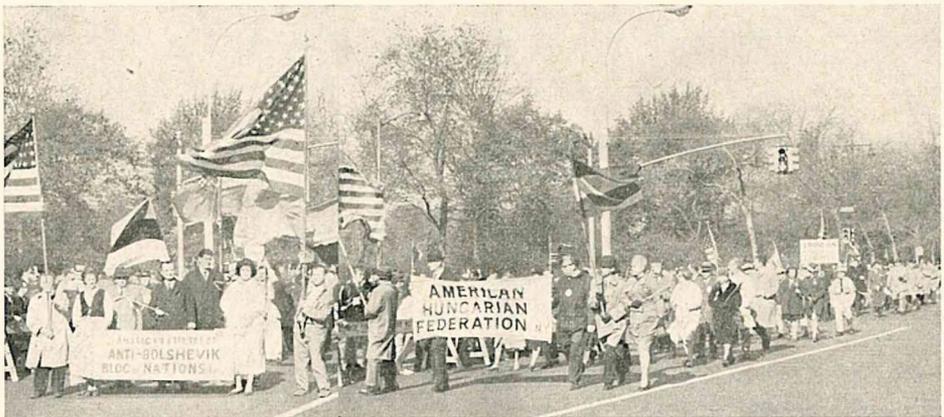
From other points of view, a real and not merely formal reform of Soviet industry would have a great influence on Moscow's position in the satellite countries. It is known that already at the time of Khrushchov some satellite countries were trying to travel their "own road to socialism". In Poland collective farms were liquidated, and also in Hungary this was partially carried out. Further deviations from the classical model of Stalin's economic system in the USSR could encourage the satellite countries not only to carry out similar reforms in their own lands, but also at the same time to loosen their political dependence on the Soviet Union.

It is more than certain that the economic reforms in the USSR deepened the conflict between the Russians and the Chinese, and expanded it into a sphere of life previously unaffected.

Thus today the Soviet Union finds itself between Scylla and Charybdis. The domestic political situation in the field of economics, the crises, chaos and bureaucracy as well as the insistence, carried to absurdity, on the formal carrying out of production plans, which often run counter to market demand, unquestionably demand energetic measures and a thorough reorganisation; the external political situation, that is to say, the interests of the empire, require a further retention of the old central economic system.

From this it is to be concluded that the crisis of the Soviet economic system cannot be at all eliminated, all the more so since it is closely bound up with the crisis in Communist ideology. Recently Tito said quite openly at the party congress of Yugoslav Communists, that the younger generation of Yugoslavs show little interest in Communism. This is even more true of the younger generation in the other Communist-governed states.

It can be deduced from this that the future of the Soviet economic system, as well as even the Communist economic system in general, will be attended by ever greater difficulties. M. S.



AF ABN demonstration of solidarity with U.S. military support for Vietnamese anti-Communist war.

Danger For Georgia

How Moscow carries out its policy of destroying nationality.

The Russian imperialist policy of merging the peoples of the Communist states together with a common language (i. e. Russian) is already being carried out today systematically and intensively. In this process language has already almost been disposed of, since the local languages of the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union can only be used in the home. The official language in the Soviet Union is Russian and thus Russians resident in these republics have no necessity to master the language of the republic, since Russian is the official language of all the authorities. There are Russian schools in these countries and in the local schools Russian is a compulsory subject.

Now Moscow is trying to "internationalise" the non-Russian republics by re-settlement and colonisation with Russians, as the first stage of the ultimate merging of all nations.

A criminal policy of this kind has only been known once in history — when the Assyrians resettled people in the VIII century B. C., merged with each other and thus became assimilated.

These nations under Moscow's subjugation are defending quite unaided their national existence. Yet what can they do against the inundation of foreigners into their countries?

By swamping them in this way Moscow is trying to squeeze the life out of them and make them disappear in the flood of foreigners, since physically they can erect no dam against them and stop the mass invasion of Russians.

In 1921 the Russian Red Army attacked Georgia from all sides, although on 7 Mai 1920 a treaty had been concluded between Russia and Georgia, by which Russia recognised the Republic of Georgia and guaranteed the inviolability of frontiers. The Russians then formed a "Georgian revolutionary government" as they had done in also in Poland, Finno-Karelia, and elsewhere, to take over the "regular" government of "workers and peasants", after the "liberation" of Georgia.

Georgia was occupied and this government took over power. On Moscow's orders Turkey was left with those areas of Armenia and Georgia which Russia had ceded to Turkey in the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 (at which Georgia and Armenia were not represented), but which during the independence of Georgia and Armenia formed a part of their territory which had been legally recognised by Turkey.

Over-zealous Georgian Bolsheviks such as B. Mdivani and S. Ordshonikidse, among others, left to the Armenians the southern province of Georgia, to prove how foreign to them any national selfishness was, and how liberal Bolsheviks were; the province of Saingilo (in the area of Sakataly), was left to the Azerbaijainians, although they were against taking over this province with its preponderantly Georgian population.

Budu Mdivani prided himself handing Georgian soil out "right and left". But their fate was catching up with both him and many others of that time — they were shot as "national deviationists and supporters of Trozski".

Moscow however was not content with the division of Georgian territory. True to Stalin's order that "Georgia must be ploughed up" (cf. Trotzki's memoirs), Moscow began quite openly to decimate the Georgian population, in the face of the forces of Georgian national consciousness. This was successfully carried out in the course of the year.

In Georgia an atlas of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic was published. According to the census carried out in 1959 in the Georgian capital Tbilisi only 49% of the population are Georgian, 19.1% are Armenian, and 17.9% are Russians (Russian troops excluded). The position in Suchumi is even worse: 36,8% Russians and 31,1% Georgians. In the port of Batumi, there are 48,8% Georgians, 15,5% Armenians and 25,3% Russians. In the total area of the Georgian SSR, the population consists of 65% Georgians, 10% Armenians, and 11% Russians.

Thus at the moment the Georgians still form a majority in their homeland, even if a not very overwhelming one. But for how long? If Moscow's merging process continues in force as hitherto, the Georgians will soon find themselves in a few years in the minority.

A French tourist, who visited Georgia this summer, related that he had seen few Georgians in Batumi and Sukhumi, but many more Russians and Armenians, and that all these Armenians spoke French. These Armenians must be those who were taken in by Soviet propaganda after the war and returned home. This action was, incidentally, supported by the Armenian Church abroad, especially by the Armenian bishops and politicians. But they were not brought back to their homeland, Armenia, but settled in Georgia.

All this was deliberately brought about by Moscow in order to sow discontent and enmity among the Transcaucasian peoples, to prepare the ground favourably for the policy of "taking away nationality and internationalising". It is Moscow's aim to mix up the population of the Transcaucasus — the Azerbaijanians, the Armenians, the Georgians — to play one against the other, to efface the frontiers of their countries, and to continually channel in so many other nationalities, preferably Russians, until each national population forms a minority — as has already happened in Kasakhstan, where the native population forms 30% of the whole.

Our people see themselves faced by the danger, becoming more and more acute, of one day ceasing to exist as a national entity, the danger of one day Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijanian being no more than geographical expressions for a province. This fate is awaited not only by the nations of the Caucasus, but also by the other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

The West is tolerating all this, as the price of co-existence. It grants national independence to the tribes of Africa and watches calmly while our historical and cultured nations languish under the Russian Communist rule and go to meet their certain ruin.

A. Imeri.

"We will never surrender positions which are essential to the defense of freedom nor will we abandon people who are now behind the iron curtain through any formal approval of the status quo."

John F. Kennedy

Russian Imperialism In the Ideas And Policies of Lenin

(Continuation)

8. Lenin's culture

Lenin was bred thoroughly in Russian culture. He was well acquainted with the literature, philosophy, national mentality, and social history of Russia. On the other hand, he knew very little about West European culture, with the exception of some socialist literature. To a large extent the success of his revolutionary activities was due to the fact that *he acted according to Russian cultural patterns.*

In a typically Russian way Lenin contrasted people with state: "... the enormous historical significance it would have if, for once at least, the people of Russia taught the government a good lesson." (103) Lenin felt the pressure of the collectivistic culture impressed upon Russia by the rulers throughout the ages:

... neither the Russian workers nor the Russian people as a whole are yet free to settle their national affairs as they please. Just as the peasants used to be the serfs of individual landlords, so the people as a whole is the serf of the government officials. The Russian people have not the right to choose their officials, nor the right to elect representatives to legislature for the whole country. (104)

Lenin adopted for his government the traditional Russian model of totalitarian despotism, concealed by the Marxist phraseology of a "democratic dictatorship" or a "dictatorship of the proletariat". Thus, the culture of the organizational structure of the Bolshevik movement was in harmony with the Russian mentality: "Without the concept dictatorship it is impossible to give such a precise class definition. Without preparing for the dictatorship one cannot be a real revolutionary." (105) The definition of dictatorship, given by Lenin, coincides with the definition of traditional Russian absolutism:

Unrestricted power, beyond the law, resting on force in the strictest sense of the word — this is dictatorship... On what

did this force rest? It rested on the masses of the people. This is the fundamental distinction between this new power and all the former organs of the old power. The latter were organs of the minority over the people... That is the distinction between a dictatorship over the people and a dictatorship of the revolutionary people. (106)

In a traditionally Russian manner Lenin was oriented towards the lowest classes as a weapon against the old government. The Russian proletariat, he explained, "can become the great overwhelming majority only if it combines with the mass of semi-proletarians, semi-small proprietors, i. e., with the mass of the petty-bourgeois, urban and rural poor." (107) In this way he assured himself of dictatorial powers. He knew that the plebeian masses are a headless giant and can only be led by a dictatorial leader. His fellow-workers were reminded several times that in Russia only a movement would be successful which would be able "to organize the working class and the majority of the peasantry, all the toiling and exploited classes." (108) The majority of the Russians was poor and plebeian. It formed the potential from which, during historical times, many despots drew man-power for their imperialistic adventures.

Lenin's movement was oriented to and relied upon the lowest collectivistic Russian masses:

We have no police, we shall not have a special military caste, we have no other apparatus than the conscious unity of the workers. They will save Russia from her desperate and difficult situation. (109)

Lenin won because he was able to attract the majority of the Russian people to his side:

The experience of the civil war in the period from November (October) to March has shown that the toiling masses, the Russian working class and the peasants who live by their own labour and not by exploiting others, are all over Russia in their

vast majority in favour of the Soviet power. (110)

On one occasion he said: "We were able to achieve victory comparatively easily because in October 1917 we marched with the peasantry, with the whole of the peasantry." (111)

The culture of the Russian masses is collectivistic and socialistic. Therefore, Marxism, as advocated by Lenin, found a ready response among the Russians and easily became assimilated and nationalized: "How, then, are we to explain the fact that in the Dumas, twice convened, the representatives of the peasantry of entire Russia preferred nationalisation . . ." (112) He argued:

In point of fact even the Revolution revealed that the overwhelming majority of the peasants in Russia, numbers of village communities as well as individual peasant proprietors, were in favour of the nationalisation of all the land. (113)

Finally the cultural strategy of Lenin was to mobilize Russian poorest strata: "the broad mass of the semi-proletarian, and partly also of the petty peasant population of Russia, who number scores of millions and constitute the overwhelming majority of the population." (114)

Russian collectivism went hand in hand with the materialistic philosophy. It was relatively easy for Lenin to graft the Marxist ideology on the society in which "fortunately, the main trends of advanced social thought in Russia have a solid materialistic tradition." (115)

Bolshevism was directed against West European culture; *it was basically anti-European*. Jaroslav Stetsko in his article "Europe and Russia" wrote: "We are at present living in an age of great conflict between two forms of civilization, between two political, social, cultural and religious ideals, — the conflict between Europe and Russia." (116) In Lenin's writings there are numerous references to the contrast Europe versus Russia. H. G. Wells observed: "It was nothing less than a collapse of the modern western civilization so far as Russia was concerned." (117) And President Chiang Kai-shek made the profound remark:

the successful coup d'etat led by Lenin in 1917 not only ushered in a new regime in Russia but was destined to become the most powerful challenge to humanistic civilization in Asia as well as in Europe. (118)

In regard to scientific and technological matters Lenin proposed to follow Peter I and to steal from the West everything that could be useful for Russia. He wrote:

. . . our task is to study the state capitalism of the Germans, to spare no effort in copying it and not shrink from adopting dictatorial methods to hasten the copying of it. Our task is to do this even more thoroughly than Peter hastened the copying of Western culture by barbarian Russia, and he did not hesitate to use barbarous methods in fighting against barbarism. (119)

In the same pamphlet, Lenin, perhaps unconsciously, presented a clear picture of the differences between the Russian and German cultures:

It is Germany. Here we have "the last word" in modern large-scale capitalist technique and planned organization, subordinated to Junker-bourgeois imperialism. Cross out the words in italics, and, in place of the militarist, Junker-bourgeois imperialist state put a state, but of a different social type, of a different class content — a Soviet, that is, a proletarian state, and you will have the sum total of the conditions necessary for socialism. (120)

By the term "Soviet state" he meant, of course, the Russian state, which is in cultural terms plebeian and collectivistic, in contrast to the German aristocratic, individualistic, and highly rationalized state.

The advice to imitate the more advanced nations was Lenin's way of acting according to the Russian mentality: "our social life combines within itself an astounding degree of fearless audacity and mental timidity in the face of very minor changes." (121) Or, as he used to say: "It is simply the usual Russian intellectual inability to do practical things — inefficiency and lackadaisicalness." (122) Bolshevik cultural patterns were influenced by the traditional Russian culture and can properly be understood only in the aspect of this national atmos-

phere. To interpret Bolshevism in strictly ideological Marxist terms is improper and false.

9. Defense of Russia

Lenin always regarded the safety and security of Russia as his foremost task. When great danger threatened Russia's independence Lenin frantically wished: "We are proposing an armistice for three months, but shall not reject a shorter period, so that the exhausted army breathe freely even for a little while..." (123) The Russian army, then in a bad shape, needed time for reorganization. In a frantic high-spirited state of patriotic upsurge, Lenin exclaimed:

And we shall save Petrograd. The resources, both material and spiritual, for a truly revolutionary war in Russia are still immense; the chances are a hundred to one that the Germans will grant us at least an armistice. And so secure an armistice now would in itself mean beating the whole world. (124)

He gave an unqualified answer to the question of Russia's defense and safety by stating: "We demanded that everyone take national defense seriously." (125) But

... if not a single belligerent state consents even to an armistice, then, as far as we are concerned the war will really become a war forced upon us, a really just and defensive war. The mere recognition of this fact by the proletariat and the poor peasantry will render Russia many times stronger even from the military point of view. (126)

Having done everything that was in his power in order to save Russia from defeat, Lenin proclaimed the slogan of total national defense to the last man: "Come what may, every Russian worker and peasant will do his duty and will face death if the interests of the revolution demand it." (127)

10. Russian imperialism

Lenin could not have become a nationalist nor a socialist at any time because from the outset he was a dedicated Russian imperialist. His education and the intellectual atmosphere in which he lived *inevitably* determined his adoption of imperialistic

notions. He openly confessed to having been reared in Russian imperialistic values and because most Russians, including Russian proletarians, were imperialists in regard to non-Russian nations. He thought as an ultra-reactionary Russian imperialist, and regarded the Tsarist Russian empire as one nation: "An enormous country, with a population of 150,000,000... counter-revolution has roused in millions and tens of millions of peoples a bitter hatred for the monarchy..." (128) The following statement made by Lenin does not require any comments:

1) Economically, the difference is that sections of the working class in the oppressing nations receive crumbs of the super-profits which the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations obtain by the extra exploitation of the workers of the oppressed nations. Moreover, economic data show that a larger percentage of the workers of the oppressing nations become "skilled workers" than the workers of the oppressed nations, i. e., a larger percentage rise to the position of the labour aristocracy. This is a fact. To a certain degree the workers of the oppressing nation share with their bourgeoisie in the plunder of the workers (and the masses of the population) of the oppressed nations..

2) Politically, the difference is that the workers of the oppressing nations occupy a privileged position in many spheres of political life compared with the workers of the oppressed nation. 3) Intellectually, or spiritually, the difference is that the workers of the oppressing nations are taught, at school and in everyday life, to regard the workers of the oppressed nations with disdain and contempt. Every Great Russian, for example, who has been brought up or who has lived among the Great Russians, has experienced this. (129)

From the beginning of his career Lenin was neither a Russian nationalist nor a Marxist internationalist but a Russian imperialist, especially in his world-outlook. Political experience made him a conscious and intellectual leader of Russian imperialism.

When Bolshevism triumphed in Russia, Lenin realized that the Major Powers would

not tolerate a state with a system completely hostile to their systems, in particular since international realities were characterized by imperialistic conflicts. Therefore, he reasoned that the best defense for Russia was to take the offensive. He formulated arguments for this new Russian imperialism in terms of Marxist ideology:

International imperialism . . . could not under any circumstance, on any condition, live side by side with the Soviet Republic . . . In this sphere a conflict is inevitable. Here lies the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its great historical problem, viz., the necessity of solving international problems, the necessity of calling forth an international revolution, of traversing the path from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution. (130)

Lenin perceived that the Marxist ideology allowed him to express Russian imperialism in conveniently imaginative terms:

History has given us, the Russian toiling and exploited classes, the honorable role of vanguard of the international socialist revolution . . . The Russians commenced; the Germans, the French and the English will finish, and socialism will be victorious. (131)

In short, Lenin appointed the Russian nation as the leader of mankind. The new imperialistic messianism of Russia was born. Alfred D. Low determined that Bolshevism was "not merely aiming at preserving as much as possible of the Tsarist patrimony", which in itself was a great empire, but desired "to encompass Europe, Asia, and the entire world." (132)

Lenin identified the word "Russia" with the Tsarist Russian empire and all the theorizing secession from Russia of the nations enslaved in it represented his tactics by which the Tsarist regime would be destroyed but the empire would remain under a new Marxist form. To quote his own words:

In Russia — where no less than 57 per cent, i. e., over 100,000,000 of the population belong to oppressed nations, where those nations mainly inhabit the border provinces, where some of those nations are more cultured than the Great Russians, where the political system is distinguished by its particularly barbarous and mediaeval

character, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not yet been completed — the recognition of the right of the nations oppressed by Tsarism to free secession from Russia is absolutely obligatory for Social Democracy in the interests of its democratic and socialist tasks. (133)

Stalin was the identical Russian imperialist as was Lenin. Presenting Bolshevism as a Russian national movement he said:

The hinterland of Soviet troops is constantly getting stronger, because the Soviet government is the government of the Russian people, the government, which is enjoying the greatest confidence of the wide strata of the Russian population . . . In the course of development of the civil war in Russia, the regions of revolution and counter-revolution have completely been defined. Inner Russia, with her industrial and cultural-political centers — Moscow and Petersburg, with a homogenous Russian population as to national composition, became the base of revolution. (134)

Lenin connected the creation of the Third International with the Russian messianism which aims at domination over the whole world: "Our Party must not 'wait', but must immediately found a Third International . . . To whom much has been given, of him much is demanded. There is no other land on earth as free as is Russia now." (135) Not proletarian international reasons prompted the foundation of the Comintern but the idea of Russia as the "paradise" on earth, which must be extended all over the world. Lenin proclaimed Russia to be the center and "promised land" of the world:

The eyes of the proletariat of the whole world are anxiously turned towards the proletariat of the whole of Russia. The overthrow of Tsarism in Russia, begun so valiantly by our working class, will be the turning-point in the history of all countries, will facilitate the task of the workers of all nations, in all states, in all parts of the globe. (136)

No wonder Alfred D. Low drew the conclusion:

The acknowledged leadership of the proletariat over the peasantry under the then existing conditions of the Great Russian

and the other nationalities, meant hegemony of the Great Russian working class over the peasants of the different nationalities of Russia . . . In 1922, 71,96% of the members of the Party were Great Russians. (137)

Allen S. Whiting also aptly deduced, that "long before Lenin's death, Bolshevik foreign policy completed its evolution from advancing world revolution to advancing Russia's interests . . ." (138) In the previously quoted book by Maisky we see that "Russian interests" in Asia were definitely of an imperialistic nature. (139) This author tried to demonstrate that Mongolia must become Russia's dependency, because it was in conformity with the Russian "natural historic mission". Dealing with Chinese-Russian relations, A. S. Whiting asserted that Lenin's policy toward China was really a Russian imperialistic policy. He wrote:

One thing is clear, however. By mid-1919, traditional Russian goals reasserted themselves in curious juxtaposition with avowed revolutionary principles . . . Defense of this Socialist fatherland appeared to take precedence over advancement of world revolution when the decision to renounce forever all "imperialistic" rights on the Chinese Eastern Railway was abandoned in favor of asserting Soviet Russia's legal heritage of this Tsarist concession in China's territory. (140)

And Yoffe bluntly declared: "the Russian Government alone has the right practically to interfere" in Chinese affairs. (141)

In conclusion, we should like to quote A. S. Whiting again, who insisted that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were Russian imperialists:

. . . it was in this very period of civil war and foreign intervention that a crucial series of events transformed the Bolsheviks from revolutionists operating within Russia into Russian statesmann conducting world revolution. (142)

Summarizing the first chapter, it has been established that Lenin was possessed by the idea of advancing Russia's power and influence even more than had been done by the Tsarist regime. He decided that the Tsar-

ist regime and the whole system supporting it must be destroyed and replaced by a new, young, and dynamic system. Russia was, as we have seen, Lenin's fatherland and he was her great patriot. In consequence, Lenin approached all domestic and international problems from the national standpoint, from the aspect of advancing Russia's interests. As the leading ideology of his new elite Lenin adopted the Marxist ideology, as a result of which the Bolshevik movement united in itself two principles: Russian national and Marxist international. Thus the government led by Lenin, the Soviet Government, became the new Russian government, which realized both principles, but the second (Marxist) was naturally subordinated to the first basic principle.

Lenin and the Bolshevik movement were conditioned by Russian culture and they adopted its main patterns and notions. Defense of Russia was to Lenin the absolute necessity which preceded all other considerations. Finally, Lenin from the beginning was a Russian imperialist and never doubted in the righteousness of this imperialism, for it was so deeply ingrained in his unconscious and conscious nature that he never entertained thoughts of becoming either a nationalist or an orthodox Marxist (internationalist-cosmopolite).

103. "Hannibals of Liberalism", 1901, v. 2, p. 212

104. "To the Rural Poor", 1903, v. 2, p. 246

105. "History of the Question of Dictatorship", 1920, v. 7, p. 245

106. *Ibidem*, pp. 251-2

107. *supra*, p. 12

108. *supra*, p. 12

109. "On Combating the Famine", 1918, v. 8, p. 118

110. *Ibidem*, p. 112

111. "Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship", 1919, v. 7, p. 236

112. "Report on Agrarian Question", 1917, v. 6, p. 340

113. "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky", 1918, v. 7, p. 205

114. "Letters From Afar", 1917, v. 6, p. 12

115. "On Significance of Militant Materialism", 1922, v. 11, p. 71

116. A clear analysis of pre-Bolshevik Russia and of the Bolshevik antagonism to the European culture is given in this article, published in ABN-Correspondence, v. VIII, no. 11-12, Nov.-December 1937, Munich, pp. 5-6

117. *op. cit.*, p. 1128

118. Soviet Russia in China, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, New York, 1957, p. 5

119. "Left-Wing Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality", 1918, v. 7, p. 366

120. *Ibidem*, p. 365

121. "Better Fewer, But Better", 1923, v. 9, p. 397

122. "Political Report of Central Committee to 11th Congress of RCP (B)", 1922, v. 9, p. 356

123. "Report on Decree on Peace", 1917, v. 6, p. 404

124. "Marxism and Insurrection", 1917, v. 6, p. 221

Byelorussian Youth Voice

Speech by Mr. A. Olechnik, Delegate from the Byelorussian Youth of Australia
at the 11th Conference in Manila, Philippines

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all I wish to thank the Philippine Chapter of the APACL for this opportunity for me to attend this conference, and secondly to extend to you the warmest greetings from the Youth Council of the Byelorussian Association of Australia, which I have the pleasure to represent.

In the last decades, Communism has spread far and wide, engulfing many nations, and bringing slavery and brutal oppression to many millions of people. We may ask the question, why? How is that Communism, from the small source of its origin in Russia, has managed to enlarge its sphere of control on such a large scale?

The answer is: confusion, indecision and appeasement on the part of the Free World. We were confused and taken by surprise by the Communist propaganda and treachery.

How can one describe Communism, properly? I would describe it as nothing else but a disease, a disease of humanity of our times, a disease of human minds and souls. The body of our planet is infected by the bacteria of Communism, and we have no choice but to fight it, if we want to survive.

A sick individual who wants to recover, has to take steps to: a) contain the disease and (b) to destroy it. And Communism, like any other disease, **MUST BE**, first of all, contained and then destroyed completely.

At present we witness the heroic fight of the people of the Republic of Vietnam against deliberate Communist aggression, and to the people of the Republic of Vietnam, I salute and humbly bow my head in deep and complete respect and admiration for the courage and determination in fighting Communist aggressors.

The country of my origin, Byelorussia, together with many other nations in Europe and Asia, such as Turkestan, Armenia, Georgia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine and others, lost its independence and was enslaved by the brutal Red Russian imperialism, and they, the enslaved nations, look towards you, the nations of Asia and Africa, for help and assistance in their struggle to regain their freedom.

Freedom is indivisible as Mr. Chung-fu, the Youth delegate from the Republic of China so aptly said in his speech, "together we stand and live or separately we fall and die", and I am sure that you, the torchbearers of freedom in Asia and Africa, will extend your helping hand to the enslaved nations and thus enable them to regain their individual freedom, human dignity and national independence.

125. *supra*, p. 9

126. "Aims of the Revolution", 1917, v. 6, p. 244

127. "Anniversary of the Revolution", 1918, v. 6, p. 499

128. "Revolutionary Revival", 1912, v. 4, pp. 158-9

129. Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism",

1916, v. 5, p. 291

130. "War and Peace", 1918, v. 7, p. 288, *my italics*

131. "Activities of the Council of People's Commissars",

1918, v. 7, p. 282

132. *supra*, pp. 3-4

133. "Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to

Self-Determination", 1916, v. 5, pp. 278-9

134. Pravda, December 28, 1919, "Military Stage in the south of Russia"

135. "Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", 1917,

v. 6, pp. 71-2

136. "Beginning of Revolution in Russia", 1905, v. 3,

p. 292

137. *op. cit.*, p. 130

138. *supra*, p. 4

139. *supra*, p. 14

140. *op. cit.*, p. 33

141. *supra*, p. 14

142. *op. cit.*, p. 25

The Golgotha of a People

In the flight of its domination and imperialism, Russia from the 19th century onwards has aimed at seizing Bulgaria. It was only through the efforts of the Bulgarian nation, led by the enlightened and incorruptible patriot Stephan Stambouloff, the President of the Council, that Russia failed to impose itself on Bulgaria.

On gaining power after a long and bloody civil war, the Communist Bolshevik party did not nevertheless renounce traditional Russian imperialism and refused to grant independence to the peoples of an ancient and superior civilisation, such as Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, and others, swallowing them up, against their will, into a totalitarian state known under the name of the "Soviet Union", which is nothing else but the new facade of the former Tsarist imperialism.

This imperialism was reinforced by the annexation of the three Baltic states and the foreign territories of Roumania, Hungary, and Poland during and after the Second World War. The most usual form of Russian expansion was, and in large part remains the Communist International — also called the Comintern. The Comintern in its subversive activities, did not spare Bulgaria. Having a handful of young professional revolutionaries in its pay, of Bulgarian origin, the Comintern after the end of the civil war in Russia, did everything to bolshevise the young kingdom. Realising quickly that the terrorism carried out by the criminals in its pay and the sporadic acts of banditry which it was financing would only bring about delayed results, the Communist International ordered its section in Bulgaria to seize power as soon as possible — and that at all costs.

Thus with the financial and material help of the Comintern, the Bulgarian Communist party helped the specialised saboteurs, trained in Soviet Russia and sent secretly to Bulgaria, to organise the odious assassination attempt of 16th April 1925. By assassinating to begin with an influential parliamentary deputy, reserve officer General Gueorguieff, the president of the Union of Reserve Officers, the Bulgarian Communist Party counted on getting not only numerous officers, ministers and deputies assembled for the funeral, but also the king himself.

The young king Boris III had already escaped numerous attempts on his life by the Communists, of which the most recent, scarcely two days before, had cost the life of his aide-de-camp. On that day he was again spared by Providence, for the infernal machine placed in the cathedral of Sveta Nedelia at Sofia went off a short time before his arrival, destroying the cathedral, killing 150 people and wounding several hundreds of others.

Thanks to the energetic intervention by the police and the army, helped by the entire population, the Communist agents responsible were quickly arrested and after complete confessions, passed before a competent tribunal, which tried them a month later. Numbers of them were condemned to public execution, made necessary to calm the popular indignation.

After the opening of hostilities between Germany and Russia, the latter began once more to become actively interested in Bulgaria, and in the autumn of 1941 groups of terrorists and saboteurs were sent there by submarine and aircraft. The vigilant Bulgarian police, informed in time by the population, were ready to welcome the few Bulgarian turncoats who had become Russian agents. They had

been trained in a sabotage school near Sebastopol, and were very surprised to find in Bulgaria a country which was calm and peaceful, since the Russians had told them that a civil war was raging in their country. As a result, despite this check, and on the pressing orders of Moscow, the Bulgarian Communist Party organised local command groups to carry out terrorism, which assassinated some higher officers and one deputy, before they were disbanded by the police.

In 1942—43, the Bulgarian Communists, with the help of Moscow, tried to organise an armed movement of resistance, which only assumed relative size after the entry of the Red Army into Roumania, that is to say shortly before the acquisition of power by the Communists in Bulgaria; but it never had more than 6,000 to 8,000 members.

In view of the numerical feebleness of the Bulgarian Communists, Moscow judged it indispensable for the Red Army to intervene in the summer of 1944, to communise the country. Russia therefore declared war unilaterally on Bulgaria on 5 September 1944, and Stalin's troops invaded the country and imposed a satellite regime, by terror and persecution.

20 years ago, during the winter of 1945, on the orders of Moscow and with the participation of agents of the OGPU sent to Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Communists began the ignoble task of exterminating the elite of Bulgaria. Tens of thousands of Bulgarians disappeared, assassinated with no trial or sentence being passed. Abandoned to the discretion of the Soviet Army of occupation, Bulgaria had to pay a terrible tax in blood. 130,000 Bulgarians were shot by the Communists. The satellite regime, kept well in hand by the Russian General Birusov, "the Butcher of Bulgaria", used a parody of decree law to explain these massacres to the West, trusting and ignorant of the truth. So-called popular tribunals, which however had nothing in common with the law or justice, quickly began the work. The condemnations were dictated by the force of machine guns. It was only necessary to be a good Bulgarian, to be an honest and esteemed patriot, to have a reputation for incorruptibility, to be inflicted with condemnation to death, to imprisonment for life, 15, or 10 years.

The Regent of the Kingdom, HRH Prince Kyril of Preslav, a hundred or so ministers or former ministers, parliamentary deputies, generals, higher officers and subalterns, high government officials, men of letters, journalists, ecclesiastics, industrialists, peasants, workers, soldiers, students, men and women, thousands of Bulgarians found, as victims of Communism, with a parody of a trial and even in the great majority of cases no trial at all, a glorious death. They lie today, in fraternal embrace, in communal graves, known or still unknown.

They were only guilty of having loved Bulgaria, of having acted as good patriots, of having opposed the enslavement of Bulgaria by the Soviet Russia, of having struggled with all their strength against Communism — this cancer of every democratic state.

The blood of the Bulgarian martyrs — that shed 40 years ago at Sveta Nedelia, as well as that offered 20 years ago, the blood of the martyrs who still today fall before the bullets of Communist enslaved Bulgaria, will not be shed in vain.

Bulgaria is climbing the slope of its Golgotha, but the dawn of liberty is very close . . .

IT IS COMING!

Dr. K. Drennikoff

Concentration Camps In The Soviet Union

Polish experts in exile have been able to establish the existence of a number of forced labour camps throughout the Soviet Union which are in no way different from the camps of the Stalin era. This information is substantiated by information collected from recent Soviet refugees as well as reports obtained directly from sources behind the Iron Curtain.

The results of this research were published in the Polish monthly *Na Antenie* (On the Antenna), No 2 (28), 1965 and in the *Neue Zuericher Zeitung* of 23rd April 1965 with the following commentary:

“The existence of 56 forced labour camps in which Polish prisoners are held has been established. These camps are located in both the European and the Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union.

“The centre of this complex, with its main camp at Lumbovka, is located in Northern Russia, not far from Arkhangelsk. Smaller camps are located to the north and south of this main camp. In this system of camps, according to the information collected, about 8,000 prisoners — Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and Germans, including women and children — are forced to work. The prisoners are employed mostly in the mines or on the construction of airports and roads. Another system has been established further north on the island of Novaya Zemlya, with forced labour camps at Saborovo, Vykhodnoy, and Noska. In Saborovo are mostly Poles and Ukrainians, in Vykhodnoy mostly Latvians and Poles. The Saborovo camp, where about 5,000 prisoners are held, is the biggest of the system. In Vykhodnoy there are about 3,000 prisoners. South of Novaya Zemlya is the former concentration camp area from the Stalin-Beria period. This is known as the Vorkuta system. At present, a new system of camps is being organized in the area, too, with centres at Vorkuta, Vyermysensk, Isma, Shchudor, and Ukhta. In this area there are about 6,000 prisoners, who are working mostly on the construction of a new railway and the development of oil-fields.

“Living conditions are reported to be almost catastrophic and the death rate is unusually high.

“Yet another zone of camps has been established in the Urals and the Caspian Sea, north of Sverdlovsk, and on the Kirghiz Steppe. In these camps are to be found mostly Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Russians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Kalmuks. The total number of prisoners in this area is estimated at about 10,000.

“A number of camps have also been established in the Caucasus area. In this system are mostly Poles, Hungarians, Kalmuks, Jews, Czechs, and Finns. These camps contain about 11,000 forced labourers. They work in quarries and on the construction of railways and water mains. Women are also held there. Eight camps have been established in central Russia and in Ukraine — at Pervomaisk, Kaluga, Yaroslav, and Voronezh, where Poles, Hungarians, Baltic nationals, Ukrainians, Germans, Turks, Czechs and Rumanians are held. In these camps are also held Soviet army officers who have been sentenced to forced labour. The Poles in the camps are mostly members of the Polish anti-Hitler resistance, i.e. freedom-

fighters, who twenty years ago formed the Polish non-Communist resistance movement.

"Six camps were also established in Kamchatka, where no less than 20,000 prisoners are known to be. They are working on the construction of underground military establishments, tunnels and roads. Practically all the nationalities of the Soviet Union are represented there, and there are in addition Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Germans and Bulgarians. The additional camps discovered by the Polish researchers are in the Vladivostok area and in the area bordered by the curve of the Amur river. Altogether there are seven camps with Ukrainian, Polish, German, and Russian prisoners. In this system, according to the Polish information, there are about 42,000 prisoners. A number of camps also exist in the area around Lake Baykal and in Central Asia, with their centre in the Karakum Desert."

The article is illustrated with a map of the Soviet Union, on which are indicated the exact locations of particular forced labour camps.

To the information which Polish research has provided, we should like to add only that similar data on the continued existence of forced labour camps in the Soviet Union has also been collected by other nationalities, especially by Ukrainians. On the basis of all this data it is possible to show beyond doubt that the present Soviet Russian regime still uses the same methods in dealing with its political opponents as Stalin did.

Holy Father, Paul VI, about Cardinal Slipyj

... "By elevating to the dignity of cardinal a Ukrainian Metropolitan, We wished to attest to the whole Church and the entire world that his sufferings, his steadfastness in the confession of Christ's faith and his heroism are the priceless treasures of the Universal Church and belong to the history of all ages . . .

"In placing before the eyes of the Universal Church and the world the heroic Ukrainian Metropolitan and the entire Ukrainian people, We had and have the intention of reviving in the Ukrainian people new and great hopes. Continue your struggle! Lift up your spirits, my dear Ukrainian sons! Work and pray and rely on God! May the Almighty bless your efforts and fulfill your hopes and desires."

"Let these words of Ours remain in your hearts forever, in memory of our meeting today:

"Be loyal! Be strong, brave and steadfast! Pray to God and have faith that the Ukrainian people will not perish, but with God's help and under the prudent guidance of your leaders, they will triumph in victory!"

"We are as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed."

II Corinthians, VI, 9

ABN Supports US Congress

On the Alert, America!

*On the alert, the time is ripe!
Daughters and sons of this great land,
Let's rouse this nation's dormant pride
In being free, and strong, and brave!
Led by our forefathers' darings,
Bannered by stately stars and stripes
Let us go on — persist preparing
For the great challenge of our times.
America — beware!
The cruel foe is at Thy gates!
Cast out him yet today,
Because tomorrow will be late . . . !*

*Americans, unite!
Shoulder-to-shoulder, close our ranks;
Rally our friends the world around,
This nations's life and the world's at stake!
Americans, the foe
Wants the world on fire, then — in chains!
Just peace — Freedom for all
The Nations and men! — our aim!
America — take heed!
The foe is at thy Freedom's gate!
Get on the alert! Now, and — God speed!
Today, for t'morrow'll be too late!*

N.D.P.

Captive Nations Week, 1965

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Whereas the joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), authorizes and requests the President of the United States of America to issue a proclamation each year designating the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week" until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world; and

Whereas all peoples yearn for freedom and justice; and

Whereas these basic rights unfortunately are circumscribed or unrealized in many areas in the world; and

Whereas the United States of America has an abiding commitment to the principles of independence, personal liberty, and human dignity; and

Whereas it remains a fundamental purpose and intention of the Government and people of the United States of America to recognize and encourage constructive actions which foster the growth and developmet of national independence and human freedom:

Now, therefore, I, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 18, 1965, as Captive Nations Week.

I invite the people of the United States of America to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to give renewed devotion to the just aspirations of all people for national independence and human liberty.

In witness whereof, I have herunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this second day of July in the year

(Seal)

Lyndon B. Johnson

By the President:

Dean Rusk

Secretary of State

*of our Lord nineteen-
hundred and sixty-five,
and of the Independence
of the United States of America
the one hundred and eighty-ninth.*

In the USA

Captive Nations Week 1965 claimed the attention of millions throughout the *United States*. Americans and men and women of East and Central European origin alike joined forces in a spontaneous demonstration of solidarity with the 200 million people suffering under Russian Communist tyranny.

This year's observances ranged from the traditional Presidential Proclamation to wide coverage by the information media. Many cities organized local rallies, featuring prominent speakers.

The U. S. Congress also observed Captive Nations Week. The impressive array of U. S. opinion leaders, rising to speak in Congress on the crucial problems of the subjugated peoples, brought the significance of this year's Captive Nations Week into sharp focus.

Seventy-nine Members of the House of Representatives and ten Senators gave a dramatic demonstration of the deep concern of both U. S. legislative bodies with the plight of the millions suffering under Russian Communist tyranny.

The climax of the Congressional Captive Nations Week observance was an extensive debate in the House of Representatives on July 21 on the problem of the captive nations. The debate was called at the initiative of Representative *Daniel J. Flood*, who said: "Our concentrated support of all the captive nations . . . is one of our most powerful non-military deterrents against further overt Sino-Soviet Russian aggression and a prime, formidable, force of peace with freedom and justice in the world."

The Senate discussion of the issue of the subjugated peoples centered on global commitment to the cause of freedom as a cornerstone of the United States foreign policy. According to *Senator Paul H. Douglas*: "The free nations of the world which look to the United States for leadership in the struggle against Communism, should know that our country stands firmly behind all nations that cherish freedom."

On Saturday, July 17th the observance of Captive Nations Week was held in

Washington, D. C. with a breakfast at the Sheraton Park Hotel. Various national groups were represented, some of whom came in colorful costumes. Among those attending were Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians and Cubans. Speakers were: the Hon. Sampson C. Shen, Minister, Chinese Embassy; The Hon. Pham Khac Rau, former Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of South Viet Nam; Dr. Orlando Cuervo, former Under-Secretary of Commerce in the cabinet of Fidel Castro, until he fled to the United States; and the main speaker *Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*. On behalf of the Central Committee of the ABN, the Ukrainian people and himself personally, Yaroslav Stetsko expressed his appreciation at being able to participate in the Captive Nations Week commemoration. He felt, he said, that the passage of the Captive Nations Resolution, was an important step on the part of the American government in recognizing and supporting the freedom aspirations of the captive peoples. In his opinion the U. S. Congress was the central body that best expressed the moral principles and sentiments of the American people. Lest past mistakes be repeated, a common alliance of Western nations towards the dismemberment of a governmental system which advocates colonialism, would inspire an aura of hope in the captive nations in their struggle to regain freedom and national independence.

During Captive Nations Week Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko visited many U. S. Congressmen and Senators, Foreign Ambassadors, and numerous American anti-Communist organizations and public leaders, discussing the situation in the Russian Communist empire.

Through the entire observance of Captive Nations Week, the Washington Metropolitan Chapter of ABN, supported by Ukrainian American Youth Association in Baltimore was engaged in political activities, and distributed many thousands of anti-Bolshevist leaflets from the motorcade exhibition.

In *New York City*, Captive Nations Week was launched with solemn celebra-

tions of Divine Liturgies in St. Patrick's Cathedral and St. John the Divine's Cathedral. At the St. Patrick's Mass, Francis Cardinal Spellman presided and Msgr. John Balkunas celebrated the Mass. After the Mass a flag-raising ceremony was held.

On Friday, July 23, 1965 the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AFABN) held a Captive Nations Week dinner, which was preceded by a press conference. Speakers at the dinner ceremony were Hon. Seymour Halpern, Prof. Dr. Oberlaender, Member of the Bundestag in Bonn, Mr. Ch. Andreanshky and Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko as main speaker.

In *Philadelphia* the Captive Nations Week observance was held in the form of a ceremonial signing of a "declaration of resistance" to all forms of tyranny and oppression, and a huge rally. The signing of the declaration took place aboard the cruiser "Olympia" in the Philadelphia harbour. At the rally held at Independence Hall on Friday, July 18, a number of prominent speakers took part.

On Saturday, July 17, 1965, twenty national groups under the leadership of the Hon. Richard J. Daley, Mayor of *Chicago*, staged a colorful parade, including floats, bands, open cars and many marchers, dressed in beautiful national costumes and carrying American and national flags of the captive nations. According to police estimates, over 10,000 persons took part in the Captive Nations Week parade and rally.

The AF ABN Branch in *Chicago* organized one of the greatest Captive Nations Week observances.

The Congressional Record, July 21, 1965 published an extensive report on this observance together with the Mayor R. Daley's proclamation, and the statement of the Committee for Captive Nations Week observance signed by: Dr. Chester Piekarczyk, Honorary Chairman; Eli Saravanja, Chairman; Ulana Celewych, Secretary; Anton Ondrus, Slovakia; Paul Quirico, Hungary; L. Prapoulenis, Lithuania; Alexander Koepp, Estonia; H. Stiagailo, Cossackia; Boleslaw Bilogan, Poland; Rokszanda Pannich, Serbia; Dr. Pank Chung, Korea; Ta-

ras Shpikula, Ukraine; George Marinoff, Bulgaria; Dieter K. Schroeder, Germany; Viktor Viksnins, Latvia; Eli Saravanja, Croatia; Albert K. Leong, China; Vera Romuk, Byelorussia.

Mayor Richard J. Daley was the honorary parade marshal. Col. Jack Reilly led the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance and read the proclamation for the Captive Nations Week. The main speaker was Dr. Edward M. O'Connor.

In *Buffalo* also the observance of Captive Nations Week was highlighted by a parade and a public rally. On July 21, a civic luncheon was held at the Statler Hotel at which *Congressman J. Dulskei* was the principal speaker.

Finally, on Sunday a Captive Nations Festival was held in Delaware park. The guest speaker was Mrs. Edith Hyder-Jester of Washington D. C.

Among the members of the committee which organized this impressive program were the Chairman of the Peoples' Council of AFABN, *Dr. Nestor Procyk*.

On Wednesday, July 21, 1965 an impressive demonstration was staged through the streets of *Boston* to highlight the observance of Captive Nations Week. The motorcade dismounted at the George Washington Monument, where additional throngs awaited its arrival and where a ceremony dedicated to the captive nations was held. Television and radio reporters passed through the assembly area interviewing officials of the sponsoring Massachusetts Committee on Captive Nations.

In *Rochester* the 1965 Captive Nations Week was observed by the presentation of a special television program.

Editorials on Captive Nations Week were carried by the following newspapers: *Journal American*, *Daily News*, *Globe Democrat*, *World*, *The Courier-News*.

Columns on the significance of the events were written in *The Plain Dealer*, *Muncie Star*, *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Columbus Daily Dispatch*, *The Miami News*, *The Boston Sunday Advertiser*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *The Indianapolis Star*, *Catholic Review*.

In Germany

On June 15, 1965, Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer, Member of Parliament, suggested on the floor of the German Federal Parliament in *Bonn* that Free Germany pass a law similar to the famed Captive Nations Week Resolution of the United States.

"Does the Federal Government," he asked, "not deem it necessary to present a corresponding bill to the Federal Parliament in order to demonstrate the solidarity of the German people with the liberation struggle of all peoples subjugated by Bolshevism, especially in the Soviet Union and the so-called 'satellites', and thus to recognize the right to self-determination, that is, to national independence, in the same sense as this right is a national purpose of the German people for the Soviet-occupied Zone?"

Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Schröder replied: "The Federal Government does not consider it necessary to bring before Parliament a bill corresponding to the American Congress Resolution. The German people are especially aware that freedom and self-determination are rights which cannot be traded in on account of the division which has been forced upon them and on account of the 17 million Germans who have to live under Soviet rule. They thus feel the closest connection with every people which is striving for national independence and for freedom. In the opinion of the Federal Government there is no need for a law or for a legally prescribed day of remembrance to keep awake and to declare this consciousness and this feeling of unity."

On July 23 the Central Committee of ABN held a rally in *Munich* to express the Free World's solidarity with the struggle for liberation of the subjugated peoples.

More than 550 persons took part in this rally. There were many representatives of student and youth organizations present, as well as members of associations of German anti-Communists.

The opening address was given by Prof.

Dr. Fr. Durcansky, former Foreign Minister of Slovakia, and the principles of ABN were expressed by Prince *Niko Nakashidse*, Secretary General of ABN.

Guest speeches were given by: *Franz Gaksch*, member of the Bavarian Parliament and regional president of the Union of Refugees; the well known commentator *Winfried Martini*; *Dr. Heinz Lange*, member of Parliament of Westphalia, and *Rudolf Wollner*, Vice-President of the Union of Refugees.

Mrs. Slawa Stetsko gave the final address and read the resolutions which were welcomed with great applause.

Reports on this rally were given in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Münchener Merkur*, *Volksbote*, *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, *Bayern Kurier*, *Demokratisch-Konservative Korrespondenz*, *Der Donauschwabe*, *Stimme der Freiheit*, *Freie Presse-Korrespondenz*, the Roumanian paper in exile *Stindardul*, Ukrainian *Schlach Peremohy* and *Homin Ukrainy* etc.

The Kyiv Paper *Radianska Ukraina* in its July 25th issue charged the U.S. Congress and the representatives of the Ukrainian ethnic group in the U.S. of using the Captive Nations Week as a propaganda campaign against Soviet Ukraine.

The Munich ABN meeting was attacked by the German language paper, which appears in Prague, called *Aufbau und Frieden*. The Bulgarian Party Organ *Rabotnitchesko Delo* of July 27, 1965 published under the title: "Riot of not yet slaughtered fascist offal in Munich" a very sharp article on the ABN rally: "... As in Hitler's time, when the establishment of tyranny and the crusades against Communism were being prepared, thousands of members of the emigrant organisations of the most diverse kind assembled in the enormous Munich Schwabinger Bräu." ...

The Georgian Communist Party Organ *Kommunisti* of July 23, 1965 also published a notice on the ABN Meeting in Munich.

The Slavery Of the 20th Century

*Address by Prof. Dr. Dr. Theodor Oberländer to the Captive Nations Meeting,
July 23, 1965, Commodore Hotel, New York City*

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear friends of ABN:

I thank you very much for your kind invitation. I deeply appreciate the opportunity to make a few remarks. First, we are all fighting for freedom. We are all in the same boat. There is only one free world existing in all persons here and in those behind the Iron Curtain who are ready to fight for freedom, to make sacrifices and in the case of danger to give their lives.

Germany as a divided nation will never forget what the United States of America sacrificed for the freedom of Berlin. As an example, I would like to call your attention to the results of the Berlin Airlift in 1948. They do the same now in present efforts to save Vietnam. Freedom is indivisible. Your victories are our victories; your losses are our losses. As a member of the free Western German Parliament, I have to thank you members of the 110 million population of the satellite nations and the more than one hundred million population of the non-Russian nations in the USSR. Their resistance enabled us in Western Europe together with the US and other free nations to live in peace and to rebuild West Germany and Western Europe. We Germans have much to restore and we shall do it. We feel with you and our members behind the Iron Curtain all freedom-loving men in Eurasia are our allies and your allies. We know, in these countries there are more freedom-loving men than in the free world because they know the meaning of slavery. There is no difference between the satellite states and the nations now living in the Soviet Union. Poles or Georgians, Lithuanians or Ukrainians, Hungarians and Azerbaidshanians, they all have the same right: The right of self-determination.

After the Second World War, all colonialism disappeared. The old colonialism was of a different kind. Hundreds of millions of people gained their freedom from it. However, those behind the Iron Curtain created a new form of colonialism. Hundreds of millions lost their freedom. Since this new colonialism is not really a different type in form, it is more violent in implementation. There is a loss of all personal freedom and of all kinds of self-determination and national independence. It can be more correctly identified as slavery of the 20th Century.

The Soviet Russians want co-existence. They want a détente; not ideologically; not spiritually, but they want to win time for the integration of the non-Russian nations of Eurasia, for the integration of what they gained in the Second World War.

I do not believe that they want real co-existence; they want a status quo as long as possible. Here is an Indian proverb: "If you deceive me once, shame on you; if you deceive me twice, shame on me." How often has the Free World been deceived in the last 48 years since the Russian Revolution.

The free states have the duty to discuss the lack of freedom behind the Iron Curtain before the United Nations and to ask for the right of self-determination and national independence. Freedom does not allow us to enjoy this freedom without fighting for all men living in slavery. Freedom cannot be preserved with neutralism. Some hundred millions, your countrymen are confident that

we will never forget them. We are responsible for them because we can do what God commands, we can fight for freedom and national independence.

The Bolsheviks have the twelve principles for the education of the Communists without God and any belief in metaphysics. They believe, they will have more morality than we. We have the Ten Commandments under God; we know that we will win if we are obedient to God and are ready to make more sacrifices for freedom than the others do for slavery.

The next two or three decades will decide who will win. We are as responsible for the freedom of our children and our grandchildren as for the freedom of hundreds of millions of people now living in slavery. Let us forget all nationality differences. Let us forget all egoistic materialism. Let us never be neutralist. Let us only act, asking what is useful to achieve freedom, fighting for the right of self-determination and national independence, when we fight for the freedom of the world.

National independence, personal freedom and human dignity — are the aims of our common struggle.

Resolution

Of the public meeting in Munich, on 23rd July 1965

The participants of this meeting — citizens of the German Federal Republic, representatives of the other nations of the Free World, and members of the subjugated peoples in the Communist sphere of power, welcome the US Congress resolution of 17th July 1959 on the annual celebration of a "Captive Nations Week", and the proclamation on this subject published by the President of the United States, and proclaim their solidarity with the programme set out therein, on the reestablishment of national independence and elementary human rights of all the peoples who have earlier or later fallen victim to Russian imperialism and Communist world aggression.

We confirm in detail the observations contained in the US Congress resolution, stating that to all these peoples are due the inalienable right of self-determination, and national independence, that only the realisation of this basic human right can guarantee a just and lasting peace, and that the Free World should openly demonstrate its sympathy with the just efforts of the nations and people deprived of their rights, through suitable statements and measures.

On this occasion we state once more, that Moscow, as the capital of world Communism, under the threadbare excuse of wishing to "liberate" the so called World Proletariat from the "capitalist exploitation" by the introduction of a "just Communist way of life", in reality has set up nothing short of a colonial empire, which, so long as it exists, will threaten the whole civilised world with subjection to the law of force, violence, and barbarism.

We urge, in agreement with the US Congress resolution quoted above, that the generally recognised rights of nations and of men, which in the present day may be realised by the former colonial nations and races of Africa and Asia, be also granted and brought into effect for the nations today dominated by Bolshevism. The governments of the Free World should champion these just objects and support by every means the efforts to gain freedom of the subjugated nations, thus having the opportunity to serve their own interests, as well as contribute to a permanent settlement of the world.

We call upon the whole civilised world to advocate the dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire of force, so that the nations and people incarcerated in it can regain their freedom and national independence, so that the artificially divided countries and nations can be reunited, and so that slavery can be finally superseded by an existence worthy of mankind.

Long live freedom of men and of nations!

Communist Press Attacks The ABN Public Meeting of 23rd July 1965

Georgian Communist Party Organ "Kumunisti", 28, July, 1965.

Bonn 26, July. — A public meeting took place in Munich of the members of the emigrants organisations which have established themselves in the Bavarian capital.

Emigrants from the different countries of Europe took part.

The Speaker spared no appeals to war against the Soviet Union and other socialist states. They urged a crusade against Communism. This meeting was arranged with the consent and support of Germany's rulers. This was proved by the fact that the leader of the branch of the revanchist organisation — "The League of Exiles" — in Munich, the member of the Bavarian Parliament F. Gaksch, and one of the leaders of the "Association of Sudeten Germans", the member of the North-Rhine Westphalian Parliament G. Lange welcomed those taking part.

From the Bulgarian Party Organ "Rabotnitchesko Delo", of 27, July, 1965.

Riot of not yet slaughtered fascist offal in Munich

Bonn 26, 7. BTA — Munich was again the scene of a demonstration of the unprecedented licentiousness by the still unslaughtered fascist elements of Eastern Europe, who openly appeal for war against the socialist countries.

As in Hitler's time, when the establishment of tyranny and the crusades against Communism were being prepared, thousands of members of the emigrants organisation of the most diverse kind assembled in the enormous Munich Schwabinger Bräu.

Political action was opened by the well known lackey of Hitler, the biased foreign minister of the so-called Slovak State, Durczansky. Then the general secretary of the emigrants association N. Nakashidse gave a sort of programme speech, in which he appealed for nothing more or less than declaration of war on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which were to be annihilated by violence.

What is particularly remarkable is that these emigrants meetings of fascists and war criminals not only find hospitality in the German Federal Republic, but that even beyond that the opportunity for unhindered provocation and warmongering activities is afforded them.

"Aufbau und Frieden" (Construction and Peace)

*No. 90, Prague, Saturday 31st July 1965
Munich, the Schwabingerbräu (II).*

Since 1959 every year in the USA a so-called "Captive Nations Week" takes place. This refers to the socialist countries — in the spirit of the Cold War, which is thought

in many places to be already won. Naturally certain organisations in the Federal Republic do not allow themselves to lag behind the USA in this respect. The Schwabingerbräu was the scene of such an event, the same place in which a few months be-

fore Strauss had been re-elected the chairman of the CSU. At that time we gave a report carrying the same title.

The heavily-attended meeting of the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" was opened by a good friend of ours, Professor *Dr. F. Durcansky*, former Foreign Minister of the "Slovak State". The "Star" speech was given by the General Secretary of the ABN, *Niko Prince Nakashidse*. His expressions sounded like old tape recordings or records from a museum: "An end must be made to the deceptive and fatal policy of coexistence. We must all prepare ourselves towards advocating the destruction of the Russian empire and the annihilation of Communism."

Of course the patriotic associations of the Sudeten Germans were present also. The FDP Representative and member of the "Sudeten German Council", *Dr Heinz*

Lange, called the conditions in the socialist countries the "most modern form of colonialism".

In one of the resolutions accepted by the meeting, the "whole civilised world" was called upon "to advocate the dissolution of the Soviet empire of force, so that the nations imprisoned there" recover their freedom.

If one were to read this quotation, one would automatically think one had got hold of a newspaper published ten years ago.

What we have quoted here was said in July 1965, however. So this is allowed in the Federal Republic, while the Communist Party is still banned. Thus we have added a Roman "Two" to our title, because it is not out of the question that even more nonsense will be concocted in the Schwabingerbräu and a kind of serial begin in our reports. Fst

In Australia

From 24th to 30th October 1965 many important events took place in Sydney, organised by the ABN in Australia to mark Captive Nations Week.

On Sunday 24th October the opening public meeting took place at the Trocadero, in Sydney. The chairman, Professor *Colin Roderick* opened the meeting. The guest speakers were *Mr. W. McMahon*, the 3rd Ranking Federal Cabinet Minister and *Mr. J. C. Maddison*, M. L. A. Minister for Justice. The *Sydney Morning Herald* states: "Mr. McMahon was speaking before more than 800 people at the opening of Captive Nations Week." "Mr. McMahon said it was for free peoples, like Australia, to release the 'Gaoled nations of the world'."

"All nations should be allowed freedom and be able to determine their own destinies", he said.

Mr. J. C. Maddison, Minister of Justice, said that public apathy on issues of great importance could damage Australia's chance of survival as a free nation.

"Too many Australians are content to leave politics to the politicians," he said.

The Daily Telegraph, an Australian daily, stated in its report on the meeting: "After the meeting more than 200 people marched through heavy rain to the Cenotaph as a protest against Communism."

"Some marchers carried placards proclaiming: 'Better Dead than Red'."

During the week Arts and Crafts exhibitions took place. On Wednesday 27th October an international cultural festival took place with the participation of dance groups, choirs, and musicians of the following nationalities: Latvian, Roumanian, Estonian, Croatian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, National Chinese, Czech and Lithuanian. On 28th a report on the Captive Nations Week was given on the radio, in the press and on television. On Friday a further public meeting took place in Sydney, at which *Sir Ralph Clinto*, *Mr Laurie Short*, a prominent member of the Australian Labour Party, *Mr E. D. Darby* and *Mr Elton Wilson*, Director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade all spoke. A solemn conclusion to the Captive Nations Week Observance in Australia was formed by a concert in the Sydney City Hall.

News And Views

In Defense of Ukrainian Culture and the Ukrainian Nation!

Resolutions

adopted at the Mass Meeting of the
Workers of Ukrainian Culture
of North America

in Toronto, Ontario, June 6th, 1965

Whereas the Ukrainian independent state was destroyed by Moscow's occupational forces; and

Whereas the so-called Ukrainian S.S.R. in reality is not a Ukrainian state but a mere façade behind which the Moscow state apparatus is concealing and carrying on a policy of liquidation of Ukrainian national traditions and simultaneously is forcefully promoting the idea of one uniform state — the USSR, as one common nation for all nationalities with Moscow as its capital, and trying to implement the use of the name "Russia" for USSR not only outside the USSR but also more often inside of the empire; and

Whereas the Russian empire, in its past and at present, walks the path of brutal force and permanent genocide in times of peace as well as during war, applying terror which can not be compared to anything in the whole world, as it is permanent, systematic and perfidious, starting from the war pogroms, through resettlement of the whole population, artificial famine, concentration camps and jails, to lowering the numerical strength of the non-Russian peoples by manipulation of the natural increase and planned Russification of the subjugated nations; and

Whereas the Moscow invaders strive to achieve their ruinous goals by disruption of the family as a fundamental nucleus of every nation, by systematic and purposeful overwork of women and children in the subjugated nations of the USSR; and

Whereas the social conditions among the population, especially those in Ukraine, are escalated to the stage of serfdom, with the purpose of exploiting Ukraine economi-

cally, with the very hands of its enslaved people; and

Whereas Moscow's criminal policy of weakening the Ukrainian nation is especially directed against the Ukrainian youth, as this youth is being systematically evicted from Ukraine and sent to the distant districts of the USSR, seemingly, according to Moscow propaganda, — to help the undeveloped districts of the USSR, in reality however to deprive Ukraine of her most vital biological elements in order to assimilate them among alien linguistic and cultural population; and

Whereas resulting from the above mentioned planned criminal measures of Moscow, the Ukrainian nation suffered during the last fifty years such an enormous loss in millions of its population, that instead of the twofold natural increase of its population as compared with the growth of other nations, especially its neighbours, the Ukrainian nation shows a steady decrease of its numerical strength; and

Whereas Moscow does not limit itself to the physical liquidation of the Ukrainian nation but also strives to destroy it spiritually, by destroying Ukrainian Churches — the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, — their clergy and faithful, causing their metropolitans, archbishops, bishops and priests to die a martyr's death and driving the remaining clergymen underground, where they are carrying on their work secretly, in conditions similar to the catacombs of early Christendom; and

Whereas similarly impossible conditions are experienced by Ukrainian science, literature and art, as there is no freedom under the yoke of Moscow, neither for individual nor national development of the Ukrainian people, because Moscow destroys everyone who tries to think, work and create independently and in accordance with traditions and aspirations of the Ukrainian people; and

Whereas with the assistance of so-called socialist realism, Moscow transformed Ukrainian science, literature, literary criticism and art into a propaganda apparatus, striving to create with its assistance the so-called "man of the Communist society", the said man, being a product of the merging of all nations of the USSR and which is to be achieved in the Russian Soviet system by the Russification of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, utilizing the "international" Russian language the new school law which gives the Ukrainian parents "the right to chose" between Ukrainian and Russian languages for instruction of their children in Ukraine, by the resettlement of the entire population and creation of multinational republics in which, except for the Russians, no other nationality or any territory should constitute a majority of population; and

Whereas according to our fundamental conviction, Moscow is unable to complete its internal reconstruction while in a state of war against the West or even in a state of cold war and in order to gain the necessary time for its internal consolidation, Moscow thrusts upon the Western nations "peace" and "coexistence", knowing that the real peace is the main goal of the West and using this knowledge to blackmail the Western nations into silence with regard to her misdeeds in her sphere of domination; and

Whereas Moscow implements a certain form of coexistence known as "cultural exchange" by sending Ukrainian writers, artists and scientists abroad to visit Ukrainian immigration centres in the Free World with the intention to infiltrate, subvert and ramify the Ukrainian cultural institutions in the Free World and by instigation of enmity among immigrants divide them and divert their attention from crimes perpetrated by Moscow in Ukraine; and to make them forget their primary duties: to warn the Free World against possible Russian Communist aggression; to spread abroad the true information about the situation in Ukraine and to assist the Ukrainian people in their struggle for independence in any possible way; and

Whereas the Ukrainian nation is not only the victim of Moscow's crimes but also continuously fights for its freedom by every possible means, and the assistance of Ukrainians in the Free World is of the greatest importance; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that we, the Ukrainian cultural workers of North America shall use our rights of free speech and other democratic rights to promote whenever necessary the cause of the struggling Ukrainian nation and we call all Ukrainian immigrants everywhere in the Free World to unite on the principles of independence for the Ukrainian nation, the originality of its cultural and spiritual endeavours and to resist Moscow's political and cultural penetration among Ukrainian immigrants living in a Free World;

— The free thought and creative power of Ukrainian people being suppressed in many forms in Ukraine, can be developed only by Ukrainian immigrants in the Free World where under the favourable conditions of freedom the suppressed or disrupted cultural activities in Ukraine can be revived and carried on;

— Our duty in the Free World is to preserve the original trend of development of Ukrainian culture in order to foster and develop on its basis the spiritual climate for a national Ukrainian world outlook which is essential for the continuation of the struggle of Ukrainian people for the independence and statehood of Ukraine;

— We consider our sacred duty in the Free World to create the most favourable moral and material conditions for the development of independent Ukrainian sciences, literature and arts, thus facilitating for Ukrainian cultural workers the best possible conditions to counter the Russian attacks against the spiritual life of Ukrainian people, their cultural originality and the historical past with its literature and art;

— Ukrainian cultural workers in the Free World, united with the idea of Ukrainian spiritual independence and struggle for sovereignty of the Ukrainian people, should build a CULTURAL CENTRE which would inspire and mobilize Ukrainian cul-

tural circles in the Free World to carry out such duties which are performed by every such nation which is determined to live, progress and create spiritual values for its full self-expression.

— One of the main duties of the said CENTRE should be to counter the emotional and rational advances and influences of the enemy upon Ukrainian people, employing scientific methods and arguments, literary and artistic works, mass media, conferences, etc.

— We should oppose the Russian offensive abroad carried out in the form of cultural exchange, with our own action aimed at an explanation of the methods of the Soviet Russian deceit advancing behind the smoke screen of the so-called "peaceful co-existence". We are convinced that only a

continuous profound study of the true state of the Soviet Russian occupation in Ukraine will provide us with an actual picture of conditions under which Ukrainian people are living now, and our moral and material support of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence will help us, Ukrainian immigrants, to comprehend our role in the Free World and find our proper place as an auxiliary force in the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its independence.

— We shall not permit our political activities in support of our native country to be slowed down; on account of our freedom-loving people at present being denied the privilege to speak for themselves, therefore we shall speak for them whenever possible and necessary.

Baltic Protest Rallies

Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians living in the Free World are holding rallies to mark the subjugation of their countries by the Soviet Russia 25 years ago. In June 1940, completely disregarding the numerous promises and guarantees which the Soviet Union had given to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the Red Army flooded into these three States; they were incorporated into the Soviet Union, and Communist ways were introduced into all aspects of life. The occupiers have imprisoned, murdered, deported to Siberian forced labour camps, and otherwise disposed of some hundreds of thousands of Baltic nationals.

People are still being deported today — especially young people.

In their public protest rallies, *the Baltic peoples have protested against Soviet aggression and about the outrageous acts committed by the Soviet Union as the occupier of their countries:*

1) the murder or deportation to concentration camps in Siberia and other parts of the Soviet Russia approximately 1 million individuals;

2) the continual and systematic deportation of young people from the Baltic countries to various forms of forced labour in the Soviet Union and the illegal enlist-

ment of young people into Soviet military service;

3) the colonization of the Baltic States by the settlement of Russians, the majority of whom are Communists and criminals, and the preferential treatment afforded to the latter in contrast to the native population;

4) the material exploitation of the Baltic population, the transformation of all peasants into serfs of collective and state farms, and the advantage taken of working people;

5) the persecution of believers, the confinement of religious activities, and the closure of churches;

6) the limitation placed on creative freedom and the Sovietization of local culture with the intention of turning it into a Russian-Communist hybrid.

The Baltic peoples have demanded

1) that the Soviet Union should immediately withdraw its military forces, its administrative apparatus and the accompanying Communists and colonists from the Baltic countries;

2) that the Soviet Union should immediately release all deportees and young people enlisted in the Soviet military services

from the Baltic countries;

3) that the Soviet Union should immediately cease to persecute believers and should return to them the churches of which they have been deprived;

4) that the Soviet Union should immediately allow the peasants to cultivate freely, the workers to organize themselves freely and to defend their professional interests.

The Baltic peoples have requested the parliaments and governments of the States

concerned

1) to support these demands at international conferences;

2) to condemn the Soviet Union's aggression against the Baltic States and the crimes committed by the Soviet Union as the occupier of the Baltic countries;

3) to promote consultations on the elimination of the Soviet imperialistic colonialism which prevails in the Baltic countries at the United Nations, etc.

On October 17th and 18th 1965 "The Plain Dealer", a Canadian newspaper published a short article entitled: *Ukrainians Commemorate Underground Leader's Death.*

"Nearly 1,000 Greater Clevelanders of Ukrainian heritage yesterday commemorated the death of Gen. Taras Chuprynka — Roman Shukhevych, former supreme commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

"Gen. Shukhevych, who died 15 years ago, was head of the underground army established in 1942 when the Germans occupied Ukraine.

"The Highlands, a Ukrainian ladies' quartette, came from Toronto to sing Ukrainian military songs. Mrs. Sophie Melnyk-Bury of the Ukrainian Shevchenko Chorus recited poetry. Myron Zmurkevych, violinist with the Youngstown Symphony Orchestra, presented Ukrainian songs, as did Miss Myra Basladynsky, pianist.

"Speakers included U.S. Rep. Robert E. Sweeney; Nicholas G. Bohatiuk, professor of economics at the University of Virginia, and Joseph Trubinsky, executive committee member of the Slovak Liberation Council."

Toronto Man Scoffs a Soviet Charges

Toronto (CP) — *Dmytro Kupiak, 45, says he is likely the man the Soviet Union is seeking to extradite from Canada for alleged war crimes.*

"I think I am the man," said the Toronto restaurant owner, a naturalized Canadian citizen for 12 years. "But about these accusations, I don't give a hoot."

Mr. Kupiak was commenting on a Moscow report on Friday that the Soviet Union has renewed a request to the Canadian government for the extradition of a man identified only as "Kupyak."

The Moscow report said the Soviet Union has sent Canada a three-inch-thick volume of material, including affidavits, photos and other documents alleging war crimes against the man.

The Soviet news agency Tass said Russia has rejected arguments used last November when Canada turned down the original Soviet request for extradition. Canada said then there was no law to permit the extradition and that the Soviet Union had failed to offer enough evidence.

Asked about a Soviet charge that "Kupyak" directed reprisals against Russian citizens while leading the Ukrainian nationalist organization during the German occupation in the Second World War, Mr. Kupiak said:

"I was fighting in my own land; I think it was my sacred duty."

He said the organization was an underground movement fighting for the independence of Ukraine. The Russians and Germans were both regarded as enemies.

Mr. Kupiak said he fled to Germany from Ukraine in 1946, went to England in 1947 as a farm laborer and came to Canada in 1948.

Prof. J. Kitaoka ABN-Guest

Report on the Visit to Munich of Prof. Dr. Juitsu Kitaoka from Japan on 12th October 1965.

At 1.30 p.m. a special conference was summoned in the rooms of the ABN office, in honour of the Japanese guest. Amongst those taking part were Jaroslav Stetsko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Niko Prince Nakaschidse, Mrs Slawa Stetsko, Prof. Dr. F. Durcansky, Dr. C. Pokorny, Dr. G. Prokoptchuk (Ukraine), Dr. F. Priller, personal adviser of German Minister Schuetz, General A. Zako, representing the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Dr. B. Mailat (Romania), Wolodymyr Lenyk, President of the Free Press Union, etc.

Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko gave a speech of welcome, in which he said: "Our friend is the director of the Free Asia Association, the most important and powerful of the anti-Communist freedom organisations in Japan. He was the Chairman of the Japanese delegation at the 11. Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in Manila; he is the author of numerous books in Japanese and English on the struggle for liberation of our nations, as well as the Communist rule of terror in our countries. The Ukrainians feel an especially close contact with Prof. Kitaoka.

"His knowledge of Russian imperialism is unique in his country. He is not afraid constantly to advocate the dissolution of this monster empire, and favours the formation of national independent democratic states.

"Prof. Kitaoka never misses an opportunity to support energetically the ideas of ABN. without his help the triumphant advance of ABN ideas could not have been so successful. He advocates equally strongly the reunification in freedom of Germany. Our guest, who is staying at the invitation of the German federal government in this country, is outraged by the Berlin wall of shame, and condemns it most sharply."

In his address, which Mrs Slawa Stetsko translated simultaneously, Prof. J. Kitaoka

expressed his pleasure to be staying in Germany. He regretted the partition of Germany and the loss of freedom of 17 million Germans. Prof. Kitaoka is of the opinion that the German problem can only be treated and solved as an integral part of the problem of liberating all the subjugated nations. He said that the liberation of single nations is not possible.

"Japan is indeed not divided, for which reason we consider ourselves lucky; but unfortunately Russian and Red Chinese propaganda is making more and more ground in Japan. Young people especially allow themselves to be easily influenced by this propaganda, which is even supported by the Japanese trade unions. Indeed even colleagues of mine at the university succumb to Communist propaganda".

Prof. Kitaoka said that for this reason the activities of anti-Communist organisations, such as the Free Asia Association, is particularly important. Three years ago we held a joint international conference, he said, in Tokyo with the Japanese chapter of the APACL. The former Prime-Minister of Japan, His Excellency Kishi has always supported us as much as was possible. He even founded a new organisation, the Congress of Parliamentarians of Free Asia. Dr. Watanabe, the President of the Japanese chapter of the APACL, cooperates closely with Hon. Kishi.

"In order to meet the strong Communist propaganda effectively, to which our country is exposed in a specially strong degree, we must make use of the experience of the other anti-Communist organisations. All publications of the ABN are fully made use of by our organisations and are a great help to us. I have even translated some books published by the ABN into Japanese. e. g. "The Disgrace of the 20th Century", "Concentration Camps in the USSR", which allow us to show our nations how Communism looks in practice.

"I am afraid", said Prof. Kitaoka, "that we use you more than we support you. But through the explanation of the problem of the subjugated nations to the Japanese

people, we give you moral support. More than this, we cannot do at the moment. We make use of you, that is to say of the fate of the subjugated nations, and thus help ourselves."

"Japan stands at the side of the subjugated nations, and your aims are also our aims. I am convinced that we, together with the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world, will reach our aims."

After these two addresses, a talk and discussion followed in which those present took an active part.

Dr. Marquez Visited ABN

On October 21, 1965 Dr. Apeles Marquez, the President of the Federacion Argentina de Entidades Democracias Anti-Comunistas (FAEDA) visited the ABN headquarters in Munich and "Schlach Peremohy". This organisation is a federation of several anti-Communist organisations from Argentina. After taking part in the 11th APACL Conference in Manila Dr. Marquez toured Asia and Europe.

He first delivered a short report on the situation in Argentina and South America. His main intention was to draw the attention of the ABN members and German guests to the intense Communist infiltration and propaganda in Argentina, which makes use of all possible means, in order to gain more and more influence in South America. Two months ago, for instance, in Peru a civil war nearly broke out, so that the government was forced to ban the Communist Party; whilst in Argentina it was allowed to operate by the new government about one year ago, after it had been prohibited for a long time.

Mainly in the Trade Unions, the Universities and even among the members of the Peronistic Party, Communist propaganda continuously gains influence, although the Central American countries are threatened even more. The embassies of the USSR and the other Communist states serve as propaganda-centers for all Latin America. Through her embassy in Venezuela Russia directly or indirectly pays for this propaganda. Unfortunately, during their 40-year activity the Communists have succeeded in winning over the "man in

the street". They have convinced him that Communism stands for freedom and democracy and that Latin America lies under the continuous menace of North American "Yankee Imperialism". In the main it is young people who have fallen for these slogans, which is very regrettable.

Some years ago the FAEDA was founded as a federation of several anti-Communist organisations, which altogether consist of about 100,000 members. The goal of the FAEDA is to resist effectively Communist infiltration. They work in close cooperation with the emigrant organisations, above all those of the Ukrainians, Croatians, Roumanians and of the Baltic States.

The tragic fate of the subjugated peoples serves as a good example of how Communism is practised.

After Cuba became Communist, this fact was very exploited, principally because Cuba is a Spanish-speaking country. Fidel Castro is sending weapons, money and even guerillas to South America, mainly to northern Argentina.

Fortunately, the Communists have not succeeded until now in infiltrating into the army. Lately, General Ornanía, a member of the government, in a speech took a strong anti-Communist position which is of special importance, as this was the first official statement of the government in this respect.

Dr. Marquez expressed his hope of intensified close cooperation between FAEDA and her member-units, and the emigration organisations, with whose experience he hopes to be able to cope with the situation in Argentina. Therefore it was especially useful for Dr. Marquez to participate in the 11th APACL Conference and to become informed on the problems of the Asian peoples. Likewise he is glad to have established personal contact with the ABN.

Recently, Ukrainian Cardinal Slipyj, a living symbol of the suffering Church under Communist rule, received Dr. Marquez in an audience. He hopes that the tragic fate of Cardinal Slipyj will contribute to enlighten the Argentine people as to the real face of Communism.

Dr. Marquez also has been in Berlin where he has seen the Berlin Wall, the red

police, their hounds and the barbed wire. He remarked: "If anybody tried to convince me, as recently a representative of Uruguay did, that the Germans in the So-

viet Zone are quite content and that even the young people are enthusiastic about Communism, I only can reply — why then this wall?



From l. to r.: Minister Lombardo (Italy), M. de Alshibaja (Georgia), J. Stetsko, Mrs. S. Stetsko, Prof. Row (USA), Congressman Judd, during the opening ceremony of the APACL Conference.

American Veterans Against Communism *Principles*

1. *To maintain allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands.*
2. *To maintain the sovereignty of the United States of America and to uphold the traditional American way of life.*
3. *To defend the constitution of the United States of America against enemies, foreign and domestic.*
4. *To know our Marxist enemy — who he is, how he operates, and the extent of his activities.*
5. *To enforce and strengthen the internal security program of the United States and to eliminate internal Communism and its allies.*
6. *To mobilize America, spiritually and materially, for victory over international Marxism.*
7. *To enforce the Monroe Doctrine and eradicate Communism in Cuba.*
8. *To halt further piecemeal surrender to marxism and to launch a political, economic, and psychological offensive against the Sino-Soviet bloc of nations.*
9. *To encourage and assist by all means short of overt war the liberation of captive peoples and captive nations.*
10. *To attain total victory over Marxism and to bring to public trial the leaders of the international Communist conspiracy.*

"American Veterans Against Communism" is politically non-partisan. Membership is open to any honorably discharged or separated veteran of the United States armed forces, regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

Memorandum to US Delegation in UN

The creation of UN was hailed, especially by the small nations unable to defend themselves against international Big Powers, as a new hope for mankind. Despite misgivings about the intentions of some of the founding members, UN appeared to the vanquished nations as the first golden rays of a new Sun which would melt their shackles, bring them liberty and justice, and save them from possible extinction. Now, 20 years later, a few nations have been completely exterminated, millions who nursed their hopes have perished in slave and extermination camps, and other millions see their chains growing stronger instead of weakening.

At the present, one imperial member who commands 8—10 puppet votes in the UN is planning and conducting ethnic genocide in her colonies. This atrocious program is not allowed on the UN agenda, and instead the member is presented as a peace-loving nation. For quite some time there has been evident an undercurrent in the dominating UN and Western press which condemns small independent national states as the evil of all World troubles, and propagates welfare and petty empires ruled by ruthless cliques. Even worse, instead of equality of nations as proclaimed in the UN charter, discrimination among the member nations and even more against the non-member nations is too evident. It is quite obvious, that the UN Genocide Convention does not cover some member nations represented by respective Quislings and colonies.

The russification of colonies in the Russian Empire has been and is conspicuously absent from UN and from the Western press. Instead of condemnation, the "liberal" press glorifies Russian "achievements" and rather often exposes the vanquished natives as inferior beings, who should really be thankful for the "benevolent" guidance provided by the Russian rulers.

Based on the data from the 1960 census, the extent of russification (Karelia 100%, Estonia 32%, Latvia 38%, East Prussia 100%, Georgia 41%, etc.) indicates ex-

plicitly World and UN abidance by the UN Genocide Convention and by other eloquent proclamations. The touching care extended to the Russian *Herrenvolk* and their Quisling puppets, and the silent approval of the atrocities and genocide reflects Western acceptance of sub- and superhuman concepts, i. e. selective Nazism?

Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi!

Now if many among the rulers do wonder why there is a growing resentment against UN as an imperial club, they should open their eyes and ears to the agony of the oppressed before it is too late. Calling those who demand human rights for all nations Nazis or Commies will only increase resentment, and will not avert possible explosions wherever they may occur.

The ideal UN should consist only of truly independent states, governed and represented by elected representative governments. An impossibility in the present UN, but not an impossible ultimate goal instead of the current promotion of oppressive imperial governments, their puppets, and other ruling cliques sufficiently supported by some Big Powers.

The aforetold may sound rather too harsh, but the reality and the fate of Estonia and other ethnic entities under Russia's colonial yoke leaves little to hope for; and history is full of examples where nations have perished under various colonial yokes. Though the methods vary from case to case, the general pattern always remains the same: reduction of the native population within its ethnic borders to a minority and saturation of the land with colonizers.

Once a nation's population has been reduced to less than 50% within her ethnic boundaries, that nation is doomed to extinction and no free election regardless of the ruling regime would restore her independence. Hence we do beg you to hasten in bringing the fate of Russian colonies to UN and World attention before it is too late for many.

Respectfully
Victor V. Vinkman President 1964/65
Baltic Committee

Guerilla Training In The Communist States

Recently African politicians have been complaining more and more about the subversive activities of the Communists, who are mostly controlled from abroad. It is mainly a question of supplying weapons to extreme leftist organisations, and the training of guerillas and Communist guidance cadres. The main centres for this activity are in China, Bulgaria, and Cuba, but possibly also in Czecho-Slovakia and occupied parts of Germany. Training camps for guerillas exist also in the African states which maintain close contact with the main Communist powers, such as the United Arab Republic, Algeria, the Congo, (Brazzaville), Guinea, Ghana, and Tanzania.

Chinese Indoctrination.

According to a report published in the Leopoldville newspaper, "Etoile du Congo", on 18th September 1964, the head of the "Cultural Commission for External Affairs", Tchang Tchi-yu, and the general secretary of the "Chinese African Friendship Society", Liu Tchang-tcheng, are responsible for the training of African guerillas in China. The ideological instruction of the African Guidance cadres is undertaken in Department 1 of the Marxist-Leninist Institute in Peking, under the direction of Teng Hsiao-ping and Tchen Po-ta.

It first became public in 1960 that African guerillas were being trained in China, when six men were arrested, after they had returned home, equipped with material for sabotage, from a military course in Peking. In August 1963 similar evidence fell into the hands of the Portuguese authorities, bringing to light the fact that at least 50 members of the Communist-led MPLA in Angola, and several from Guinea, had taken part in a six-months guerilla training course in Peking. The Congolese rebel leader Pierre Mulele is, among others, one of the most prominent of the African Communists trained in China.

The first of the China-trained agitators arrived in Ruanda in October 1964. "General" Luca Fernandez, who was arrested in Mozambique, also received his training in

China; and 18 rebels from Kenya were trained in the Military Academy at Wuhan.

Red Bulgaria as a Training Centre.

First mention of a training camp for Africans near Sofia was heard in February 1963, when about a hundred African students left Bulgaria in protest against the indoctrination to which they had been subjected. It was then stated that about two hundred Africans, among them 76 from Kenya and 15 from the Cameroons, had received partisan training in a Bulgarian military camp.

One of the most prominent of the African Communists trained in Bulgaria was John Chando, who was arrested in December 1964 in Gambia, armed and with the title of "General", after his return to his native country. The first guerillas trained in Bulgaria appeared in Kenya in 1963 under the leadership of one Hiram Mwangi. Although the Kenya government protested in Sofia against this hostile activity, in 1964 there were still more, over a hundred Kenyans, among them 79 Kikuyus, in the Bulgarian guerilla training centres. They were secretly recruited in Kenya and then flown illegally to Bulgaria. Several young people were attracted to Sofia by scholarships and there recruited for guerilla training.

In Cuba about 100 to 200 Africans were trained annually at Mina del Frio, at the foot of the Sierra Maestra, in a "guerilla academy". The political and theoretical instruction of the Africans trained there was continued in a special school in Havana. Abdul Rahman Babu, who played a leading part in the upheaval in Zanzibar, was also trained in Cuba.

African Training Camps.

Even in African countries guerillas were trained to act against their governments. The most notorious training camp is at Klemcen (Algeria). The courses were partly under the direction of Red Chinese instructors. Rebels, especially in the Congo and in Portuguese West Africa, were also partly supplied with arms from this camp. Egypt plays a similar role in the training and

arming of Communist elements from various black African states, thus causing some unhappy experiences to the Leopoldville government.

In Tansania on the island of Zanzibar at the moment an African "liberation army" is being organized, trained by Red Chinese and Russian instructors. There are various reports on the strength of this guerilla force. The figures 8,000 to 10,000 men are mentioned; this force, equipped with Red Chinese and Russian weapons, will probably go into action against Mozambique and South Africa, when the time comes. In November 1964 the Tansania government was forced to transfer a camp used for the training of refugees from Mozambique, from Dar-es-Salaam, to Mbeya, 360 kms. from the capital, because various complaints had been made against these refugees.

M. Kulchytsky:

Religious Persecution and US-Supreme Court

For some time now the Russian Bolshevik government has been employing some particularly insidious methods in its fight against religion. One practice which has been carried out with particular intensity is the elimination of traditions, customs, and habits which are connected with the Christian faith from the minds of oppressed human beings. Writers, poets and artists must now work, on Moscow's orders, to create new customs in accordance with atheist ritual. In Leningrad, for example, where there is a Palace of Marriages, over 60,000 of these atheistic marriages have been registered. Now a so-called "Palace of Baptism" is to be erected, where not only birth certificates will be issued, but also specially struck medallions, which will be presented instead of the traditional crucifix.

In Bulgaria there was a scuffle between the believers (Orthodox Christians) and the members of Komsomol, who had tried to disturb a service in Sofia Cathedral. As usual, the police took the side of the atheist intruders.

The Moscow paper "Pravda" complained

In Ghana the training of African guerillas is run by the "Office for African Affairs". Here rebels especially against Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Togo, The Ivory Coast and other West African states are assembled and introduced to this training. There are at least three guerilla training camps in Congo-Brazzaville, in Bouanga, Dambona, and Impfonda. Here in the main Congolese and Angolese rebels are trained. The Chinese guerilla specialist Colonel Kam-mai is in charge of their training, and is assigned to the Chinese embassy in Brazzaville.

Since the majority of African states are today free states, it is clear that the training of Communist guerillas and "liberation armies" is directed principally against the freedom and consolidation of economic and political conditions of these states.

recently about the fact that in Tadzhikistan (Turkestan) during the last two years more than a hundred mosques have been built. Money was forthcoming for these, but not for repair work to schools. The paper called for an intensification of the struggle against Islam.

In Poland members of the Communist Party who go to church are punished. But the wave of persecution of Christian belief reaches its height in Ukraine.

Unfortunately this persecution of the Church and of religious faith is virtually ignored in the Free World. In fact it has recently even been possible to detect actions directed against the Church and faith in the Free World, too. The removal of the Lord's Prayer from the schools of the USA in accordance with a judgement of the Supreme Court led by Earl Warren, which came into force in the year 1962-3, immediately met with world-wide indignation. But this indignation later weakened under the influence of the atheistic propaganda of the enemies of religion, and finally satisfied itself with a Bill of Amendment which was brought before Congress with

the object of nullifying this godless judgement. However the chances of the law being altered are slight, as the Republican Party lost the last election, and the Democratic Party programme did not take this point into account. The strongest organization in the USA to seek the repeal of this law is the American Legion, led by Daniel O'Connor. The Republican Party also favours the reintroduction of the Lord's Prayer in schools. The Catholic Bishop Fulton Sheen especially underlined in his criticism of the judgement the fact that the USA now has in its constitution just such an article as the Soviet constitution has, according to which the state has the right to use anti-religious propaganda, whereas the citizens of the country are denied the right to religious propaganda.

Cardinal McIntire also condemned this judgement. Unlike the Catholic clergy, however, the Protestant Church supported the Supreme Court. The National Council of Churches, which follows the persecution of religion behind the Iron Curtain, has spoken out through its chairman Mr. Edwin A. Tooler against the amendment concerning the reintroduction of school prayers. The American Jewish Congress under Rabbi Joachim Prinz took just as negative an attitude. The Chairman of the Citizens' Congress Committee, Gerald L. K. Smith, has been branded as an extremist for supporting the amendment. It should also be noticed that the most active defender of the Lord's Prayer in the school is Congressman Frank Baker, while its most active opponent is

Congressman E. Seller. And so the discussions continue, there are no prayers in schools, and juvenile crime is spreading. For every dollar given to the Church, nine are spent fighting this crime. Intellectual culture in the USA marches irresistibly onwards towards its ruin.

This ignorance about church persecution behind the Iron Curtain and the hidden struggle between atheistic forces and religion in the Free World is indirectly favoured by the policy of co-existence. This co-existence, in Moscow's eyes, is to lead to the victory of Bolshevism over the decadent West. In order that this so-called peaceful co-existence shall make a good impression, pressure on the Church has been slackened in various Communist countries. The most blatant examples of this are the governments of Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary. There have been official agreements between these governments and the Vatican. Without any doubt the stock of the Communists is receiving a boost in the Free World through this "thaw". The Communist governments demand loyalty from the priesthood, a condition of the Church's further existence, which is exactly the same as gagging the priests, so that they retreat from the struggle for the souls of believers against insidious atheism and its propaganda. Even the Vatican is inhibited in its anti-Communist declarations. But the most blatant example is Italy, whose intellectual centre is the Vatican. The Italian Communists are taking advantage of the West's policy of co-existence as a means of increasing their membership.

From Behind the Iron Curtain

Religious Problems in the Soviet Union

A letter over half a page long was published in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" from a lady reader, expressing her opinion that the methods used by the authorities to suppress religion would not succeed.

"In certain areas a considerable number of believers have remained true to their

religious beliefs. . . It is necessary to educate them with patience. But this is not done" declared the correspondent, who accused the members of the "Union of Militant Atheists" of being "Atheist fanatics".

It is useless, so states the letter, to close the churches, since the true triumph of atheism would be when the priests remained in their churches, but without any believers.

Priest seminaries are closed

The Orthodox seminary at Lutsk, in Ukraine, has been closed. No reason for the closing was given. Soviet newspapers had however several months before reported that the seminary in Lutsk was suffering from a "lack of students"; other uses for the rooms were being considered.

The "lack of students" has several reasons. For years the number of students admitted to the Seminary and Academy has been limited in each case from 30 to 40. The students, once enrolled, have been for a long time subjected to pressure from the state and from propaganda by the Communist party, in an effort to move them to

withdraw their enrollment and renounce their studies.

Furthermore new enrollments in the Seminary, whose closure had been decided, were made impossible through administrative action. Enrolled students were given no residence permit or housing permission, if they went to the place of study.

By these methods, the seminaries at Kyiv, Stavropil, Saratov and Minsk were made ready for closing during the last two years, "through lack of students", and then closed. The seminaries were first authorized shortly after the war, when consideration had to be given to the "religious feelings" of the orthodox believers, to which appeal had been made during the second World war.

Secret Production of Prayer Books for Ukraine

"Moskowskaja Prawda" (Pravda) announces that several persons have been arrested, charged with having printed over two hundred kilograms of prayer books and religious literature in the presses of an incandescent lamp factory and of the Moscow Institute for Economic Research.

The clandestine printing of religious literature began in February in the incandescent lamp factory, which possesses a small press. Here pictures of the Virgin Mary were printed for Catholics.

The police had to arrest a man named Sarykiw at the Wnukowo airport, for having no fixed address, and found these pictures in his case and in a bag. He was taking them to Kyiv.

The cards were printed for Sarykiw by one of his friends, Krasnostein, who had already been sentenced for "production and distribution of illegal religious literature". Sarykiw next asked the technical director of printing at the Institute for Economic Research to print the Orthodox prayer books, church calenders and texts on the appearance of the Virgin Mary in Potchajiw (Ukraine).

The work was carried out in the evenings. The newspaper writes that the Director and the Party Secretary of the Institute got to know about it when they

saw a light burning in the printing press and thus discovered a pile of prayer books. The sole reaction of the Director is said to have been "Don't let me see this rubbish again!"

The well-meaning printer, Roman Martyniw, then took the literature to a printer, Juriy Jakuninsky. There it was found again by the police, hidden in a cellar. Since in Ukraine much worse persecution and police terror is in force, the Ukrainians print their prayer books illegally in Moscow.

The "Komsomolskaja Prawda" announces that alone in the province of Lviv, Ukraine, some 4000 weddings in church took place in 1960. This figure contrasts with the figure of about 540 "Komsomol" weddings — the substitute for the young Communists, for a religious wedding, which, by its solemn, impressive form still has a strong attraction for many young couples wanting to get married.

Some newspapers also complain that especially the Orthodox Church, with its beautiful services and melodious choirs, attracts young people and makes an indelible impression on them. "It is often the case", writes one newspaper, "that the nicest house in the area even in the city is not the club, but the church. The best choir, often even the only one, is to be found in the Church."

The apostolic Exarch for the Catholic Ukrainians of the Byzantine Ukrainian rite in Germany, Bishop Dr. Kornyljak, declared at the federal meeting of the Ukrainians in Munich, that the Ukrainian nation, with its millions of martyrs, has become the martyr church of the present day. The Ukrainian Catholic Church was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church at the end of the war.

In May of this year the Communists made a surprise attack on the Catholic priest Anton Eiduk, in the Latvian village of Rusoni, in the district of Duenaburg, beating him on the head with an iron bar. The priest lay unconscious on the ground for a long time, until he was found. He received in the attack very serious wounds.

Measures in Poland against the Church in Poland

The struggle by the Communist Party in Poland against the Catholic Church is being pushed to new heights. As is now known for the first time Cardinal Wyszynski recently declared in a sermon: "There are people who in their own view are bringing freedom to others, but who in reality are bringing slavery. Poland is disregarding not only the rights of the Church; it is not far removed from disregarding human rights. How often must one struggle for the right of the citizen not to be constantly observed, and to be treated in accordance with the provisions of international agreements?"

Background: Wyszynski can support his complaints with a secret document of the U.B. (Polish National Security Service). It was found by a priest on the steps of the altar of a Warsaw church and had obviously been left there to warn the Church. It was a record of a meeting of Department IV of the U.B., at which decisions about the fight against the church were taken. These were: a) every priest was to be surrounded by a network of spies. They were to keep a watch on the personal habits, private behaviour and interests of the clergy and of laymen who take an active part in the life of the church; b) any material found, suitable for bringing legal action would not be used at once but stored up for a

time suitable for propaganda; c) the struggle against the church is not to be carried out by large quantities of propaganda, but by small campaigns. To quote: "We recommend as useful methods of increasing the conflict the clever fabrication and circulation of forged information. If these are skilfully sent to people with talent for gossiping, with suitable mimicry, at the right moment and in favourable circumstances, then they will be with greater probability an element in discouragement and accusation."

Proof: U. B. Colonel Murawski was entrusted with the operation against the church. A "hidden" form of struggle was chosen, so that it would have no bad effects on "The People's Republic of Poland's" foreign policy. Warsaw's prestige in the West is based quite considerably on its ostensible "tolerance to the church".

In Hungary and Czechoslovakia

Even here there is a hidden fight against the Church. Despite the concordat between the Vatican and the Hungarian government, and despite the agreement of the Vatican with the Prague government over the fate of 15 year imprisoned Prague Archbishop Beran. Nothing in substance in the struggle against the church has changed in these two countries, merely its tactical form.

Proof: a) The Minister for Health in Prague, Plojar, has proved more and more to be a real obstacle to the improvement of relations between the Vatican and Prague, amongst other things by his tirade against Cardinal Beran, who confines his activities to church functions; b) Seven Catholic priests were condemned in Budapest at a secret trial for carrying out their spiritual charges, which is forbidden.

In Hungary the fourth Catholic priest within a few weeks has been arrested for alleged agitation against the state, priest Sandor Puza, from the small parish of Vecses, near Budapest. Complete uncertainty reigns over the fate of the professor for Religious Customs, Sandor Balint, also arrested in July. Radio Budapest had announced that an investigation was in progress into Balint's case, but that he was

still at liberty. The state church office should have announced to all the bishops further arrests of priests and in the event of their permission being refused, they are carried out by measures available to this authority. This hardening trend may be a result of the refusal of the Vatican to proceed with the talks on unification, which have been planned for months. After the conclusion of a partition treaty between the Vatican and Hungary in September 1964, relations between the Catholic Church and the government have, after initial improvements, deteriorated noticeably.

Bishop Tomasek, who was recently appointed as the apostolic administrator of the archbishopric of Prague, has in the last few months been making efforts to persuade the authorities to grant once more the care of souls to priests who for some years have been earning their living as workers and clerks. It is estimated that 1000 priests in Czecho-Slovakia have been forbidden to carry on their work as priests. Most concerned belong to the religious orders, which were dissolved when the Communists took over power in Czecho-Slovakia. According to present reports only 10 of these priests up to now have been readmitted to the care of souls.

Verbal assurances made by Budapest concerning a certain increase in religious instruction, in connection with the signing of the Hungarian-Vatican partial agreement made in the September of the past year, caused hopes in Catholic circles that this would lead to an improvement in the situation, but these hopes have not been fulfilled. Present reports indicate the situation since the signing of the agreement has considerably deteriorated.

Slovakia used to have seven dioceses, of which six were Roman Catholic and one Greek Catholic. In 1950 the Communist Government in Prague dissolved the Greek Catholic (Uniate) diocese of Prešov and officially declared its church-members "Orthodox". The bishops were sentenced to live imprisonment.

Of the six Roman Catholic dioceses in Slovakia, four are still occupied. The diocesan bishop of Spiš, J. Voitašsak, was sentenced to 24 years imprisonment. Bishop Voitašsak, now 88 years of age, also lives today in an "old people's home" in Bohemia. His suffragan, Dr S. Barnás (b. 1900) died as a consequence of his imprisonment.

The Slovakian dioceses of Nitra, Trnava, and Rožnava are governed by apostolic administrators. It does not need to be especially emphasized that these three bishops cannot act freely either. They can only do what the Communist regime allows. In each diocesan office there sits a Communist functionary, who practically speaking administers the diocese.

The two Slovakian dioceses of Banská Bystrica and Košice, as well as the diocese of Spiš (from which the Communist regime has removed Bishop Voitašsak), are "governed" by "priests of peace" who are faithful to the regime. The three Slovakian bishops are (not suffragan bishops, but bishops) acting as apostolic administrators with the authority of a diocesan bishop.

The Communist regime in Prague is carrying out acts of oppression and persecution against bishops, priests, and church-members in Slovakia with far more severity than in Bohemia or Moravia. In Bohemia and Moravia only one bishop has been sentenced, while the others have simply been removed from their dioceses or confined. On the other hand five bishops have been sentenced to imprisonment in Slovakia since 1945, two of them to life imprisonment. Two died in prison, a third as a consequence of his imprisonment. The other two live in confinement in Bohemia.

All religious orders in Slovakia were dissolved by the Communist regime in 1950. Hundreds of priests were already in prisons or labour camps. Even today many of them are still there, or are simply not allowed to continue as priests.

The reason why the churches are better attended in Slovakia than in Bohemia stems from the fact that the courage of the Slo-

vak's convictions is stronger and he is ready to suffer for his faith.

Last of all one should draw attention to the fact that of 4 million Slovaks up to now more than 600,000 have been "voluntarily" resettled in Bohemia and Moravia, especially in the Sudetenland. This is practically equivalent to genocide, for these Slovaks have no Slovakian schools and no Slovakian priests there. It is intended that within a short time these Slovaks will turn into Czechs. In this way the Communist regime in Prague is decimating the Slovak population, but unfortunately this fact is ignored in the West.

The people of Turkestan Struggle

In "Pravda Vostoka", the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, of the Supreme Soviet and of the Council of the Ministers of the Uzbek SSR there appeared on the 25th March 1965 the following obituary notice:

"The leadership and the public institutions of the Ministry for the Preservation of Public Order of the Uzbek SSR regret to announce the tragic death 'on the field of battle' of their co-worker Batyr Rashytov and wish to express to the family of the deceased their deepest sympathy."

Beneath this notice there is to be found no explanation at all of how it was that Batyr Rashytov died "on the field of battle".

It happened a year ago in the city of Tashkent, in fact on the eve of the 1st May, that there were a series of explosions in the State Theatre, where the usual ceremonial session of the highest Party leaders of the Republic and the associates of the Party was taking place.

It is clear that Turkestanian national liberation organizations are intensifying their fight against the alien domination of the Russians.

WHICH WAY BYELORUSSAIN OIL?

According to *Sovyeteskaya Byelorussiya* (Soviet Byelorussia) of 16th April, 1965, a meeting was held in Minsk of Party economic workers of the production section

of the state geological committee of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. At this meeting were discussed questions concerning the future extension and improvement of the exploitation of mineral resources in Byelorussia. The speaker was the chairman of the committee P. Leontovich; he underlined the fact that "using new techniques and the present perfected methods of geological research, Byelorussian geologists have detected the occurrence on the territory of the Byelorussian SSR of various useful resources, including oil, stone-salts, nitrates, phosphorus, fire-proof clay, cement, etc. As a result of the careful examination of deeper strata great possibilities for the exploitation of further mineral resources have been discovered, including, for example, iron ore, slate, coal, and mineral and thermal springs. In the neighbourhood of the town of Rechytsa fine oil has been discovered which is very important in light industry. Digging areas for the exploitation of potash have already been worked out in considerable detail."

It is no wonder that more and more enthusiastic, jubilant headlines have recently been appearing in the columns of the Byelorussian press: "First big Oil Resources on Byelorussian territory!"; "Years of searching for Byelorussian Oil meet with great Success!"; "Byelorussian Oil to be used in Service of State Economy!" Written in a similar tone is an article by correspondent E. Zhukovsky under the heading, "Roses and Thorns" in *Sovyeteskaya Byelorussiya* of 14th April 1965. This carousal is undoubtedly justified, for according to Zhukovsky there are two reservoirs of oil near Rechytsa, which it has been calculated will supply many millions of tons of oil.

But what are the real prospects for oil production? They are certainly optimistic and promise a rosy future for the development of Byelorussia's productive forces. What Zhukovsky refers to as "thorns" is the wearisome process connected with the industrial exploitation of this oil and the search for new reservoirs. The problem is that there is at present no adequate equipment for these operations in the form of

pumps, etc. In this connection it must be mentioned that all the building work involved in the exploitation of the Rechytsa oil is to be carried out by Building Management No. 5 of the Works Committee of the Gas Industry of the USSR. The exploitation of the Rechytsa oil will be entrusted to the umbrella system of the *Druzhba* (Friendship), and in this way the first oil resources of Russian-ruled Byelorussia will become "all-Soviet" and flow into the so-called "lands of the people's democracy". This first great discovery of oil in Byelorussia will thus in fact bring no economic advantage worthy of mention to Byelorussia's hard-pressed population, except that Byelorussian workers will now have the opportunity of obtaining work and earnings in the oil industry.

Tourists Surveyed by Secret Police

An alteration to the Czecho-Slovakian criminal law now makes it possible to prosecute tourists who — in its own words — "use their stay in Czecho-Slovakia to abuse in conversation the good faith and open-heartedness of the population." Presumably these measures have been published to restrain the willingness to impart information of the Czech and Slovak population to the visitors from the West, and to make the tourists from the "capitalist foreign countries" more cautious in their conversations with the population. Obviously the Prague government fears the spreading of knowledge of living conditions in the Western countries, and, on the other hand, of the political and economic situation in Czecho-Slovakia.

As the Moscow correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph" reports, there are about 1000 agents of the Soviet Security Service (KGB) exclusively concerned with watching the activities of Western visitors to the Soviet Union. In addition about 600 "confidential agents", including Soviet artists, scientists, and other intellectuals with Western contacts, are available to the Secret Service as "tourist surveyors". The special department of the Security Service which devotes itself exclusively to the control of Western tourists has three main aims:

recruiting of possible agents, isolation of Soviet citizens from possible "infection", and finally to make sure that the tourists from the West receive a "positive" picture of the Soviet Union.

Mine Workers in Ukraine protest

The mine-workers of the Donets Basin coalfields have protested in the columns of the periodical *Trud* against the high-handed behaviour of the managers of the mines. In order to catch up on the mining plan, which had been neglected for a week, the Russian Bolshevik rulers forced the mine-workers to work on Sundays as well and to fulfil extra norms in addition. The Bolshevik mine management thus broke the labour law.

Slovakian Youth takes an Interest in the Past

It is interesting that young Slovaks are requesting local journals more and more often to write about the Slovakian Republic. On account of this several magazines — above all the Slovakian youth organ *Smena* and the weekly paper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, *Predvoj* (Vanguard) — have been serializing articles on the beginnings of this state and on its history, naturally in a tendentious manner. For example, the Slovakian Republic was designated "the so-called Slovakian State" or at least as "the Slovakian puppet State".

The young people did not leave this long unanswered. With some indignation Ján Mikulka, a student from Bratislava, wrote a letter published in *Smena* of 18th April 1965, asking why the journal always referred to the "so-called Slovakian State". He wrote, "I have heard that in 1939 even the Soviet Union, Switzerland, and Finland, among others, recognized the Slovakian State not only *de facto* but also *de jure*. The Soviet Union was represented in Bratislava by Comrade Pushkin. What is the truth? Why do you write *so-called* Slovakian State, if the latter was recognized even by the Great Powers? It was also recognized *de facto* by Great Britain, the United States, France, etc."

The journal's answer to this letter was very embarrassed, especially as regards the fact that the Slovakian Republic received full diplomatic recognition from the Soviet Union on 16th September 1939 and that the two countries exchanged "envoys and authorized ministers".

On this subject, it wrote that the designation "so-called Slovakian State" was *not depreciatory* (!), but that "only the fact of the conditional existence of this state-form is intended to be expressed" by it.

The paper ended its confused "explanation" with the following interesting words:

"But it is clear that many things in the history of the Slovakian State will look *different* after a space of time, after *sober* evaluation, from the way they looked during the existence or directly after the collapse of this State. In order that our insight into things is as objective as possible, the past must be taken up like a cold corpse and submitted to the strictest dissection. This has *not* been done meticulously enough very recently. For this reason there are very many gaps which should have long since disappeared. In the treatment of the Slovakian (or so-called Slovakian) State as well."

Four weeks later, another student, Ivan *Nojnosik* from Bratislava, asked in the same journal whether it was true "that the President of the Slovakian State, Dr Joseph *Tiso* wanted to flee from prison."

This time the answering of the question was left to the State's prosecutor in the trial of President Msgr. *Tiso* in 1946/7, the Czech Communist Dr *Jirí Sujan*.

Sujan quoted from the diary which he

had kept about the trial. He made several sensational revelations which had not previously been published. Thus he stated, among other things, that the Slovakian Ministry of the Interior, headed by General *Mikulás Ferjencik* (Democratic Party), had at Whitsun, 1946, planned secretly to transfer the President of the Slovakian Republic, Dr *J. Tiso*, imprisoned in Bratislava, to the prison at *Ilava*, which — as was feared by the court's chairman, Dr *Igor Daxner* — was to help Dr *Tiso* to flee abroad. The transfer was camouflaged by the Ministry of the Interior as a "preventive measure to stop any abduction of *Tiso* planned by the Slovakian underground movement." However, the transfer to *Ilava* was frustrated by Dr *Daxner's* intervention. *Sujan* said that he could not give any absolute confirmation of *Daxner's* theory, but thought it very probably correct. But what is certain, stressed *Sujan*, is that a Slovakian underground organization led by *Meltzer*, who was later arrested and executed, "was planning to free *Tiso* and re-establish the Slovakian State in co-operation with *Bandera* units."

The interest of Slovakian young people in this ticklish question shows once again that the Communists have not succeeded, in spite of twenty years' oppression of the Slovaks and in spite of the education of the young "in the spirit of Czechoslovak Socialist patriotism", in eliminating the love of these young people for a state structure which they only know from distorted history books or from stories told by their parents and grandparents. A people with such a younger generation need not fear liquidation, even under Communism.

"I have sworn upon the Altar of God, Eternal Hostility against every form of
tyranny over the mind of man."

Thomas Jefferson

Book Reviews

On Dealing with the Communist World by George F. Kennan. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Row, New York, 1964, 57 pages (The Elihu Root lectures, 1963—64).

The author is known as a career diplomat, writer and professor on international relations. In 1947, he elaborated the malicious containment policy, the consequences of which, the world, and especially the USA, is facing today. This policy enabled the Soviet-Russian aggressive world to advance into the heart of Europe, into Asia, South America (Castro) and Africa. Despite the fact that he praised the containment policy, Mr. Kennan was expelled from the USSR as American ambassador. The Democrat administration, however, reinstated him as ambassador to Tito's Yugoslavia for a brief period, and now he is back in the USA, teaching at Princeton and Harvard Universities and lecturing on foreign affairs. His recent book is the outcome of his lectures on so-called world Communism. Regarding Ukraine (see p. 13) and regarding the whole concept of world Communism, however, this book contains some false information. It is hard to find the real meaning of world Communism, which is to be regarded as a prolongation of the old Muscovite and Tsarist-Muscovite Russian-colonial imperialism, including its present main goal: *World Domination*. The author does not understand it. He proposes to deal with each regime and with each people of the captive nations (term not used by the author) separately. Today, it is no longer possible to speak of world Communism, as he truly says, but only of a world of many Communisms (under Moscow's leadership — our addition). His containment theory of 1947, repeated in 1958, has been little revised. According to him, the problem is not to liberate the captive nations — he does not consider them captive — but to find a way of living and dealing with each individual Communism. For him, the only alternative would be mutual nuclear destruction. One can only wonder that a di-

plomat like Mr. Kennan could not find a better solution as an effective alternative, such as eliminating the danger of world domination and nuclear destruction by advocating the liquidation of the sole remaining colonial empire in the world, the USSR. This could easily be done by creating independent states of all the nations which are now enslaved by Russian imperialism, perhaps with the help of the United Nations and its Security Council. This international body can adopt a resolution demanding freedom and independence for all captive nations, including Cuba, Mainland China, North Korea and North Vietnam. The destruction of Communism is regarded by him as suicide — which is hard to understand — for the entire world. He is opposed to the liberation policy which was formulated by the republican administration and was reaffirmed in the last political platform of the Republican Party in the USA adopted by the Presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater. Mr. Kennan still believes in the possibility of the Westernization of Communist states, believes in its relaxation and would be glad to see some cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw treaty powers. According to him, the struggle between Moscow and Peking can help to bring about a relaxation, and he proposes therefore a strengthening of the forces within the Communist regimes. In other words, we should help the Communist countries. What a shame for the Western world: to help those who would like to see our destruction.

This small book has a foreword and three chapters: The rationale of coexistence; East-West trade; Polycentrism and Western Policy, and an index. It is interesting to note that on page 13, Mr. Kennan cites the Captive Nations' resolution and the nations thirsting for a lost independence, with the remark that the US Congress should not have been led into adopting a policy of liberation for them, for, as he puts it, "we simply do not know the facts." What a poor argument against the liberation of all captive nations for a scholar and a diplo-

mat to use. How little he really knows the history of Eastern Europe and the history of all Captive Nations in the USSR. Regarding Ukraine, he writes: "We are often told, for example, that the *Ukrainians* are all thirsting for complete separation from the traditional (!) Russian state. Perhaps so. But who knows? (What a remark for a diplomat!) There has been, and could have been, no proper formal test of opinion on this point over the past forty-five years. (As a diplomat doesn't he know that Ukraine proclaimed its independence on January 22, 1918 — Brest Litovsk tr. recognized its independence — that Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed its independence in 1938, that on June 30th, in Lviv, the independence of Ukraine was reaffirmed, that a Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was formed and fought for it, etc.). "Ukraine never was really independent. History bears no evidence . . ." What a poor scholar! We can only have pity on him.

Even Moscow knows that much — we find it stated in their writings — but to an American scholar, these facts are unknown. But we should follow his thoughts inspired by the Princeton Muscovite-imperialist Chabotarov and his company, the White Russian imperialist and chauvinist professor, which have spread lies in the USA for half a century.

He writes further: "History bears no evidence that the majority of the people of Ukraine have at any time *desired* a total separation from the main body of the Russian people." This is the theory of "older brother protection", which in actual practice means the most crude colonial enslavement known in history. He goes on to say: "And those who assure us this is the case are for the most part people *who have had no personal contact with the central regions of Ukraine for many years, if ever.*" (my italics). It would be good to ask Mr. Kennan and his adviser Chabotarov and the rest of the Russian professors who profess this preaching if they have ever had contact with Ukraine and the other captive nations? What right does Mr. Kennan have to make such an erroneous statement? Has he ever read *Armstrong's* book or Adam's *Bolshe-*

ism in Ukraine, published by Yale University Press, 1963? He can learn something from them.

In addition we have the annual US government publications recording the remarks our Senators and Congressmen have made regarding the independence of Ukraine. There are also other periodicals and books on this subject written in English which would be useful to Mr. Kennan, if he would but read and study them.

For him, it would be catastrophic to break up the *traditional Russian state*. What a pity! For this is the unique solution for saving the world. The breaking up of the so-called traditional Russian state would be the elimination of the last colonial power in the world, and would bring peace and justice to the entire world.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit

Soviet Russian colonialism and imperialism in Turkestan

Studies and Material from the Institute for Anthropology and Human Studies. Published by Dr. Hans Findeisen. Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout/Netherlands. 1965, 117 pages.

The author of this book is the well-known and competent expert in the field of the problems of the Asian nations and Russian imperialism. He has already won a reputation through his numerous publications. The present book is the German edition of a work, previously published in English. Dr. Hayit knows the Soviet Union from personal experience, since he is a Turkestanian and lived there until 1941.

In earlier published works in English and German, the author described very thoroughly the expansion of the Russian empire and its conquest in Asia, using not only native Turkestan and foreign sources, but principally *Russian* sources. This is responsible for the strength and objectivity of what he lays bare, and caused the Soviet Russian press to attack him violently.

In the present book, after a quite short and vivid preliminary description of the conquest of Turkestan by Tsarist Russia, the author describes the fate of Turkestan after the 1917 Revolution. The old state

of Turkestan came into existence again after the Revolution, but was once more conquered, this time by Lenin's Russia, and since then has been under a brutal Communist regime and the people oppressed. Communist Russia's imperialist and colonialist system of rule is completely identical with the methods used under the Tsars. Everything is directed towards the extermination of the nation, to Russifying the country completely, and to displacing the inhabitants. In this an important role is played not only by state political aims but also the aversion of the Russians to Asians, and their inclination to regard them as inferior, and also, in the case of Mohammedans, Russia's intolerance towards "believers of other faiths" in general.

At the same time the rulers in Moscow are thoroughly aware how deeply stamped is the national consciousness of this old people and how firmly they cling to their traditions and customs; they know that as long as all this remains unbroken, they will never succeed in making the country Russian. In order to dismember it, the country was divided into five republics.

Under various pretexts people were brought here and resettled, once to open up new land, another time to build up industries. Turkestan was also used as a place of exile for people of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, who were forcibly deported here. After the Soviet population census in 1959, in Turkestan there were 6,265,000 Russians, 1,035,000 Ukrainians, 108,000 White Ruthenians and 53,000 Poles.

In Uzbekistan alone the number of Russians had risen by 449%, between 1939 and 1959 and now amounts to almost 1,000,000. In addition there are living there 30,000 Armenians, 9,000 North Caucasians, 2,500 Georgians, 1,500 Moldavians, 7,000 Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and several thousand other nationalities. The same con-

ditions are to be found in the other provinces of Turkestan!

All this is in the course of the proclaimed "merging of the nations in the Communist state". In an official bulletin it is stated: "The growth of the multi-national character of the Republics and the increase in the number of non-native inhabitants are objective and progressive development trends of the multi-national socialist state, which will be increased still more in the period of the further build-up of Communism".

This means that the other nations will be merged with the Russians and be absorbed into Russia. But with the unique shamelessness of the Moscow rulers, they observe that the Soviet Union has been founded on the voluntary friendship of the nations.

In this they admit themselves that "the nations of Central Asia were joined to the Russian empire by the armed conquest carried out by Tsarist troops". ("History of the USSR", under the editorship of Prof. B. D. Dacjuk, Moscow 1963).

Officials have already been replaced by Russians, key positions in the government and in the party are already in the hands of Russians, and Russian is the language used for teaching in schools; the native language is only used as a "language at home".

Yet Moscow presumes to represent itself in the UNO as being against imperialism and colonialism. Such a brutal and cruel oppression of a people and the destroying of their nationality and their annihilation is unknown in the history of mankind since the empire of the Assyrians.

This book relates from authentic sources how in our modern democratic age, many nations under Russian Communist rule will face certain ruin.

Anyone interested in getting to know the Russian colonial empire — the so-called Soviet Union — must read this book, and then he will learn with what danger the world is confronted. *N. Ekbadieli*

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