

271

SUBJUGATED NATIONS



THE WEST'S STRONGEST ALLY

LONDON 1982

271

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION III

Joint resolution providing for the designation of the week following the Fourth of July as "Captive Nations Week".

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in a large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its peoples, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

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, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, 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; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

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 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 a 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.

DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

The General Assembly of the United Nations, on 14 December 1960, adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes a "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" in which it solemnly proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations".

The Declaration reaffirms major principles in the United Nations Charter concerning fundamental human rights and the self-determination of peoples. It calls for immediate measures to transfer all powers to the peoples of the colonial territories and for an end to all armed action or repressive measures against them.

By recognizing the "passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence" the United Nations gave fresh impetus to the historic development which during the life of the Organization has seen scores of dependent territories gain sovereign independence and many others advance to the threshold of statehood.

The full text of the Declaration follows. The General Assembly,

Mindful of the determination proclaimed by the peoples of the world in the Charter of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Conscious of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence,

Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of such peoples, which constitute a serious threat to world peace,

Considering the important role of the United Nations in assisting the movement for independence in trust and non-self-governing territories,

Recognizing that the peoples of the world ardently desire the end of colonialism in all its manifestations,

Convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic cooperation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against the United Nations ideal of universal peace,

Affirming that peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law,

Believing that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Welcoming the emergence in recent years of a large number of dependent territories into freedom and independence, and recognizing the increasingly powerful trends towards freedom in such territories which have not yet attained independence,

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end
Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.

4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.

5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and

desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purpose and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK 1982

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

During the past year, we have witnessed another tragic demonstration of the failure of tyranny to compete with the principles of freedom. The imposition of martial law in Poland on December 13, 1981, served as a bitter reminder that the quest for freedom and self-determination can only be restrained by force. It clearly demonstrated the moral bankruptcy of a system which has been unable to earn the support of its population after more than 35 years in power.

The same repression imposed on the Polish people is evidenced in various ways in other captive nations dominated by foreign military power and an alien Marxist-Leninist ideology. The brutal suppression of sovereignty in Afghanistan and the bondage of the captive peoples of Eastern Europe continue. Among the oppressed we must also count the peoples of many nationalities within the Soviet Union itself; they are victims of long decades of repression.

Twenty-three years ago, by a joint resolution approved July 17, 1959, (73 Stat. 212), the Congress authorized and requested the President to proclaim the third week in July as Captive Nations Week.

This week offers Americans an opportunity to honor our Nation's founders whose wisdom and commitment to self-determination and liberty have guided this country for more than 200 years. Let us once again reaffirm our faith that the aspiration for freedom will ultimately prevail over the rule of force and coercion which denies human rights to so many other parts of the world today.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning July 18, 1982, as Captive Nations Week.

I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities and to reaffirm their dedication to the ideals which unite us and inspire others.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 19th day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventh.

Ronald Reagan

Remarks of the President at Signing Ceremony for Captive Nations Week Proclamation

The Rose Garden
July 19, 1982

11:45 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you. I heard all that applause that you were getting. I almost didn't come out. (Laughter).

Six weeks ago when I visited our friends and allies in Europe, I found a warm response to this nation's call for a global campaign for freedom. Our straightforward criticism of totalitarian regimes and our willingness to promote the ideals of individual liberty and representative government struck a responsive chord among Europeans and I believe many other millions of people around the globe.

Yet, even as I expressed our confidence that the ideals of freedom and the aspiration of self-government would ultimately triumph over those who wished to subordinate the individual to the state, I was confronted with the hard evidence of just how difficult this struggle will be.

In Berlin, a grey, grim monument of steel and stone stands as a reminder of those whose self-proclaimed goal is the domination of every nation on earth.

The tragedy of our time is that this goal has been widely achieved. Throughout the Baltic States, Eastern Europe and Asia, now in Africa and Latin America, nation after nation has fallen prey to an ideology that seeks to stifle all that's good about the human spirit, even as it attempts to justify communist rule.

This extension of totalitarianism has not come about through popular movement or free elections. It's been accomplished instead by military force or by subversion practiced by a tiny revolutionary cadre whose only real ideal is the will to power.

It hasn't meant, as promised, a new classless society or the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has, instead, meant forced labor and mass imprisonment, famine and massacre, the police state and the knock on the door in the night.

And it's also meant the growth of the largest military empire in the history of the world. An empire whose territorial ambition has sparked

a wasteful arms race and whose ideological obsession remains the single greatest peril to peace among the nations.

The ominous growth of this danger, the human suffering that it's caused, is clearly the most important news event of our generation. And it is, as I've said, the tragedy of our time.

In 1959, the Congress of the United States, spurred on by the ruthless and bloody attack in 1956 on the free Hungarian government first decided to commemorate the heroism and fortitude of those living in nations in which the right of self-determination has been denied.

Today, in this Captive Nations Proclamation, and at this first public signing of this proclamation, we keep faith with this tradition and with those to whom it is intended to give hope and moral substance.

Today, we as a nation, also remind ourselves of the preciousness of our own freedom, renew our sacred resolve that someday all the people of the earth will enjoy the God-given rights of free men and women. (Applause.)

We renew especially our hope that those countries of eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America now under communist domination will someday regain their national sovereignty and, again, enjoy the dignity of their own national traditions. (Applause.)

Since that — since that first Captive Nations Resolution passed by the Congress, we've seen equally distressing examples of the assault on the human spirit. The independent people of Afghanistan are giving their lives resisting aggression of the bloodiest kind. And, again, in Poland, the suppression of the rights of Polish workers, the imprisonment of the leaders of Solidarity. All of this, sustained and directed by Soviet military might, is another tragic chapter in the quest of the Polish people for freedom and national sovereignty.

We in the West must do more than merely decry attacks on human freedom. The nature of this struggle is ultimately one that will be decided, not by military might, but by spiritual resolve and confidence in the future of freedom especially in the face of the decaying and crumbling dreams of Marxism/Leninism. (Applause.)

Lenin advocated resorting to all sorts of stratagems, artifices, maneuvers, illegal methods, evasions and subterfuges. We in the West have at our command weapons far more potent than defeat, deceit and subterfuge. We have the power of truth. Truth that can reach past the stone and steel walls of the police state and create campaigns for freedom and coalitions for peace in communist countries.

How long can one simple fact be ignored or overlooked: that only the totalitarian states mark their borders with walls and barbed wire to keep their people from fleeing the "workers' paradise".

Some months ago I received a letter from Solidarity leaders who were in the free world during the crackdown by the ruling military junta. These leaders pointed out that totalitarian regimes can be "eroded only from within by non-violent, popular pressure. Our Polish experience shows how efficient such a drive for change can be. Our adversary is fully aware that our resistance cannot be sustained without a free flow of information and ideas."

These leaders went on to say, "We appeal to you for the same appreciation of the power of ideas and the effectiveness of broadcasting as their carrier. In the long run it may prove to be the least expensive and most effective option at your disposal."

Today let me make it clear that we intend to move forward consistent with budgetary requirements with a program to modernize our primary means of international communication, our international radio system. (Applause.) In carrying out this vital element in our forward strategy for freedom we will be redeeming the pledge I made to the American people during the campaign, a pledge deeply felt at the time and deeply felt today. This plan of modernization for a relatively modest expenditure over a number of years will make it easier for millions of people living under communist rule to hear the truth about the struggle for the world going on today between the forces of totalitarianism and freedom.

The sad fact is that the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty have been neglected for many years. Their equipment is old and deteriorating, their programming resources strained. Little has been done to counter the jamming that has intensified in recent years.

The Soviets, I think you should know, spend three to four times more to jam foreign broadcasts than we spend to transmit them. And somebody—we can only speculate as to their identity—perpetrated a devastating bombing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty's headquarters last year.

I want to extend my appreciation to the Congress for agreeing recently to reorganize the management of these international broadcasting channels, and I especially want to urge them today to approve the funds so desperately needed to bring to the people of Cuba through Radio Marti the truth about the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism. (Applause.)

We can fully appreciate the fear of those who do not want the truth to reach the people of the communist world, those who are willing to violate flagrantly the Helsinki Agreements or even to engage in terrorist violence to stifle the truth. For the events in Poland during the last two years show that when given air time and a little breathing space the truth becomes a powerful weapon, one which even the most repressive police states must fear.

We are confident that in Poland, Afghanistan, and in all the Captive Nations the forces of totalitarianism have won only a temporary fleeting victory. Against the appeal of democratic ideas, against the hunger and thirst of men and women who would be free, the threat of martial law, imprisonment, or any of the other artful forms of repression can never win lasting triumph.

In an interview that was published here before his imprisonment Lech Walesa spoke of "the wheat that can grow on the stones," of how brutal repression only seems to strengthen the hope and hunger of those who long for freedom. And he said, "Our souls contain exactly the contrary of what they wanted. They want us, the communist rulers, not to believe in God, and our churches are full. They wanted us to be materialistic and incapable of sacrifices. We are anti-materialistic and capable of sacrifice. They wanted us to be afraid of tanks and of the guns. And instead, we do not fear them at all." (Applause.) The love of liberty, the fire of freedom burns on in Poland just as it burns on among all the peoples of the Captive Nations.

To the leaders of Solidarity, to the people of Poland, to all those who are denied freedom, we send a message today. Your cause is not lost. You are not forgotten. Your quest for freedom lives on in your hearts and in our hearts. (Applause.) God willing, we will see a day when we shall speak together of the joys of freedom and of the wheat that grows on stones. (Applause.)

Now, I better —

Q Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q "God Bless America," would you sing it with us?

THE PRESIDENT: You will have to start.

(The President joins the assembled in singing "God Bless America".)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much.

Now, I am going to sign this before you all catch cold. (Laughter.)

(The President signs proclamation. Applause.)

Thank you all. Thank you very much. Now get in the shade.

11:58 A.M. EDT

IGNORED ELEMENT IN THE MILITARY BALANCE

Politics of the countries of the Free World vis-a-vis the liberation struggle under Soviet Russian and communist domination, current trends and future prospects

I think you would expect me as a practising politician to be realistic. I am sure you would also expect me to present my paper from the perspective of the West European allies. I shall do just that and I shall try to be reasonably brief. The countries of the Free World are primarily concerned, as all countries are, with their own economic and security interests. These interests entail encouraging industrial outputs at home and access to markets and war materials overseas, and the stable and favourable international environment for trade with a minimum of tariff barriers and a well-ordered international monetary system. It is well appreciated that adequate security and a strong defence are prerequisites for national prosperity and the preservation of democracy. However, as you need no reminding, there is a great reluctance to make the sacrifices that a strong national defence entails. For example, there is growing concern in Western Europe at what is perceived by public opinion as a dangerous nuclear arms race. And there are reports and demonstrations, protests in the papers or on television, almost every day. You know as I do that this is no accident. But, these are the facts as they exist. No one, however, has the courage to argue that the nuclear threshold should be raised by increasing expenditure on the conventional forces to match the awesome military preponderance of the Warsaw Pact. This failure to collective will on the part of the nations of the Free World is disturbing and unnecessary. It really is absurd that the Atlantic Alliance, which represents nearly 200 million more people than the Warsaw Pact and whose gross national products total 235 percent more than those of the Eastern Bloc, should find itself in an inferior military position. The trouble is that Western leaders imagine that public opinion in the Free World would never tolerate reduced standards necessary to match the military capability of the Soviet bloc. Sadly, this may be true; but I believe that it is not necessarily true. Very little attempt is made consistently to assess the nature of the threat we face. There is no coherent and systematic argument presented to the Western electorates of the need for defence. The USA to its credit, Mr. Reagan and his administration has sent the armed forces on a course of strengthening and modernization, which is wholly admirable. After the evident humiliations and failures of the Carter years, public opinion is at last glad to see the USA military capability

restored to the point where American interests and allies in the world are better protected. In Western Europe the same robust and resolute and wholly commendable attitude to defence does not exist. To their credit, however, the governments of the U.K. and France are somewhat justified in claiming that they too fully meet the target agreed by NATO on the increase of defence expenditure of 3% per annum in real terms. But, I would remind you that the measure of their achievement is only a relatively praiseworthy one. The other NATO nations fall far short of this target as Mr. Michael Wilson, M.P. reminded us last night. Furthermore, the target itself is an arbitrary one. It represents more a minimum estimate of what is politically acceptable for the nations of the alliance than the carefully computed military assessment of what is really needed to match the military capabilities of the Warsaw Pact. Governments of the Western world are spending much more than they receive in revenue allowing budget deficits to grow to the dangerous point where funding the government debt is a prime cause for the high level of interest rates, which in turn produce a state of global better-my-neighbour with, of course, the international monetary system suffering and, of course, the gulf between the rich and the poor nations growing, and the world recession deepening. Consequently, governments see reducing expensive defence equipment a cure, as an easy way of cutting government expenditure as a whole without incurring a political odium which would be entailed from trimming over-ambitious social security spending on other federal government spending programmes. As a result, the CIA estimates that although the Soviet Union has an industrial base far from the size of that of the US, the Soviet Union's defence expenditure exceeds that of the USA by some 25 to 45 percent. Even worse, the portion of the defence budget concerned with research and development and the acquisition of new systems is about 75 percent greater in the case of the Soviet Union, since the Soviets devote a much smaller portion of their defence budget on salaries and pensions for military personnel. This imbalance should theoretically be regressed because America's West European NATO allies spend more on defence for all their failings than the very much poorer Warsaw Pact East European "satellite" nations. However, because the Warsaw Pact is totally standardized on Soviet Russian equipment, supplies, and training, it makes much better use of its resources than does NATO which dissipates its precious funds on unnecessary duplication and overlapping of completely national weapon programmes.

A former chairman of NATO's military committee summed up the situation well when he said that the Warsaw Pact is in effect spending twice as much as NATO on research and development and thus is closing the technological gap on which up to now we have relied to redress our almost inevitable numerical inferiority. In other words, we are facing the prospect that quantity may no longer be offset by Western quality. The failure to evolve a genuinely Atlantic and Alliance approach to our security means that the USA will be spending more and more on trying to develop a full

range of military systems in a vain attempt to match the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Western Europe which together provides 80% of NATO's forces, will lack the resources either to develop a secure economy or to procure from the US the weapons needed for their joint defence. The reason for this is that the Europeans persist in a disorganized and nationalistic approach to weapon procurement. This is the road to what has been called "the structural disarmament of the West". The formula for unilateral disarmament is totally incredible and the West is presented with the impossible alternative of nuclear suicide or surrender. Surely, therefore, the time has come when the governments of the NATO nations undertake a sustained campaign that explains the truth about Soviet capability and Soviet intentions. The most significant part of that truth is, of course, the truth which has not been told about the Captive Nations, both within the Soviet Union itself and within the East European Soviet "satellite" system and, of course, beyond in areas of the world like Afghanistan, like Angola and Ethiopia, Vietnam etc. *The question of the Captive Nations is, of course, the ignored element in the military balance.* There are all sorts of learned tomes produced concerning the military balance and I've got one here. But, this crude simplistic assessment of military balance is quite misleading without taking into account the potential of the Captive Nations within the Soviet satellite system. And I think we are increasingly bemused as Mr. Stetsko has so rightly explained. We are bemused above all by the nuclear balance and the fear that deterrents may no longer work because of the growing preponderance of Soviet nuclear power. Now if people were made to understand what the potential of the Captive Nations within the Soviet bloc was, then I think they would have a very different perception of the problem. Furthermore, I think there's a moral element to this. What is life under the Soviet Union really like? It should be a continuing, sustained, and thorough process of explanation. We fear that if the Western governments and politicians do this, we will be prejudicing liberation of the Soviet Union. But our whole experience in recent years has been that there never has been reciprocation on the part of the Soviet Union. We really have nothing to lose besides our own freedom, and so we have to face the issues fairly and squarely. On the nuclear question itself we must enlighten people that it was the Western European allies who asked for the deployment of modern theatre nuclear forces by NATO.

The Western European allies have been since 1977 facing a situation in which the Soviet Union has been deploying one new SS-20 a week. 250 now are being deployed, 170 of them on the Western front. We have no comparable system in Western Europe. Our bombers are reaching the end of their line. There is no strategic position more imperative, more necessary for the Western European nations than that they should permit the deployment of modernized theatre nuclear forces on their soil. Instead, they are bemused by the second tract of the so-called two-tract NATO decision of December 12, 1979 — the decision to undertake negotiations on limita-

tions with the Soviets. While the US administration has agreed to this, the process is to begin on the 20th of November, but it should not be allowed to become a process whereby the long-term Soviet aim of the nuclear free-zone in central Europe should become allowed. In nuclear terms it really would be fatal because, of course, the SS-20 rockets of the Soviet Union even deployed East of the Ural Mountains could hit targets throughout Western Europe, whereas the cruise missiles and the Pershing II rockets just don't have that range. So as far as I'm concerned, there is nothing really to talk about until the Western nations have acquired equivalence.

Then, there is the whole question of linkage. The new US administration, to its credit, has thrown out the idea that there should be no linkage between the behaviour of the Soviet Union and the West's attitude to arms control. We must be quite firm and adamant in our insistence that we will judge the Soviets by their behaviour. Our response in the arms control field should match their deployment of weapons and should take into consideration their behaviour towards the subjugated peoples within the Soviet Union itself, within the Eastern European satellites, and within the communist countries which they dominate. Once the canopy of Soviet imperialism begins to become broken down and the principle of self-determination is restored and the military threat to neighbouring countries is diminished, then, of course, is the time for the West to undertake a genuine process of disarmament. To conclude, the prospects and trends in the politics of the Free World vis-a-vis the liberation struggle of nations under communist and Soviet domination are not promising ones. Just to go through the list very briefly for West European countries, Belgium has just seen the fall of its 5th government in three years. Holland has just seen the restoration of a coalition — extremely shaky. It's still a wide open question. The Danes have a social-democratic government which is not exactly strong on defence. The Norwegians have a more conservative government and Norwegian statements on defence have been much stronger. Their defence expenditure has grown, but it is a minority conservative government. France, under socialist leader Mitterrand, seems to have a more robust attitude, since the French have a great sense of national pride, they are realists, even if at times their perception of their own national interest is not the same as the Alliance's interest. Nonetheless, France is spending a lot on defence, and even though there are four communist ministers in the government, they do not appear to have much influence on French foreign affairs, and Mitterrand has been quite clear that he wishes to see nuclear deployment by the NATO countries before there is any arms control. West Germany's position is much more problematical and far more serious because the SPD, the senior partner in the ruling coalition, has been more and more infiltrated by the left. Chancellor Schmidt's position is uncertain. He is a rather sick man, it would appear, and the struggle for democracy has taken a toll on him, personally. The position of the SPD is one that should worry the West, because undoubtedly it's becoming more neutralist, more pacifist,

more unilateralist. Italy has its economic problems; governments seem to succeed each other very quickly. There is a terrorist problem there of greater proportions and I wouldn't doubt if attempts are being seriously made by the Soviet bloc to destabilize Italy; and I just commend the fact that the Italians have been firm on the question of nuclear deployment on their soil. Along the Mediterranean, Greece has threatened to withdraw from NATO. Then there is Spain, very politically divided, with a government that is very worrisome about national affairs and defence methods; the country is very fundamentally polarized on the issue of nuclear deployment and it remains to be seen how that process will continue. Portugal shook off the possibility of a communist take-over in that country in the mid-70's with extreme difficulty. It seems to be more stable now, one can never be totally certain. In the United Kingdom, we have for the first time an opposition party in the present Labour Party which has broken the fundamental consensus which has always existed in British foreign and defence policies; their consensus was that the UK would always be a member of the NATO Alliance, that the UK would always permit the stationing of US forces on British soil, the deployment of US nuclear forces on British soil and, of course, the maintenance of the infamous British nuclear intelligence. All those things, apart from the membership in NATO, have been called to question in a new official policy of the increasingly left-dominated Labour Party. As a result, non-Marxists have broken away to form a new Social Democratic party, a centre-left party, and its influence may grow in British politics. Mrs. Thatcher is as robust as ever, but our economic problems have meant that our rhetoric has not been matched by our expenditure on defence.

So, to conclude, at a time when the world faces a global Soviet threat with the Soviet navy transformed from a coastal defence force to an instrument of projecting Soviet communistic power to all corners of the globe, we have an Alliance which is somewhat in disarray. I think those politicians in the West who really know the facts should explain them to their electorates, and no facts I think are more important than those which explain to the peoples of the West what really goes on behind the Soviet Union, how monstrous that tyranny is, how vigorously it must be resisted and *how great a potential exists as yet untapped for liberation on the part of the peoples of the Captive Nations themselves.*

CAPTIVE NATIONS—THE WEST'S STRONGEST ALLY

**An address by Major General John K. Singlaub, USA (Ret.)
Presented to A Luncheon Commemorating Captive Nations Week
Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 21 July 1982**

Two days ago President Reagan, in an impressive ceremony in the White House Rose Garden, signed a proclamation designating the third week in July as Captive Nations Week. This designation of a special week in honor of those nations which have been subjugated by the Russian and Chinese Communists draws particular attention to the fact that the Communists are the sole imperialists and colonial powers operating during the latter end of the 20th century.

Today, in addition to giving recognition to the hundreds of millions of enslaved peoples of the Captive Nations, we are commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In 1941, shortly after Adolph Hitler betrayed his ally Joseph Stalin and sent his victorious panzer divisions racing across the plains of Russia toward Moscow, the Ukrainian people, feeling they were about to be liberated from years of Russian oppression, declared themselves free and independent. The following year, forty years ago this October the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created to defend Ukrainian national independence and statehood.

Had the Germans but realized it when they launched "Operation Barbarosa" into the USSR, they had effectively won the war from the moment they entered Soviet territory. The inmates of this giant concentration camp welcomed them as liberators from unbearable oppression. Moscow's slaves, thirsty for freedom, could not believe that the Berlin rulers would be so stupid as not to secure the assistance of natural allies.

The Ukrainians rejected Hitler's demands that the proclamation of independence be revoked and that the Government be dissolved. As a consequence the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was forced to fight a two front war against the two most powerful armies on the continent at the time. Both the Nazi Wehrmacht and Stalin's Red Army had an earned reputation for brutality. Despite these incredible odds the Ukrainian Insurgent Army inflicted heavy casualties on the Nazi armed forces including several senior general officers. After the collapse of Germany the Insurgent Army continued its resistance against the Soviet military and security forces, again, inflicting devastating losses including the death of Marshal of the Soviet Army, Vatutin.

In 1947, two years after the end of World War II, the Soviet Union brought in the armed forces of two of its new satellites, Poland and

Czechoslovakia and the three armies launched a major effort to destroy the tenacious Ukrainian insurgents. By the mid 1950s, one decade after the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed, the combined might of the Red Army and its satellites reduced the effectiveness of the insurgent divisions to such an extent that the valiant freedom fighters were forced to go underground.

Today the guns have been silenced in Ukraina. To some this means that peace has come to that valiant nation. But the peace of surrender has not brought freedom, individual liberty, or independence to the re-enslaved citizens of that blood-stained land. And today, as was the case 40 years ago, that spirit of resistance to Russian oppression beats in the hearts of the grandchildren of the men and women whose courage and valour we honor today. The spirit of Ukrainian resistance, which has served as an inspiration to freedom fighters throughout the world, is still being expressed in the form of dissident writings and actions from all parts of the Soviet Empire and by quiet acts of sabotage and passive resistance inside the 1500 slave labor camps which form the Gulag Archipelago.

Today there are no American Servicemen fighting and dying in any part of the world. Because the guns are silent most Americans today believe that the Nation is enjoying a period of peace. But the facts are that today we are not living in a time of peace. We are in the midst of war. Admittedly it is not a hot war in the conventional sense, but it is a revolutionary, total war. It knows no truce and can only end if one of the antagonistic camps is totally defeated.

In the West as soon as the shooting stops or when diplomacy has prevented the outbreak of a shooting war, we operate under peacetime rules of civilized nations. This we believe to be peace. Unfortunately the USSR and Communist China have a completely different set of rules. According to the rules of Marxism-Leninism, the continuing class struggle means that the Socialist camp is at war with the non-communist world on a continuing basis whether at the shooting or the non-shooting part of the conflict spectrum.

The West and especially its leader the United States, looks at war today to be divided into two separate categories or levels of intensity. The highest level of intensity and the greatest threat to national security and survival is Strategic Nuclear War. At a lower level of violence, with a lower threat to our national security is what is referred to as conventional war. This involves battalions and divisions, artillery and tanks, ships and air-planes using conventional weapons.

The military forces of the United States and many of our Free-World allies are organized, equipped, funded and trained to fight either one or both of these two options. The USSR on the other hand recognizes and employs a third option and considers unconventional or non-shooting, covert war an essential part of the total spectrum of conflict. They are

organized and trained to use their total national resources, in combination with the so-called “national liberation movements” in the Third World and the Communist Parties in the capitalist nations, in the total conflict with Western Civilization.

This unconventional warfare part of the conflict includes such low-intensity actions as sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare. It also includes such covert and non-violent activities as subversion, psychological operations, economic warfare, support to dissident groups, disinformation activities, propaganda, and political warfare. The Soviet Union today, acting directly or through their allies, proxies, or surrogates, is heavily engaged in all of these unconventional warfare operations against the Free World. Because they are covert and generally conceal the involvement of the Soviet Union, there is a tendency to pretend that we are not under attack — that we are, in fact, in a period of peace.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the USSR putting on such a major “Peace Offensive” as a part of its unconventional warfare campaign against the West. The thrust of this Soviet effort is to convince the world that the U.S. plan to modernize its own and the military forces of NATO constitutes an unwarranted initiation of an arms race which disrupts the peace of détente. Since an arms race will undoubtedly lead to a shooting war and a shooting war can escalate into a nuclear war in which all civilization will be destroyed, the U.S. people must reject any increase in defense expenditures, accept a freeze at the present level of nuclear weapons, and even initiate unilateral disarmament to show our good faith. If we are forced to accept these ideas as a consequence of the disinformation activities and psychological operations being conducted by well-meaning but naïve Americans, we will remain in this false state of peace while the Soviets extract more and more concessions and compromises. We will be forced to meet coercive threats with increasing appeasement and eventual surrender to avoid a possible thermo-nuclear war. The Soviets will have won the conflict in the manner recommended by the ancient Chinese military scholar Sun Tzu who in 350 B.C. advised that the best general was he who avoided the use of violence and achieved his conquest by the surrender of the enemy.

What can we in the West do to prevent this conquest by surrender? First we must come to terms with the existence of an enduring adversary relationship with the USSR and Communist China. Second, as a matter of urgency, we must develop a Western strategy which recognizes the whole spectrum of conflict. This strategy must not only accept the communist challenge to the point of resisting it forcefully, but it must exploit to the maximum those many weaknesses within the communist empire with a view toward rolling back communist tyranny and domination everywhere.

The basic global strategy for reversing the communist policies

and thereby guarantee the survival of the free world contains two basic elements:

1. The process of self-surrender by the free nations must be stopped, and
2. The process of liberation behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains must be supported and hastened as much as possible.

There will be those who will have some objection to the second element of this strategy. But just as surely as no football game was ever won without crossing the fifty yard line, only by adding an offensive component, the principle of the counterattack, will the U.S. arrive at a global strategy capable of guaranteeing peace and security for the West.

We must recognize that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the communist empire. Perhaps the real Achilles' heel of the whole Soviet power system will turn out to be the restiveness of the people within the Soviet camp. The fact that the Polish Solidarity Movement has grown several fold since the imposition of martial law gives some indication of the magnitude of this restiveness and the potential for resistance.

Since Communist tyrants fear nothing so much as the infiltration of ideas of freedom and justice into their sphere of influence, a non-violent, non-military truth campaign beamed at the enslaved peoples of the world will have a significant deterrent effect against future communist expansionism. In fact, the Free Nations of the world who find themselves confronted by an ever-increasing worldwide communist offensive can defend themselves by turning the tables and hitting Soviet imperialism in its most sensitive spot namely the internal resistance inside the Captive Nations.

For the United States to carry out this strategy, some important changes need to be made. The covert actions and human intelligence collection capabilities of the Central Intelligence Agency must be re-established. The Special Operations forces of the Army, Navy and Air Force must be expanded and restructured. Legislative restraints which protect communist imperialism and prevent or limit assistance to non-communist or anti-communist governments of the Third World must be removed. Perhaps most important, there is a need to expose and counter Soviet disinformation activities in the Free World with an expanded, modernized, and unapologetic series of freedom radio stations, such as Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Marti, and others.

Today in the world-wide political struggle between Communism and the West there are literally hundreds of millions of enslaved peoples who are searching for some form of encouragement which will lead to their eventual liberation. They are one of the potentially most powerful spiritual and political forces in the world. They are, in fact, the West's strongest ally.

(Editor's note: this address by Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. was delivered at the Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, ABN, held in Toronto, Canada on November 6-8, 1982.)

272

Published by the Organizing Committee of the Conference of the
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), 49, Linden Gardens, London W2 4HG.

Printed in Great Britain by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF