Message from the Supreme Ataman of the Cossacks in Exile, Ign. Bilyj

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## "BANDOENG"

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Let us have one more "Bandoeng"—a "Bandoeng" representing all the nations of Europe and Asia subjugated by the Russian bolsheviks.

The Geneva Conference of the four Powers ended in a complete failure. Both powerful parties having failed to come to an understanding, will seek their own way of life. Or rather—the group of the Free World States will, as bolshevist-communist Moscow has chosen her way long ago and follows it with determination, to reach its clearly-outlined aims.

The Free World's choice of its aims and of the means to reach them is of the utmost importance—it may lead to an improvement or else to a worsening of the general situation. The nations subjugated by Moscow take a deep interest in this decision of the Free World, and their anxiety is well founded as the Free World has been stumbling from one mistake to another in this very problem, and the bolsheviks owe much of their power to the mistakes committed by the top leaders of the West.

We are deeply concerned with the supposition that they may persist in their mistakes even to the end—i.e., to the moment when they will no more be free to make decisions, when their behaviour will be directed by those who will have made the best use of those mistakes. Still, we do hope they will choose a path favourable for the solution of our problems, as it would also be favourable for the Free World, being against the interests of Soviet Russia.

To make it easier for the Free World to decide on the right policy, the representatives of the peoples subjugated by Moscow—those incorporated in the U.S.S.R. as well as those made satellites—ought to express their view, to prompt the Free World's leaders to make the right choice. They have a better knowledge of the Free World's "partner" who is our master, and in fact—our common enemy.

We ought to speak in time, and loud enough to be heard.

Up to now the Free World made its decisions without taking our problems into account; the consequences were deplorable for the Free World and profitable for Moscow. It is our duty to make it clear to the Free World that its own safety or ruin together with ours depend on the choice it will make now.

We cannot succeed unless we make this appeal unanimously, speaking a common language rather than each of us his own. We Cossacks are well aware that our common understanding is not an easy matter; it is nonetheless indispensable and urgent. To make our understanding easier, each of us should face the eventuality of being left to his own resources (in case of lack of unity), and also contemplate the consequences of a successful understanding (even if made at the cost of some concessions). Each of us should be conscious of the fact that the present international events are on a scale far beyond the problems and decisions of our respective nations, and all the more beyond the petty quarrels and differences of opinion which have up to now hindered our coming together.

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Some representatives of the Free World still think that two hostile and irreconcilable worlds may somehow coexist without coming to a collision. We do not share this belief. A struggle cannot be avoided, and its outcome is a capital problem for the subjugated and the free alike, as in case of the bolsheviks' victory everyone would meet the same end. This is why we consider it our duty to speak clearly, openly and with determination.

We are very much weaker than the nations of the Free World are, but we dispose of a far deeper knowledge and experience of the enemy's character, nature and inner quality. We have twice gone through "great events" and we have seen distinctly the way in which the Free World co-operated in our ruin, and lately created a situation dangerous to itself.

I now address the representatives of all the nations of Europe and Asia, now subjugated by Moscow, repeating with the utmost emphasis: our problem, our fate will not be decided in chanceries. It is time for all of us to step together into the international arena and to address the world at large, if need be, at the top of our voices.

We must tell the World of Free Nations: Since you shrank from taking the initiative and our enemy is the first to shout to the whole world—let us at least counter with like weapons.

I am convinced we shall catch the public ear; and the sooner we do—the better.

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When speaking of "our Bandoeng," I do not mean a repetition of the Indonesian Bandoeng.

That gathering comprised the representatives of 29 coloured nations of Asia and Africa, free and independent, who came together to discuss "racism and colonialism." Most, if not all of them, are members of the United Nations

Organisation, which makes it possible for them to address the whole world from its most elevated platform.

Our "Bandoeng" would be a meeting of the representatives of all the enslaved nations of Europe and Asia now under the rule of the red communism, who fight for their liberation and national independence. They would meet in order to tell the world the truth on their aims and strivings, the truth on their oppressors and on the great danger that threatens the Free World. It looms nearer and nearer while some still do not see it, others pretend not to, and still others make every effort to precipitate and help its coming.

Our Bandoeng would be an assembly of subjugated nations, not represented in the U.N.O. or else falsely represented there by bolshevist-nominated delegates.

There are various types of colonialism.

The colonialism of the European states led most of the coloured peoples who took part in the Bandoeng to national freedom and state independence. It is not my intention to commend this colonialism; I am mentioning it for the sake of comparison with the other colonialism referred to with utmost moderation at the Indonesian Bandoeng.

The colonialism criticised at the Bandoeng may not be praiseworthy, still it has not exterminated any nation nor transferred any from one end of the world to the other with enormous losses in lives, nor else has it created anywhere a totalitarian regime of concentration camps, nor ruled by means of an incessant bloody terror, nor organised with premeditation starvation in provinces which originally abounded in food, nor treated people worse than animals, separating parents from children for ever. . .

The terrible Soviet Russian colonialism extinguishes all hope and closes all ways to freedom and independence for peoples who had the misfortune to fall under its rule or to be simply in the "sphere of its influence." It kills the nation's individual character and makes people into robots capable of nothing but physical work.

The Indonesian Bandoeng had mild expressions for the Soviet colonialism. All the more must we, its victims, speak at the top of our voices the truth about this godless totalitarian colonialism which strives at changing the whole world into a system of concentration camps.

We must shout so as to hinder the bolshevist sirens from lulling to sleep the free nations whom they would then gag and tie more easily.

It is the first duty of our Bandoeng to show and explain to the Free World the meaning, the character and the size of the red Russian colonialism, and also to proclaim the facts concerning our nations and their position under Soviet occupation.

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After 38 years of Soviet rule only a part of the Free Nations have taken in the truth about bolshevism. How long will it take to get the whole Free World to understand this truth, if it proceeds at the same slow pace? Will the understanding not come too late for them and for us?

Evidently some strong means are needed to quicken the process of opening the eyes of the uncomprehending.

The tragic fate of one nation cannot raise the world against the red conquerors from Moscow or elsewhere. We

can hope to achieve this by means of the united choir of the suffering nations. And even that choir will have to speak in strong and loud tones. The strongest word it can use to the greatest effect is in my view the word "all." "Here speak all the peoples of Europe and Asia who have lost their freedom."

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I wish to tackle this great and important problem from one more point of view—turning my attention to the Free World and its shortsighted and generally unsuccessful policy which brought much harm to the Free World, being very propitious to our common enemy.

For 12 years now an open and a secret "cold" war between the two groups of powers has been going on—from time to time flaring up into a "hot" war (some say that practically the third World War has thus begun).

Following the rules of the great military school the bolsheviks lead this war on their opponents' territotry, i.e., in the Free World, through the fifth column which they command in each country.

Up to now they have not opened their part of the world, encircled with a tight Iron Curtain, to free contacts with the Free World's peoples.

This is one of their main assets—being at the same time a drawback for the Free World which has never even attempted to shift the war over to the bolshevik territory, and whose policy frequently helped the bolsheviks to achieve their aims.

In the first years of the Russian revolution the Free World gave no help to the peoples of the former Russian Empire in their struggle for freedom and for bare existence. This was the first great mistake due to the wrong valuation of one's own and the enemy's strength. A prolongated "peaceful coexistence" followed, propitious for the bolsheviks only.

During the Second World War the Free World helped the bolsheviks in every way, much more than was necessary. Owing to that the bolshevist empire was the only country to emerge out of this war enlarged and greatly enriched.

Thus gradually but constantly the bolshevist world grew in power, while the Free World lost on strength.

Even at present the Free World has no firm and coordinated policy in its relations with the bolsheviks.

The policy of "containment" did not stop any of the bolsheviks' activities. The war in Korea ended without keeping the promises proclaimed at its beginning. The new policy of Liberation has been confined to words only...

At present the bolsheviks and their adherents speak of the peaceful coexistence of two fundamentally opposed worlds.

It is perfectly clear to everybody that the bolsheviks are playing a double game, taking advantage of every misunder-standing between the nations of the Free World and misleading their partners as long as possible in order to reach their own aims. Against bolshevist propaganda the Free World has attempted nothing but slight half-measures, as for instance talks on the wireless, which are by the way systematically jammed behind the Iron Curtain.

As I said before, strong, effective measures are needed, a shock that would reach the hearts and minds of the subjugated peoples in spite of the Iron Curtain.

This shock can be caused by our Bandoeng. The fact of its calling together will create a favourable atmosphere among the refugees and also in the respective countries under occupation. Despite all the "curtains" and jamming, the news that we have found a common language would certainly spread there, creating a great hope in all the subjugated nations, telling them we are their representatives. Our solidarity here would cause their common solidarity, a united front against the common tyrant over there.

The news of our Bandoeng, spreading like a bush fire, from man to man, from nation to nation, would carry the war (psychological at first) to the other side of the Iron Curtain. This should be taken under consideration by the representatives in exile of all the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia.

And if it were also seriously considered by the World of Free Nations, that world would make the first step towards the salutary decision which it has been wanting all these years.

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The above appeal to the representatives of all the subjugated nations in exile as well as to the World of Free Nations is a separate concise issue of the author's three articles, published in the monthly magazine, "Kazak" (Nos. 29, 30, 31, of December 1955, February and April 1956), edited in France (209, Bd. Bineau, Neuilly s/S/Seine), France.