

Foreign Affairs Information Series

Nos. 26, 27 and 28

# **THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END TO FEAR**

By JAROSLAV STETZKO

*Former Prime Minister of Ukraine*

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# **FOR WHAT TYPE OF WAR SHOULD THE WEST PREPARE?**

By Major-General J. F. C. FULLER

*C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.*

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# **THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN THE U.S.S.R.**

By PRINCE NIKO NAKASHIDZE

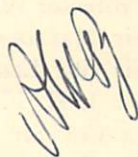
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SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM  
EDINBURGH . . . . . Telephone 87789

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AND THE END OF FEAR

FOR WHAT TYPE OF WAR  
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THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE  
NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS  
IN THE U.S.S.R.

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Foreign Affairs Information Series  
No. 26

# The Road to Freedom And the End of Fear

*Report of the Third Congress of the  
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)  
in Munich in March, 1954*



## FOREWORD

by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller  
*C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.*

## INTRODUCTION

by John F. Stewart

*Hon. Editor, Foreign Affairs Information Series  
Chairman, Scottish League for European Freedom*

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## FOREWORD

by MAJOR-GENERAL J. F. C. FULLER, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

THE ADDRESS OF Mr Yaroslav Stetzko, the redoubtable champion and leader of the A.B.N., and other documents to be found in this booklet are not only timely but of vital importance. They should be carefully read and studied by all adherents of national freedom, without which there can be no peace in the world.

In them is clearly set forth how the underground movements have intensified and are intensifying psychological warfare by substituting ideas for bullets in the mortal conflict against Bolshevik Imperialism. Also that it is faith and not force, heroism and not economic security, which are the mainstays in a struggle in which there can be no compromise.

As Mr Stetzko so emphatically points out, only the unity of the Western nations and their agreement with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain can ensure final victory. Yet, he is under no illusion that this will take time, and that until the West realises that the mightiest of all weapons is the national idea, the flag of liberty must be kept flying by the subjugated nations and peoples.

They are the *Jehanne d'Arc* in the enormous struggle of Freedom against Despotism. Once in the fosse of Orleans, Jehanne cried: "Be ready, when the flag-end of my banner touches the boulevard." And, when it did so, her doubting soldiers shouted: "Jehanne, it touches it!" Thereon she called back: "All is yours — enter!"

So may it be with the doubting West, led by those who, having suffered most, have dedicated their lives to freedom. Therefore I recommend this booklet to all lovers of freedom, for in it they will discover the oriflamme of their liberty.

J. F. C. FULLER.

## INTRODUCTION

by JOHN F. STEWART

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THE FORTHRIGHT, COURAGEOUS AND STATESMANLIKE ADDRESS WHICH FOLLOWS is a refreshing change from the spineless, self-congratulatory and empty ramblings of our own politicians.

Most of the pratings we have to read or listen to urge efforts to relieve world tension, to come to a peaceful arrangement with Russia, and "peaceful co-existence" with that Power. At the same time, these statesmen insist that we must maintain the strongest possible defences in order to repel an attack from Russia, showing that no one believes in peace as far as that Power is concerned. Is the whole thing not a mere sham?

On the one hand is the spending of astronomical sums of money in defence, the disintegration of our economy through taking boys from school to undergo military training at an age when they should be beginning training to earn a living and add to the prosperity of their country, and severely handicapping them in their efforts to that end. All countries are relying on the capacity to make better and bigger, more deadly and more atrocious weapons than anyone else; the atom bomb, the hydrogen bomb, and something worse—to atomise all enemies or be atomised ourselves in the process. The so-called statesmen of Western Europe would appear to have no alternative. In the following pages, Mr Yaroslav Stetzko, the last Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and the leader of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), offers the alternative, and one which it is astounding that the West does not grasp.

At the moment of writing, the West places its faith in the recent London Conference, designed to bring all Western Europe into one great defensive organisation. Praise is being lavished on the British leadership which brought this Conference to a "successful" conclusion. The same praise was showered on British leadership for the success gained at the Berlin and Geneva Conferences, Conferences which were abject failures as far as achieving their purposes was concerned, and which resulted in victories for Moscow. I have no doubt that the result of the London Conference will be similar.

The fact has to be faced that a study of Russian history for the past 800 years shows plainly that Russia has, all that time, been on the march to conquer the world, and has met with almost unbroken success. In a celebrated interview shortly before his death, the Russian former Foreign Minister, Litvinov, said plainly



that the Russians could not be trusted, and that the more concessions were made to them the more additional demands they would make. This and world conquest are not Tsarist, not Bolshevik, not Socialist, not Communist, they are solely and simply Russian, and nothing will change Russian nature. That should just be recognised once for all.

During the inter-war years I was much in the Baltic States, where I had many intimate friends among Ministers and diplomats. From one of the former I obtained an interesting sidelight on the unchanged Russia which I would like to quote.

When the Baltic States regained independence after or during the First World War, the first Russian envoy accredited to Latvia was Jacob Hanetzky. This was after the Peace Treaty concluded in 1920. In the course of an argument about a juridical point with the Latvian Foreign Minister, the Russian envoy said: "The Russian proletariat creates its rights itself, and thence, juridical forms of the "bourgeoisie" countries are not binding for Bolsheviks, while Stalin had declared that what was favourable for Bolsheviks was by itself legal."

I could give many instances which prove that no agreement with any Russian Government is or has ever been binding; it is again merely Russian to make any kind of treaty, pact or agreement which will suit its purpose for the time and break it immediately that purpose is achieved.

In the present and last generations, Moscow has built up its power and occupied many countries far in advance in civilisation and culture than the Russians ever were; it has built up this power with the connivance of the West, and, unless stopped before it is too late, we shall fall victims as so many other countries have.

There we have it — the West's idea of the atomic military age, and the destruction of the world, or the policy stated by Mr Stetzko in his address to the Congress of A.B.N., the disintegration of the most evil power which ever existed from within with THE HELP OF THE WEST AND WITHOUT ANOTHER WORLD WAR. The confinement of the aggressive, predatory Russians within ethnic Russia, where no one will wish to interfere with them. And peace reigning in the world.

Which is the reader of the following pages going to choose?



## THE HIGHER MEANING OF OUR FIGHT

*An address delivered by the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) and former Ukrainian Prime Minister, Jaroslav Stetzko, at the Third Congress of the A.B.N. in Munich, in March, 1954.*

### TEN YEARS AGO

In the darkest period of the world's history in modern times, at a time when two of the deadliest forms of imperialism, Nazism and Bolshevism, clashed, and it seemed as though the resistance put up against them by the subjugated nations that they had attacked was futile, in an epoch in which a hitherto unheard of regime of tyranny and despotism, a system of national murder by means of death chambers and deportations, and massacres of women and children prevailed, the cause of right and freedom was championed by Ukraine.

At a joint conference of the subjugated nations, held on 21st and 22nd November 1943, revolutionaries and supporters of the cause of freedom from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, North Caucasia, Turkestan, Ukraine, and Byelorussia founded a co-ordination committee for a common and united fight against tyranny, imperialism and totalitarianism, and for the purpose of restoring the national and state independence of their countries.

This committee was formed at a time when France was oppressed by Hitler, and Russia, aided by the Western Powers, was beginning to smash Hitler's war-machine in the East. In their fight for absolute truth and justice the revolutionary forces of our nations had the courage to oppose these two Powers, these two systems of tyranny. Their fears at that time as regards a coalition of the West with Russian despots have come true. The entire free world is seriously menaced by its ally of yesterday, namely by Russia, whose aim it is to subjugate this free world. Hardly any of the men who were the originators of the A.B.N. are alive to-day. The Georgian major who was in command of the guard at the Conference was killed in the course of a combat with Gestapo units in 1943, General T. Chuprynska was killed in the course of combats with M.V.D. units in 1950, whilst others have vanished without a trace. But their ideas and their conception of a united fight of all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism live on. The national freedom movements, the national underground and insurgent forces continue to fight for the cause of freedom and in this way organise the masses. Underground methods have replaced mass revolutions; the fight has been intensified and extended to all spheres of life, to the political, social, economic, and cultural; attention is paid, in particular, to the propaganda effect of our ideas and also to winning over the

troops of the Soviet Army to our side. The final aim remains the same, namely, to disintegrate the Bolshevik empire from within by the united efforts of the subjugated nations. The fight has become slow and intensive rather than extensive, and its ultimate aim is a general national revolution, an aim which forms an important feature of the A.B.N.'s revolutionary liberation idea. The confidence which the A.B.N. has in the national strength of the peoples beyond the Iron Curtain makes it imperative that the masses should be organised for the fight, and in this connection the major powers of the West should offer their co-operation and assistance.

No one will make us a present of freedom; freedom must be gained by sacrificing one's own blood. The secret of the success of future revolutions lies in the masses.

### **The higher meaning of our fight**

In order to conquer Bolshevism a universal solution to all vital problems must be found. Bolshevism is a menace to the whole world; the resistance which is offered must, therefore, be universal. The countries which are still free must not continue to live on calmly for the time being, at the expense of our national struggle and protected by the armed force of our insurgents, only to be drowned *themselves* in the near future in the Bolshevik flood, after the champions of our cause have laid down their lives.

In order to justify the millions of victims of the two world wars before God, mankind and history, in order to perceive a deeper significance in the deaths of countless innocent women, children, old and young persons alike, and in order to escape from the depths of despair when pondering on the senselessness of all these sacrifices and self-sacrifices, it is imperative that the fight which is in progress should represent the settling up of the last big account, as it were, with the forces of evil, crime, imperialism, barbarity, and cruel and satanic tyranny, and that this fight should result in a genuinely better, more just, noble and peaceful life, and should be followed by a permanent peace. This peace must not, however, involve tyranny and misery, but must be a just peace with freedom and equality of rights for all, so that all nations and men may feel that they have been liberated from fear, need, cruelty, national subjugation and social injustice for all time, and all peoples and nations may lead a free, happy, and independent life.

This is the higher and deeper meaning of our fight, which is not concerned with political hatred!

Mankind, to-day, should be more interested in the ethics of this fight, in its moral aspect, and in its spiritual attitude towards fellowmen and neighbours, than in its political significance, for only then will man's political attitude change and he



will cast aside all that is bestial, cruel and unmannerly, since he has been created in God's image.

A nation which has been subjugated has a deeper and more sensitive feeling for right and wrong than one which is free. A prisoner longs for freedom more than he does for bread. Once the Western world has comprehended this spiritual attitude and has adjusted its own way of thinking and its own system of watchwords to this attitude, it can continue to rely on the unity of the unwavering front of the free and the subjugated nations.

Communism has become a "religion" of evil and the faith of fanatics who have lost their own sense of values, which they, however, believe they are preserving, whereas in reality they are devoting themselves to erroneous ideas with a zeal which would be worthy of a better cause. For this reason the idea that atomic bombs and military supremacy would suffice to exterminate Bolshevism must be rejected. Bolshevism can only be conquered by the faith and conviction of those who take up the fight against it—a fight which will not remain an empty threat but will materialise!

Let us simply define our principles of truth with which we oppose Communist lies and deception! Only clearness and singleness of purpose, only political and other offensive activity, in keeping with our ideas, can ensure a victory.

### **Divine and human values**

Bolshevism destroys all sublime, divine and human values, denies God; kills religion and destroys churches and undermines Christian morals; that is why the anti-Bolshevist revolution for liberation must put God first, before anything else, take a stand for the protection of religion, and place human actions on a heroic moral basis. A deepening of religious experience and a revival in religion in practical life will then be a positive result of the new revolution, so that man, even in an age of brutal sadism and barbarism, will receive refreshment in an atmosphere of the good and noble. Persecutions have never been able to wipe out religion, but have only strengthened it, for it is better for religion and the Church to be persecuted than to be mere protégés of a state. Every religion contains elements of martyrdom for the sake of truth.

Bolshevism sows hate, envy, implacable class-conflict, and international dissension; propagates chauvinism and serves Russian imperialism; therefore the anti-Bolshevist revolution must preach love among the well-meaning sons of the same nation, international harmony and solidarity, inter-state co-operation, mutual support between individuals and peoples, by condemning chauvinism and imperialism.

Our revolution must meet the hatred of all that is good and

noble with a love of all that is sublime and good, and with an abhorrence of evil and corruption. Bolshevism has done away with freedom, and for this reason the anti-Bolshevist revolution for liberation must be a triumph of freedom and the general liberation of peoples and individuals.

Bolshevism had put an end to personal liberty and activity, as well as to free creative work; therefore the anti-Bolshevist revolution must promote personality and give the creative initiative of the individual free play.

Bolshevism aims at the subjection of the individual and of the nation, at collectivism, following the complete levelling of human personality and all national characteristics; therefore the anti-Bolshevist revolution must overthrow collectivism and place the individual in the focal point of interest, with his initiative and freedom to work for social justice and the national weal.

### **Against imperialism and world-conquest aims**

Bolshevism is a totalitarian system of subordination; therefore the anti-Bolshevist national liberation revolution must realise genuinely democratic ideas, without hampering them with any "democratic" imperialism or hypocritical exploitation. The complete freedom of nations and individuals within the framework of international solidarity and social justice must be guaranteed.

Bolshevism bases its doctrine on materialism and Marxism, subjecting practically all life to state and party bureaucracy, which, like a Moloch, devours and exterminates; therefore the anti-Bolshevist revolution must abolish class-warfare, the doctrine of materialism and Marxism, and exploitation of the individual by the state or other persons.

The State is a means for the development of forces, for furthering the nation and the individual, but not a means by which to enslave the citizen, either by state or by one-party bureaucracy.

Bolshevism disavows the nation and the national idea by putting forward an internationalism which is merely camouflaged Russian imperialism; therefore the anti-Bolshevist revolution must set national liberation and the ideal of a national state for every nation subjugated by Bolshevism, in the forefront.

Bolshevism has, as its final aim, a union of Soviet-Socialist-Republics spread over the whole world, i.e. a despotic world empire under Russian domination; therefore the anti-Bolshevist revolution pursues such fundamental aims as freedom for nations and individuals irrespective of race, religion, size, or wealth, each in its own democratic national state where the individual is guaranteed complete independence.

Bolshevism aspires to a world-conquest in which it is supported by the Russian people, a fact which is corroborated by the



Russian philosopher, *Berdjajev*, in his work, "The New Middle Ages"; the author, a Christian-minded philosopher, writes as follows on the subject of Bolshevism:

"Bolshevism is a distorted and subversive realisation of the Russian idea, and for this reason it has triumphed.

"Bolshevism is in keeping with the mentality of the Russian nation; it is merely an expression of the spiritual disunion of this nation, of its apostasy of faith, its religious crisis, and its extreme demoralisation. Bolshevik ideas are completely in keeping with Russian nihilism.

"Dostoyevski was the prophet of the Russian revolution and he realised that socialism in Russia is a religious problem, a question of atheism, and that the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia is not concerned with politics but solely with the question of saving mankind without God.

"The Russian emigrants are not sufficiently aware of the fact that *in the case of the Russian problem it is by no means a question of a small group of Bolsheviks who happen to be in power and who can be overthrown, but of a new and infinitely large class of persons who have now become the rulers of the country and cannot be easily overthrown. The Communist revolution has, above all, materialised out of Russian life.*"

Berdjajev also deals with the organic connection between Russian imperialism and Bolshevism, in detail and from every aspect. He identifies the latter with Russian imperialism and describes Bolshevism as the most exaggerated form of aggressive Russian annexation aims. Since this is the case, the anti-Bolshevik revolution for liberation must strive to liquidate all kinds and forms of Russian imperialism as the fundamental source of the whole evil, and to accomplish *the disintegration of the Russian imperium into national states, as Communism without the support of Russian imperialism, which it serves, would not be such a great danger to the world.*

Bolshevism is a synthesis of Communism and Russian imperialism.

Bolshevik imperialists have saved the Russian empire from being involved in national liberation wars; it is, therefore, pure nonsense to retain what has existed with the support of the Bolsheviks or to revive the results of the Bolshevik revolution in some kind of reformed variant.

Bolshevism has consolidated the Russian empire; therefore it must be overthrown by the Anti-Bolshevik revolution which must be anti-imperialist and national.

### **Against the exploitation of man**

Bolshevism is the embodiment of social injustice; therefore the anti-Bolshevik revolution for liberation must be a realisation of social justice. Before the Bolshevik revolution there was in

Tsarist Russia a semi-feudal order of society, the exploitation of man by man, in particular of the non-Russian nations by the Russian regime of tyranny; since the Bolshevik revolution there has been a totalitarian Communist order of society, namely the exploitation of man by the state; the anti-Bolshevik national liberation revolution must—in contrast to both the above—abolish all exploitation of the population by the state as well as by individuals. This process, which began in 1918 in the national states set up by the peoples subjugated by Moscow, was cut short by the armed occupation forced upon them by the Bolshevik hordes of new Russian imperialists. But it will be renewed by the armed forces of the insurgent armies.

Bolshevism has proved to be the arch-enemy of the peasantry; the anti-Bolshevik liberation revolution must have regard to the rural population as a vanguard in battle, from which the bulk of the revolutionaries will be recruited and which will play its part in the final decision.

Bolshevism has likewise betrayed the cause of the workers by creating a caste of Russian party-leaders who, as bearers of all state power are strangling the subjugated nations; therefore the anti-Bolshevik revolution must vest the power in the people of the national states and they will then choose from among their own ranks representatives of all classes to govern them, these representatives being responsible to them.

Bolshevism has throttled all creative work among the intellectual classes; therefore the anti-Bolshevik revolution must see to it that every possibility for free creative work is guaranteed in the democratic national states.

Bolshevism has destroyed all idealistic values in life; therefore the anti-Bolshevik revolution must bear them inscribed on its banner.

### **Bolshevik reaction**

What is often regarded as revolutionary in the West is highly reactionary in the East. Every Communist, every Marxist in the East, is a reactionary. Whoever advocates the nationalisation of all means of production is a preserver of the present existing conditions, and is a counter-revolutionary as regards the national and social revolution for liberation which is beginning in the East; he who seeks to preserve an empire is a reactionary in the East, as he is working against those progressive forces which serve the cause of freedom and justice.

We are fighting against imperialist wars, against imperialist conquests, and for real peace, genuine friendship among the peoples, based on a system of free national states for all the nations of the world. Our ideals are those of real social freedom, real freedom for individuals and fellow-citizens, genuine equality and justice.



The revolutionaries in the East combat the Russian empire, totalitarianism, radical nationalisation, collectivism, but fight for national states, for a democratic order of society, private property, for an extensive middle-class, for individual initiative within the framework of social justice, for de-collectivism and denationalisation, for peasant-owned property, for workers' property, and for a new significance for certain state services.

### **The danger of appeasement**

Russia's Achilles' tendon is the nationality problem. Russia, a partner in the victorious Entente Cordiale, fell, in 1917, under the pressure of the national revolutions and wars of independence, when the independent states of Ukraine, Caucasia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Poland and others were created. Russia was also the losing party at the time of the Crimean War in 1855 and the Japanese War in 1905, since inner conflicts had commenced within the empire. Russia will only yield to power but not to negotiations; for this reason all conferences and all attempts to pacify the Moscow bears are futile. They only demobilise the subjugated nations by creating the impression that an agreement will be reached at the expense of these nations and thus shaking the latter's confidence in the West. It is, however, impossible for Russia and the Western world to reach an agreement, and it is time the latter realised this fact and ceased cherishing false hopes, which will only result in blinding the masses to the danger which threatens them. The leading statesmen of the West must not conceal the irrefutable truth from their nations, namely that Russia will only yield if faced by armed power. They must not reach any agreement by which Moscow would be allowed to retain the countries which are at present occupied by it, since in this case Russia would become too mighty and would automatically destroy Western Europe either during our life-time or that of our children. Do the statesmen of the West intend to disregard their responsibility towards their own children and consolidate Russia, so that their descendants may become the victims of the latter? Is it not obvious that it is better to engage with a weaker opponent, especially if one has profited from the experience of one's forefathers and has sufficient sense of responsibility, than to leave the final decision to one's inexperienced sons when it is, in any case, already too late to change matters? The notorious saying, "After us the deluge," surely cannot hold good in this case!

Provided that one adopts the right political and military attitude and defines the term "enemy" precisely, there is no reason to fear Russia. The enemy is located in the ethnographical Russian territory. The nations subjugated by the enemy are well-disposed towards the West, just as occupied Norway, France or Serbia, during World War II, were not hostile to the U.S.A. and Great Britain. The West must detach our nations from the

enemy's front; it must allot them to its own phalanx and must also regard their territories as the countries of friendly nations. More appropriate at the present time than ever would be a *Great Charter of Freedom*, which should be proclaimed by the Western major powers and with which they could give battle to Bolshevism. A charter of this kind would represent both a basis for co-operation with the subjugated nations and also a united front of the entire freedom-loving world. It is not right to reduce individuals and groups to a common denominator by technical and financial methods, which is what some Western statesmen are trying to do; it is far more important to define one's attitude, one's ultimate aims, and one's conception of a future world in which justice prevails, since these are the questions at issue. In this respect no compromise, as regards ideals and from the political point of view, is possible between the Russian imperialists, whatever principles they may uphold, and ourselves, for it is not feasible to co-ordinate the disintegration of the Russian empire and its preservation. There is and never will be a compromise of this kind!

We reject the idea of a compromise with the Russian imperialists, whether they be white or red. We also reject all efforts on the part of certain circles in the West to make a compromise with the U.S.S.R. and we oppose all conferences, pacts and agreements with Bolshevik Russia. Such a step would mean the perpetuation of our enslavement and the downfall of Western Europe, which would be attacked by Russia once the latter had strengthened its inner forces and broken down the resistance of our nations.

### **An appeal to the West**

We admonish the Western world to beware of the cunning tactics of the Kremlin, by which and together with the aid of Fifth Columns, Communist Parties and the internal disintegration of the West it seeks to undermine the strength of the nations of the West prior to launching an attack on the unarmed and demoralised West.

Only if the West adopts the ideas for which the subjugated nations are fighting, and only if the ideas and watchwords of the Western crusade are in perfect unison with the ultimate aims and principles of the subjugated nations, will the West be able to gain a victory.

It would be disastrous for the united front of the entire freedom-loving world, if the two anti-Bolshevist partners failed to co-ordinate their plans of action and if these two plans of action, that of the free world and that of the subjugated nations, were in certain respects opposed to each other. There is a serious danger of this being the case if the free world does not take into account the demands of the nations subjugated by Russia, their underground movements and insurgent forces. Only the unity



of the Western world and its unanimous agreement to the underground movements and national liberation organisations of the nations behind the Iron Curtain can ensure a victory. For this reason we address the following appeal to the West :

(a) To discontinue all negotiations with the Bolshevik tyrants, whose hands are stained with the blood of millions of victims, and to abandon the idea of reaching an agreement with them at the expense of the subjugated nations ;

(b) To give active support, by political and technical means, to the fight for freedom beyond the Iron Curtain, in order to destroy Bolshevik tyranny from within ;

(c) To proclaim the Great Charter of Freedom for the nations of the world—a charter which would reject every form of imperialism, above all in connection with the nations subjugated by Bolshevism, and which would express the ideas and principles for which the nations behind the Iron Curtain are fighting, namely those of national independence, personal freedom and social justice in keeping with the noble doctrines of religion, and national solidarity ;

(d) To promote the armament of the Western world in every way and to abandon all false hopes of a peace, which does not exist and never will exist as long as the Bolshevik regime of tyranny and the Russian empire continue to exist in some form or other ;

(e) To make the utmost endeavour to bring about the realisation of the Western European Defensive Alliance, the Atlantic Pact and all other military alliances of the free nations, as soon as possible, and to extend these to include the nations defeated in World War II, who at that time, though under false mottoes and regimes, already fought Bolshevism ;

(f) To bring about, as quickly as possible, a co-ordination, in every respect, of the plans of action of the Western factors with the national liberation movements and organisations, which take an independent national stand and have never served Bolshevism or Russian imperialism in any way nor have collaborated with either of them.

(g) To disband the Communist parties and their affiliated organisations in the entire Western world, to fight all Fifth Columns as agencies of the enemy in the West and as traitors to their own countries, and to try the leaders of the Communist parties and of secret organisations on a charge of high treason and sentence them to death ;

(h) To take the offensive, in every respect, against Russia, since Russia, as history teaches us, has never relinquished its positions voluntarily, but has only yielded to threats and power.

### **The meaning of the national idea**

Any concession to Russia as regards her occupation in the

future of the countries at present occupied by her would mean the destruction of Europe. The leading statesmen of the West, we repeat, must not conceal this danger from their nations, nor must they try to postpone a final solution of this problem because they are afraid to make a decision and wish to leave this to the next generation, which would, in this case, be doomed to destruction by Russia, by a Russia whose power will be so great by the next generation that it will be invincible. We make no secret of the fact that we are convinced that Russia can never be driven out of the East Zone of Germany or out of the other occupied countries by conferences and treaties, but only by active opposition. Despite the pressure of a conference, Russia has, for instance, not left Korea, but has remained exactly where she was before the conference. Only the active support on the part of the West of the revolutionary process and an offensive taken by the West will help to defeat Bolshevism and liquidate its empire; negotiations are futile in this respect. The mightiest weapon is the national idea, which is more powerful than all atomic weapons.

The A.B.N. is fighting for the liberation of all the nations subjugated by Russia, irrespective of whether their political emigrant organisations are members of the A.B.N. or not. It would be a mistake to assume that the representatives of the national liberation movements and underground organisations are asking the West for help. We ask for nothing; we only warn the free nations against the Bolshevik danger which is imminent.

We are convinced that the cause for which we are fighting is a just one, despite the fact that countless obstacles are being put in our way, even by the West. **THE WEST HELPS ITSELF AS IT HELPS US.** But this does not discourage us nor does it break our spirit. We shall continue to fight for our cause, regardless of difficulties, and we shall be victorious!

A fight for freedom which brings national independence with it also solves all political, social, cultural and economic problems in the interests of the nation and of the working classes. The fight against Bolshevism is a struggle to overthrow the whole regime and the entire system, and at the same time represents the construction of a new world which is diametrically opposed to the old one in intellectual, national and social respects. Our anti-Bolshevik revolution is not merely a revolution directed against a regime nor merely a social revolution, but an anti-imperialist and national revolution which includes all the essential factors of a social revolution. Nowadays, in the midst of the fight for the liberation of whole nations, there can be no national revolutions without social revolutions, since the national idea is no longer represented and supported by certain elite circles but by the masses. The essential difference between our conception of liberation and that of certain circles in the West is that we stress



national liberation as an important part of our conception, whereas the above-mentioned circles place more emphasis on the social aspect, or to put it more accurately, they rely on a revolution which is directed against the regime, whereas we rely on an anti-imperialist revolution. These are two entirely opposite conceptions of the historic process of development and thus result in two entirely different military conceptions. The national idea, that is the idea of a national and state liberation of the nations and a solution of complicated world problems which is based on this idea, is at present the most fundamental idea as regards restoring a balance in the world. Imperial and supra-national "greater territory" solutions and conceptions are out of date. The Bolshevik imperialists have realised this, and thus they support the fight for freedom of the dependent nations outside the Iron Curtain by opposing colonial imperialism and its social characteristic, the feudal order, though they themselves deprive these nations of their national freedom to an even greater extent, namely, by Russian totalitarian enslavement and Communist social subjugation.

### **A clear definition of the conception of freedom**

The national idea is in conformity with the idea of a universal concord and co-operation of the nations with the complete exclusion of imperialism and chauvinism, racial discrimination, and mutual national hatred. The national liberation of the subjugated and dependent nations shall lead to a world union, to the unification of the world on the grounds of freedom and equality of the nations irrespective of their size, race, religion, and wealth! All nations are God's creatures, and just as all men are equal before God, so, too, shall all nations be granted the same freedom and justice.

The Communist and materialistic system of evil and crime must be opposed by a unified system of good and noble, and all questions of existence must be solved in this light and must not be shirked. For Bolshevism is a Russian pestilence which infects the healthy world. A spiritual revolution is a pre-condition if Bolshevism, which spreads hatred, envy, crime, evil, apathy, nihilism among people of the same nation, is to be destroyed. In view of this and in view of the nature of Communist action and interference, life cannot be safeguarded solely by preaching a solution which involves a freedom that is not precisely defined. A perfunctory freedom will not suffice. The values and the aims which are to be accomplished by this freedom must be clearly defined. Freedom is an essential basis for the realisation of noble thoughts. Freedom is a prerequisite for the materialisation of the idea of justice, which represents the highest moral value on earth.

Freedom and justice are two inalienable values for which man has been fighting throughout the ages and will continue

to fight. Millions have laid down their lives and will continue to do so for these two values. Wars and revolutions have been fought on behalf of these values. They have always paved the way for great national and social changes. It was not starvation which prompted men to revolt but the feeling of having been treated unjustly and of having been deprived of their freedom. The watchwords of freedom have been, and always will be, misused by imperialists. Both Stalin and Hitler conducted their inhuman wars of conquest under the motto of freedom and justice. Since the nations have already been deceived on several occasions, they now demand clearly defined and indisputable ideas and watchwords.

For this reason, too, they demand precise definitions of the conception of the state, not merely as a framework but as a definite social and political state order.

The nations will no longer allow themselves to be misled; they will no longer acclaim new impostors and new would-be liberators, whether they be democratic or totalitarian in their ideas. The nations are striving to gain their freedom, which means above all national and state independence and the downfall of the Russian empire. Without these factors there can be no freedom either for the individual or for the nation. Our nations are not fighting for federations or unions with their conquerors, but for their own states!

There can be no personal freedom without an independent national state and without national self-determination; there can be no true democracy if the national state idea is not realised, for no sincere democrat would strive to obtain freedom for the individual and at the same time reject the idea of the state independence of the nation

Freedom is a pre-condition if right and justice are to be realised. It is not an end in itself, since it can result in anarchy, too, and in the exploitation of the individual by an individual. Justice imposes limits on individual freedom if the latter should prove to be to the disadvantage of the community.

If the crusade of the West is to be successful, the ideas and the attitude of the West as regards the subjugated nations must conform to the demands for truth, justice and freedom which are made by the nations and peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and for the fulfilment of which they are prepared to sacrifice their lives in the fight for freedom.

It is possible by means of these ideals, which are based on profoundly religious and ethical principles, to win over all noble-minded peoples and nations, and, what is more important, various points of view are hereby clarified. For who can reject or oppose these ideas without revealing his own plans which are based on



a hatred of mankind! Who would venture to co-operate with the murderers of nations when it is a case of reaching a final decision.

### **Measuring by two different standards**

We are convinced that the whole East policy of the U.S.A. and of various American "private" circles would present an entirely different appearance if Americans of true American descent, descendants of Lincoln and Washington, would promote, prepare the way for, guide and work out the plans for a psychological war, instead of employing "experts" for this purpose, who yesterday were still the hirelings of foreign powers. The idea of a "non-precedent" as regards East Europe and Soviet Russian Asia is not an American idea. The American nation, as represented by its best sons, consists of a people whose ideas and attitudes are honest, candid, and clearly defined. The American nation has developed the idea of freedom to an unheard-of extent without subjugating any other nation. Washington severed the Gordian knot of colonial dependence on the British Empire with the sword, namely by a plebiscite of bloodshed, and it would thus be ridiculous to discuss the problem of a "non-precedent" or the question of a national plebiscite in America in those days, seeing that America forcibly detached itself from Great Britain. The first "separatists" of the West were the Americans of Washington's day! And Admiral Mentz points out most aptly that the "separatist" doctrines originated in the U.S.A. The Americans considered it an honour to be "separatist." So far, no one has suggested a plebiscite to India or Pakistan, to the Philippines or Palestine, to Burma or Morocco. The blood which has been shed for the cause of independence has, so far, always been regarded by all as the most explicit form of all national decisions.

Why are our nations and states, which have been forcibly incorporated with the Russian empire, treated differently by certain circles of the Western world than are the nations of the British or French empires? It is most peculiar that the dark powers of the Western world are doing their utmost to preserve the Russian empire, whilst at the same time they are helping to bring about the downfall of other empires, despite the fact that the latter have in some cases achieved much that has been of positive value. Why this tendency to favour the most dreadful empire of tyranny that the world has ever experienced, and why this attitude of hatred towards other empires? Why should the Russian empire, though it is the most despotic, arouse so much sympathy in the world, whereas the British and French empires, which are so much more progressive and democratic get no sympathy whatever? The age of empires is past; the British empire has become a Commonwealth, a free union of nations; but the Russian empire, to many people in the West seems not to be what is really is, a prison of nations, means something different.

Why do certain circles in the West support the Indonesians, Malays, Moroccans, and Tunisians, but ignore the ancient and highly civilised nations of the Ukrainians, Georgians, and Turkestanians and abandon them to the fate of being murdered by the Russians? The Fifth Columns have already written off Europe and have delivered it up to Russia as a degenerate and biologically exhausted part of the world. The only part of our continent which they consider as being of importance is the geographical territory of Russia, which has a great future in store. Whilst despising Europe they occasionally, in order to disguise their own intentions, show some enthusiasm for America, that is to say not for the latter's ideas of freedom, but solely for its technical development. Europe's ideas, however, are still alive. They are still powerful and clearly emphasise the ultimate aim of the liberation of the nations that have been subjugated by Bolshevism. Biologically, Europe is likewise still a mighty power, sound and with a great future in store. But we are concerned not so much in this respect with the remnants of what is still free Europe but with that part of Europe which extends beyond the Dnipro and the Don as far as farthest Caucasia. Whereas the population of the U.S.A. has increased in the course of a century to 100 million persons, the population of Europe during the period from 1800 to 1914 increased from 180 millions to 460 millions. Is this not an incontestable proof of its biological strength? This same Europe is still strong enough to become a partner, on an equal footing, of the great American democracy. If, in addition, we include in the present anti-Bolshevist bloc the subjugated nations of Asia, together with the people of Turkestan and the peoples of Siberia, and also take into account the newly created forces of freedom-loving Asia, as personified by the indomitable Syngman Rhee, and the newly awakened national liberation process of a new "National Spring," then it becomes obvious that the U.S.A., provided the right policy is adopted, will be able to set up a unified world bloc against Russia's world-Bolshevism. At the present time the nations of Asia and Europe that have been subjugated by Bolshevism represent a third and separate force in the world-arena which is characterised by the fact that it refuses to acknowledge the possibility of any compromise being reached with Bolshevism. Its extraordinary role as a third and separate force consists in its uncompromising attitude towards Bolshevism and in its unceasing and fierce fight for national state sovereignty and social justice. This fight for national and state independence, this struggle to bring about social changes which will benefit the working classes and the masses, changes which are based on deeply religious and ethical principles and not on Marxist and materialistic doctrines — are greatly in evidence in the Near and Middle East.



## **A victory by spiritual supremacy**

Bolshevism must above all be destroyed from within. It must be opposed by a new intellectual principle as regards culture and power. Intellectual supremacy must be stressed above all. The worship of mammon and the golden calf is one of the chief characteristics of the materialistic philosophy of life. Under conditions as they exist in Italy, for instance, where little of practical value from the point of view of social idealism is done and no important measures are introduced to protect those in financial need, an appeal to apply the theoretical doctrines of idealism can avail little, since no faith, whatever it may be, is alive if it is not expressed in deeds. So far all revolutions set their hopes on something new, better, and greater, but they never led to a restoration of the pre-revolutionary order. It is nonsense to attempt to restore the factors which led to a revolution, for that which is outmoded is always part of the revolutionary process. The Bolshevik revolution cannot be overcome either by the principles which held good in the Tsarist empire before its day or by the principles which it set up in the course of its development. For this reason neither the reactionary social order of Tsarism, whether in the imperial or social sense, can be reconstructed, nor the reactionary Bolshevik social order (in the same two senses) be preserved. No one will be prompted to fight by the idea of restoring the Russian empire, such as it existed under the Tsar or under Kerensky, or by efforts to preserve that empire in some form or other, nor will he allow himself to be won over by reform measures as regards Bolshevism, which are based on national Communist or other "genuine" Marxist ideas. What has gone before and that which is, are already part of the irrevocable past. The Bolshevik ideological, political, social, economic, and cultural system must be confronted by something which is greater, new, creative, healthy, and diametrically opposed to Bolshevism. Only under these conditions will a victory be possible—the A.B.N. fulfils all these requirements. The ideas it propounds are an answer to all the problems which have been created by Bolshevism, and the solution of these problems according to the principles of the A.B.N. will most certainly bring about the downfall of Bolshevism.

## **FREEDOM MANIFESTO**

**of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.),  
proclaimed at its Third Congress in March, 1954**

The peace of our times is based on the mass subjugation and bondage of hundreds of millions of people in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. Countless nations, indeed one-third of the human race have already been deprived of their freedom, the most precious possession of mankind, whilst the rest of the world is in danger of losing its freedom.

The gradual mass murder of nations in times of peace is even worse than war. The war crimes of yesterday are eclipsed by the peace crimes of Bolshevik terrorisation of to-day.

The world to-day is not partitioned according to its geographical character but according to ideologies. The conflict is not between East and West but between peoples and powers, the representatives of tyranny, on the one hand, and the champions of the cause of freedom, on the other hand, whilst between the two there is the element of idle and sinister indifference.

The champions of freedom are not all to be found in the West, and similarly not all the precursors of tyranny are to be found only in the East. There are countless enslaved peoples living behind the Iron Curtain who yearn for freedom and who are prepared to fight tyranny since they have experienced it themselves. On this side of the Iron Curtain, however, there are millions of persons who still blindly support Bolshevism, since they do not know what it is really like and are tired of freedom, because they possess it.

In the conflict of good and evil the strength of the evil depends upon the weakness of the good. The evil spirit of Moscow despotism alone would not be strong enough to conquer the world and bring about its ruin. Were it not for the fact that the free world is deluded to such an extent that it disregards the inseparability of peace and freedom and violates these by making a pact with the forces of tyranny, thus paving the way for Bolshevik aggression.

The deadly menace to our world to-day lies, therefore, not solely in the Kremlin but in the systematically suggested illusion that freedom and Bolshevik despotism can exist peacefully side by side.

The Kremlin's big chance lies not in the idea of world Communism and not in the strength of the Red Army, but above all in the fact that the West cherishes the illusion that the peace and prosperity of one half of the world can be preserved and saved by abandoning the nations of the other half to their fate.



The trump cards, as far as the Moscow tyrants are concerned, are the indecision, the disunion and the inability of the West to set up a united front of all the forces fighting for freedom in the East and West and to mobilise this front for the purpose of bringing about a new world order.

As the representatives of the fight for freedom of the nations in the entire sphere of influence of Soviet Russian tyranny, we appeal to the nations of the free world and to their political leaders at the eleventh hour to heed our warning :

Cast aside all dangerous illusions and face the truth objectively !

Rid yourselves of the influence of the lies disseminated in the free world by Moscow's evil propaganda and cunning diplomacy !

Eliminate all rivalry amongst yourselves and all petty egoism and unite in the noble cause of a sacred campaign, in which so much is at stake.

Go to the assistance of the oppressed nations before it is too late, for they are fitted to be a trustworthy vanguard in this campaign !

For in this battle not only the existence of our nations and your freedom and prosperity are at stake, but also and above all the fate of the entire human race and the fundamental values of human civilisation and culture.

The nations united in the A.B.N. and the representatives of these nations once more admonish and exhort you :

Make our watchword, "Freedom for the nations and Freedom for the individual," yours and unite with us in fighting for the freedom of the world, if you yourselves do not wish to perish !

And when once tyranny has been defeated, do not stop at half-measures !

If a true peace is to be established and the freedom of the nations is to be preserved in future ages, then it is imperative that you should now lay the foundations for a new world in which justice reigns supreme, a world without national prisons and with free national states for all the nations of the enslaved world !

For there can be no individual freedom and no democracy without national freedom !

And there can be no national freedom without state independence !

Nor can there be any justice without national states which enjoy equal rights and independence and are, moreover, allied in the spirit of mutual respect and esteem !

Long live the co-operation, the solidarity and the peace of the free nations in a future world of national and social justice and progress !

Long live the freedom of the world which must, and will, be victorious, since it was, is, and will be stronger than despotism !

## **GREETINGS TO THE CHAMPIONS OF FREEDOM**

The members of the public manifestation, held on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the A.B.N. and the Third Congress of the A.B.N., send their sincere greetings to the A.B.N. member-organisations and to the insurrection groups of all those European and Asiatic nations subjugated by Bolshevik Russia and Communism, which are fighting against tyranny, and wish them perseverance and success in their heroic struggle to re-establish independent democratic national states.

For God and our Motherland!

For the freedom of the nations and of the individual!

For the freedom of the whole world!

We hope that all the freedom-loving and anti-Communist forces of the West will support the nations behind the Iron Curtain and their national liberation movements in their fight for freedom.

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE A.B.N.

27th-28th March 1954.

### **A MESSAGE TO ALL THE NATIONS SUBJUGATED BY BOLSHEVISM**

Comrades in arms!

The Third Congress of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc (A.B.N.) sends its sincerest greetings to all the nations subjugated by Bolshevik Russia and Communism, to their national revolutionary liberation organisations, to their insurgent units, and to all those fighting in the cause of freedom.

At the same time, the Congress pays homage to the memory of all the heroes who have been killed in the course of the fight for freedom and all the victims of the brutal terrorist regime.

The Third Congress of the A.B.N. admires the unparalleled and invincible fighting spirit of our nations under Bolshevik tyranny, a spirit which, despite the destruction of nations, terrorism, hardship and suffering, despite confinement in concentration camps, exile, and mass murder, has not abated.

In this fight for freedom the Third Congress of the A.B.N. stands united with the masses of our nations and considers that it is its duty to protest, openly and before the whole world, against the destruction of individuals and nations, against the brutal murders and atrocities perpetrated by Russian Bolshevik imperialism and totalitarianism.

#### **Common ideals binding for the A.B.N.**

In connection with the First Conference of the subjugated nations which was held in November 1943, in the forest near Zhytomyr in Ukraine, and at which the resolution was passed



that a co-ordinated war should be waged on two fronts against the two most formidable enemies and their imperialism, the Third Congress stresses that the resolutions and principles adopted at that time as regards the united fight of all the subjugated nations for common ideals are still binding for the A.B.N. The final aims to be achieved are independent democratic national states according to ethnographical principles and the defeat of all the enemies of our freedom.

Peace, freedom, justice, prosperity and happiness will only be achieved when the Russian empire and Bolshevism are destroyed and sovereign states of the subjugated nations are set up on their ruins — states with democratic institutions and social justice, in which man is no longer exploited and enslaved.

Freedom, justice and prosperity will only predominate in the world when predatory wars cease and all individuals and all nations enjoy the rights to which they are entitled, for all men and all nations are God's creatures and therefore equal in the sight of God.

Only in free national states, built upon the ruins of the Russian empire, can the complete freedom of individuals and nations and the preservation of cultural, social and economic values be guaranteed.

There can be no freedom, no social prosperity and no religious toleration in a dependent state!

And a state can only gain its independence and strengthen the same by fighting for its freedom!

### **The charges against the Russian Bolshevik empire**

A terrorist regime such as the world has never before witnessed predominates in the Russian Bolshevik empire.

Millions of kolchoz slaves, workers and members of the intelligentsia are at present being ruthlessly exploited and suppressed in an unheard of manner by the ruling Russian Bolshevik clique. These parasite tyrants represent and personify ancient Russian imperialism, hostile to the conception of nationality, in our countries. Aided by the barbarous despotism of the M.V.D.-M.G.B. and the Communist Party, Russian imperialists force countless people of the subjugated nations to live under indescribably sad and inhuman conditions. These people are constantly threatened by starvation, long years of detention in a prison or concentration camp, deportation or death by torture in the cellars of the M.V.D.-M.G.B.

They are weary unto death. Countless parasites in the form of Party leaders, M.V.D. bailiffs, bureaucrats of the administrative system and officers of the army live on the sweat and blood of the masses.

The soldiers of the Soviet Army, who have been forced to enlist, are treated in an abominable manner and obliged to live under impossible conditions.

The Russianisation policy has been enforced in all the subjugated states and "the great Russian nation" rules in every sphere. All the Muscovite conquerors — from Kutuzov and Suvorov to Zhukov and Bulganin — are idolised. They are glorified as the "leaders" of our nations and all the highest positions are held by Russians. The non-Russian nations are regarded as being inferior and are treated accordingly. Slavery and destruction prevail in all the subjugated states.

The national traditions and cultural values which are sacred to us, the religious faith of our forefathers — all these things are ruthlessly trampled under foot. All that is Russian is magnificent and unsurpassed, whilst all that is ours is either inferior or else "graciously given" us by the Russians.

We have been deprived of all our national rights and the so-called "Union Republics" are no better off in this respect than the former Czarist provinces. The same holds good for the satellite states, too.

National, social, religious and personal subjugation prevails in every sphere and in all the subjugated countries. The Russian Soviet empire is the state with the greatest tyranny in the world, the state in which the atrocities committed surpass all atrocities ever recorded in the history of the world.

### **The Russian Tyrants must be unmasked**

The Russian despots are deceiving the world with their alleged desire for peace. They maintain that our nations enjoy all national and social rights. With the aid of their fifth columns they are undermining the forces of the free world from within and confusing the latter so as to be able to conquer it more easily later on and establish a world soviet republic on its ruins.

White Russian imperialists act as their accomplices. They set up various organisations abroad in order to mislead the world and, with the help of the latter, aim to subjugate our nations anew and bind them with white instead of red fetters. Former Bolshevik collaborators, too, seek to influence Western opinion in the wrong direction.

There are still many politicians in the West, including some in the U.S.A., who are favourably inclined towards the conception of an undivided and supreme Russia and who support former Bolshevik hirelings. And this, together with the attempts made by certain politicians to reach an understanding with Soviet Russia is the greatest danger to the West! Any concession to the Bolshevik means death to the West! A postponement of the conflict with Soviet Russia will inevitably result in there being no equal and experienced forces in the Western world in later generations to combat Bolshevism, and the Russians will thus be able to continue to tyrannise the subjugated nations.

If the free world does not wish to perish, it must take steps in the very near future to bring Soviet Russia to its knees. All



our efforts must, therefore, concentrate on warning the free world not to grant the Russians any concessions whatsoever. If the free world wishes to retain its freedom and to be victorious, it must adopt our watchwords.

### **No bartering of claims**

Neither a red nor a white Russian empire must be allowed to continue to exist! This monster must, therefore, be cut up into independent democratic national states and all the so-called satellite states must regain their independence according to ethnographical principles.

Kolchozes and the enslavement of the workers must cease to exist. The factories must actually and not merely theoretically belong to the workers. Personal initiative must not be suppressed! Complete freedom for the individual, an opportunity for everyone to do productive work, a possibility for man to develop his powers to the best of his ability, and complete social justice for the broad masses—these things must predominate in the independent national state. Man must be the indisputable owner of his workshop, the farmer must be the master of his own land! Those engaged in academic professions must be allowed to create cultural values freely and without having to submit to the influence of external forces. The soldiers of the country will only serve their own nation and will fight the enemies of freedom in the interests of their own countrymen and their native country.

Freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, social prosperity, and the right for everyone to possess private property—these things can only become ours in a state of our own if we destroy the Russian empire. For this reason the A.B.N. fights against Russian imperialism in every form and under every colour. And for this reason, too, it fights against Bolshevism and Communism, against Russian Chauvinism and its despots, against the subjugation and exploitation of the non-Russian nations, against the violation of social and cultural values, against the inhuman enslavement of the individual by the state, against the dictatorship of the Communist Party, against totalitarianism in every form, against the terrorist methods of the M.V.D.-M.G.B., and against imperialist wars.

### **Our political creed**

The A.B.N. is fighting for the reconstruction of the Soviet Union on the principle of independent free national states in accordance with their ethnographical boundaries, and for genuine friendship and co-operation between all these states and their peoples!

The A.B.N. is fighting for the restoration of the independence of all the satellite states within their ethnographical sphere!

It is fighting for complete social justice and for a state, whose chief duty and care will be to serve the interests of the masses!

For a genuine democracy and for genuine civil and human rights!  
Our guiding watchword is, "Freedom for the nations!  
Freedom for the individual!"

Our ideology is: True national, political and social freedom  
and genuine justice for all!

But all this can only be achieved when the political power is  
in the hands of our nations and when it becomes possible to  
set up a political and social order which satisfies the desire of  
every nation for happiness and prosperity.

### **We ourselves can determine our fate**

For this reason the A.B.N. exhorts all the subjugated nations :  
Fight for your national independent states in the ethnographical  
territories which are yours according to rights and laws! Fight  
for true democracy in these states, for it is only in this way that  
we can become the masters of our native soil and can regain our  
inviolable human rights!

We must fight for and regain our freedom with our own  
forces, and by means of revolutionary wars of liberation, in  
which we stand united with our insurgent armies and the national  
political underground movements that have organised this war.

In our fight for freedom we must stand united with the  
masses of our nations, who are making such great sacrifices, with  
the young and old, the men, women and children, who are  
conducting a tireless war, with the soldiers of the Soviet armies  
and of the satellite armies of non-Russian nationality, who when  
the time is ripe will go over to the Insurgent Armies — only in  
this way can we hope to win a victory!

We shall gain new friends and supporters if we remain  
steadfast!

Our strength lies in ourselves!

Long live the independent democratic national states of the  
nations which have been subjugated by Bolshevik Russia and  
Communism!

Long live national revolutionary insurrections in the cause  
of freedom!

Long live our Insurgent Armies and our underground  
movements!

Down with Bolshevism and Russian imperialism! down with  
tyranny!

Down with the Russian prisons of nations of every kind!  
Down with Communism of every kind!

Freedom for the Nations! Freedom for the individual!

Freedom-loving nations and persons all over the world, unite  
in fighting against Bolshevism for the freedom of the nations  
and the individual!

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE A.B.N.

27th-29th March 1954



## AN APPEAL TO THE WESTERN WORLD

On the occasion of its Third Congress the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), as the co-ordination centre of the resistance movements and liberation organisations of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia in the U.S.S.R. itself and in the satellite states, addresses the following appeal to the Western world :

(1) More than a third of all mankind has already been subjugated by Communism. The purpose of the hermetic isolation of over 750 million persons from the free world and of the exploitation of this vast human and economic potential to create a terrible war-machine is to eliminate the West, and above all the U.S.A., as political rivals of Moscow, with a view to setting up a world union of Soviet socialist republics when once the entire world has been conquered. A world empire dominated by the Russian Herrenvolk has always been and always will be the ultimate aim of world Bolshevism.

(2) The policy of a bipartite or tripartite division of the world, much advocated in the West, means the preservation of the Soviet Russian empire and the Communist regime in Moscow's satellite states, at best on condition of a specious emancipation from Moscow's direct supremacy. Such a solution would only be advantageous to Bolshevism, for Moscow would still have a chance to continue its work of undermining the moral of the free world, whilst the forces of national resistance in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states would be paralysed and Soviet Russian imperialism would continue to be a menace to the whole world.

(3) Moscow conducts its world aggression in a twofold manner : by internal civil wars and by external armed offensives. The practice of partisan warfare has become a firmly established system in Bolshevik strategy in Asia. Political and ideological offensives, the undermining of national moral, the fostering of internal antagonism, social chaos, armed conflicts, and peripheral wars are all Bolshevik tactics which constitute the fundamental factors of a third world war, which, incidentally, is already in progress in Asia. The fact that a peripheral war may be temporarily ended, as for instance in Korea or Indo-China, in no way changes Moscow's ultimate aim, which is to conquer the world.

(4) But Bolshevik ideas have nowadays lost their power of attraction. For this reason Russian Bolshevik imperialism now disguises itself for the benefit of the nations of Asia and Africa with watchwords about national freedom and social prosperity, and alleges that the Western powers are " colonial and imperialist

exploiters" and libels them by maintaining that they alone are to blame for the present material need of these nations.

The purely defensive war which is being waged by the Western powers in Asia and Africa against Bolshevism cannot, however, check the latter's aggression.

(5) The Bolshevik regime not only represents an unheard of social and economic subjection of nations and individuals, but also and above all national subjugation under alien Russian tyranny. As far as the mobilisation and organisation of forces to fight and defeat the world menace of Bolshevik tyranny is concerned, this fact is extremely important and decisive. It indicates the possibility, under certain conditions, of winning over about 200 million persons of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union itself and in Moscow's satellite states as allies for the Western world and of using this potential in a cold war as a mighty explosive force in the heart of the Soviet Russian sphere of influence.

The prerequisite in this connection is steadfast adherence on the part of the West to the principle of restoring the national freedom and the state independence of all these subjugated nations. On the other hand, however, adherence to the principle of the "indivisibility" of the Great Russian Empire and of the preservation of collectivism and other forms of the present system of slavery under the Bolshevik regime is likely to paralyse the mighty revolutionary process in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence and strengthen Moscow's power still more.

(6) Moscow's policy to-day definitely aims at disintegrating the united front of the free world. And this, too, is the sole purpose of the assurances which are regularly made as regards the possibility of a "peaceful co-existence of the Communist and capitalist worlds" and of a "peaceful solution for all questions at issue."

Moscow is determined to make the most of the conflict of interests between the major Western powers; it is likewise determined to prevent the rearmament of the nations that were defeated in the last world war, and to mobilise the so-called colonial nations against the West until the time proves ripe for Moscow to make its decisive thrust.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Russian empire remains an idol on clay feet. Its power for the most part depends upon the disunion and weakness of the West and upon the latter's hesitant attitude as regards the national urge for freedom of the nations subjugated by Moscow.



The Kremlin is at present seeking to gain time in order to deal effectively with the national and social tension in the countries which belong to its sphere of influence. The West is faced by two possibilities : to make the most of the present internal crisis in the U.S.S.R., or to help the Soviet rulers out of their difficulty.

(7) In order to oppose and frustrate any future aggression against the free world on the part of Moscow, it is imperative that steps should be taken without delay to effect the co-ordination of the political and military action of the West with the resistance movements of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism.

In this connection it is essential that the West should recognise and accept the principle of the disintegration of the Great Russian Empire and the restoration of nation state independence for the subjugated nations.

This is the sole guarantee for an ultimate victory over Soviet Russian tyranny and for the permanent liberation and security of the rest of the world against a danger of aggression in the future.

We appeal to the leading forces in the West to adopt the right attitude as regards the political, psychological and military war on Moscow and to conduct this war in keeping with the psychological and political motives of our nations.

Bolshevism must be opposed not only as a system of social and political tyranny, but also as an exaggerated form of traditional Russian imperialism and Messiahnism with all their consequences. National state independence must be restored to all nations subjugated by Soviet Russia, in accordance with ethnographical principles and in such a way that these nations may determine their social and economic order and their intellectual and cultural life as they see fit.

All those persons who, under the Bolshevik regime, were either forcibly expelled or re-settled elsewhere must be allowed to return to their native country.

(8) Summing up, our demands are as follows :

Co-operation of the West with our subjugated nations, with their underground movements and with their spokesmen and representatives abroad ;

Dissolution of the Bolshevik prison of nations and of the U.S.S.R. and extermination of militant Russian imperialism, whatever its form and colour, since it is, and always will be, a constant source of unrest, a means of aggression and a permanent menace to the whole world.

Elimination of all artificially created state systems which are not in keeping with ethnographical principles, which have been set up against the wish of the people concerned, and which serve the purpose of constant national subjection, as for instance Czecho-Slovakia.

We exhort all nations and governments of the West to adopt the aims of the A.B.N. as their own and in their own interests.

We warn them not to make any compromise or agreement with Bolshevism which would help the latter to overcome the present crisis and enforce its tyranny upon our nations to an even greater degree.

Not an armistice with Moscow, but only a determined attack on the Moscow fortress of Soviet Russian tyranny can free the world from the Bolshevik menace.

THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.)  
Munich, 27th to 29th March 1954.



## RESOLUTIONS

passed by the **ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS**  
(A.B.N.) at its Third Congress in Munich from 27-29th March 1954

It is absolutely imperative that our generation should fight Bolshevism since this is the most evil reactionary phenomenon of the present age.

Bolshevist dictatorship with its atrocities, mass murders, enslavement of nations, ruthless imperialism and aggressive militarism is the grimmest terrorist regime of all times. Its brutal and unreasoning desire to conquer the world is about to cause indescribable chaos throughout the whole world.

Thus, not only the fate of individual nations will be decided in the fight against Bolshevism, but upon its issue will also depend the salvation or destruction of civilisation and mankind.

In view of these facts the A.B.N. is firmly decided and, thanks to the strength of its organisation, is also fitted to play an important part in eliminating the world menace of Bolshevism.

The Congress pays homage to the memory of those champions of freedom from among the nations subjugated by Bolshevism who have either been killed in active service or tortured to death; it admires the invincible fighting spirit and self-sacrifice of the supporters of the national revolutionary struggle in the subjugated countries, and is firmly convinced that this heroic fight against a tyranny such as the world has never before witnessed will, by reason of the united front of all the nations subjugated by Moscow, end in a final victory over Communism and Russian imperialism.

The Congress sends its sincere greetings to all the friends and comrades in arms of the A.B.N. all over the world; it stresses its solidarity with all the anti-Bolshevist fighting organisations of the nations subjugated and threatened by Soviet Russian imperialism, and exhorts the free world to support the national fight for freedom beyond the Iron Curtain and to combat Bolshevism and its Fifth Column on this side of the Iron Curtain with all possible means.

The Congress deeply appreciates the uncompromising attitude of the people of Korea and their unwavering fight against Communist tyranny, which is aided by external forces, in the northern region of their country.

The Congress likewise appreciates the revolt of the working classes in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany and the mass resistance of the German people to the Soviet Russian attempts to subjugate Germany, and regards this action as giving further support to the anti-Bolshevist world-front.

The Congress appeals to the political powers of the West to realise the true significance of the present crisis in the U.S.S.R.

and its sphere of influence, a crisis which has arisen as a result of the resistance of the subjugated nations, and to refrain from taking any steps which might lead to a consolidation of Soviet Russian tyranny over our nations.

The Congress warns the nations of Asia and Africa not to allow themselves to be deceived by the tempting lies of Soviet Communist propaganda and not to aid Soviet Russian imperialism by adopting a hostile attitude towards the Western world.

# I

(1) As regards its liberation policy the A.B.N. adheres to the principle of a national revolutionary fight for freedom, to be fought by the subjugated nations with their own forces and independent of any international constellation of nations and of the attitude of foreign powers.

(2) The following are the main aims of the A.B.N. as far as the rest of the world is concerned :

(a) That the A.B.N.'s conception of a fundamental reconstruction of the territorial bloc of the present Soviet Russian sphere of influence be recognised and accepted instead of the customary attitude, namely that it is imperative that a "supra-national" and "indivisible" Great Russian Empire be preserved ;

(b) That the national fight for freedom of all the nations subjugated by Moscow in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states be respected and that the potential significance of this fight in the event of a war be rightly estimated ;

(c) That allies shall be won over for the fight against Moscow ;

(3) The Congress approves of the political policy pursued so far and of the activity of the executive committee of the A.B.N. and its various organs in the foreign political, military and informative field.

(4) As regards future activity the Congress recommends the following measures :

(a) That the idea that it is imperative that the Russian empire should be disintegrated be disseminated and the danger of a Soviet Russian or Red Chinese aggression be revealed, in particular in all those regions of the Middle and Far East as well as of South Asia, where pro-Moscow influence and dangerous signs of neutrality are in evidence ;

(b) Increased co-operation with institutions and personalities of the Western world and the East who are favourably disposed towards the A.B.N. and its aims ;

(c) That an uncompromising attitude be maintained in rejecting all co-operation with movements and organisations which violate the fundamental principles of the A.B.N., inasmuch as they base their liberation policy on the indivisibility of the Russian sphere of influence, as for



instance the so-called "Co-ordination Centre of the Anti-Bolshevist Fight (K.C.A.B.)," or else co-operate with ostracised collaborators and hirelings of the Bolshevik regime in their respective countries, as for example the "Green Internationale";

(d) That the attitude manifested in certain quarters in the West be supported and furthered, namely that Communism must be counteracted by the national idea, national and social injustice must be eliminated, the Church must continue its steadfast fight against godless Communism, and religious doctrine must be applied in practice.

## II

(1) As far as internal matters are concerned the A.B.N. advocates an uncompromising and revolutionary fight against Soviet Communism and Russian imperialism, the restoration of the independent national states of the subjugated nations within the limits of their ethnographical territory, and the peaceful settlement of international controversies.

(2) The Congress approves of the activity of the A.B.N. so far in the field of internal political affairs and recommends the following measures as regards future activity:

(a) Increased and intensified co-operation with all national revolutionary organisations in the subjugated countries in order to strengthen the united front of the nations against the Moscow terrorist regime;

(b) The furtherance of relations between the nations that are members of the A.B.N. with a view to laying a foundation for a well-balanced and peaceful international order of their states in the future;

(c) Promotion of a mutual understanding as regards the vital rights of the individual nations and the elimination of all differences of opinion.

## III

(1) In view of the present political situation in the world the Congress deems it essential to stress the fact that the nations united in the A.B.N. as well as all the other nations in Europe and Asia, which are either subjugated or directly menaced by Moscow, must rely on their own strength and their own means in the fight they are conducting, if they wish to achieve their immediate aims and do not want to shed their blood in vain.

(2) The subjugated nations united in the A.B.N. must pursue their aims of national liberation and state independence unswervingly and uncompromisingly and in doing so must disregard the opportunist interests of foreign powers.

(3) The bloc of European and Asiatic nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism must reject the idea of any kind of a compromise with Bolshevism, even if the West should make a

temporary compromise with Moscow as regards the bipartite or tripartite division of the world.

(4) In the war it wages on Bolshevism the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations counts on the support of those circles and forces in the free world who profess their firm belief in the idea of national freedom and independence for those nations which have been subjugated by Bolshevism.

#### IV

(1) The following points are stressed by the Congress as the prerequisite for a lasting and united victory of the free and subjugated world over Bolshevism:

(a) Bolshevism must be combatted not only as a political, social and economic system, but also as imperialist Russian and alien tyranny;

(b) The subjugated nations must be freed from the Soviet yoke, their independent national states must be restored, and those persons who have been forcibly expelled and deported must be allowed to return to their native country;

(c) All artificially constructed state systems in the Bolshevik sphere of influence, which violate the principle of self-determination and serve the purpose of national subjugation, must be done away with;

(d) The U.S.S.R. must be partitioned into independent national states according to ethnographical principles and social justice must be realised.

(2) The motto of "Freedom for the nations and Freedom for the Individual," which the A.B.N. has adopted as its guiding principle, proclaims the fact that national freedom is the fundamental prerequisite for the freedom of the individual. Neither imperialist principles nor racial and class theories are indicative of our times, but the national conception and an understanding between nations based on mutual recognition of the divine mission and natural rights of each nation.

(3) Only the integrity of ethnographical territories can guarantee the development of an independent civilisation and culture and the realisation of social ideals. The only foundation upon which a genuine democratic order can be set up and by means of which man's inviolable rights can be safeguarded is his hereditary native soil.

(4) For this reason our appeal is, "Freedom-loving nations and peoples all over the world, unite in fighting Bolshevism and Russian imperialism for the freedom of the nations and the individual!" Only in this way will it be possible to set up a world-system of free national states and thus achieve the noble aim of mankind, that longs for freedom, justice, peace, and a prosperity which is secure and in no way menaced.

(5) The A.B.N. approves of and supports the Western defence front against Moscow, the foundations of which have



been laid in the Atlantic Pact and the E.D.C., and advocates that the subjugated nations and their underground movements should be included so as to ensure the success of the fight against the Bolshevik world-menace.

(6) The inclusion of the chosen representatives of our nations in discussions dealing with a peaceful solution of international problems would no doubt be an important contribution towards bringing about a world peace.

(7) The Near and Middle East, with its huge population and its immeasurable natural wealth, is one of the main targets of Bolshevism. If these countries were seized by Bolshevism, the latter would assume unheard of power and would be alarmingly near to achieving its ultimate aim, namely the conquest of the world. In order to undermine Russian Bolshevik aggression in these countries the West should seek to win over the nations of these countries by definitely supporting the national, social and religious ideas which are inseparably bound up with the ideal of freedom cherished by these nations. Above all, the social need of these nations should be remedied so as to prevent this vulnerable part of the world from being infected by the Bolshevik pestilence.

If the Oriental nations are to take part in the anti-Bolshevik fight, then they must in the first place be made to realise that they are fighting for their own cause.

(8) Only when the Russian empire, the hotbed of Bolshevism, vanishes, will the world be able to live in freedom, peace, security and prosperity, and be free of fear and need.

In order to achieve these aims it is imperative that the West should co-operate with all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism. And an essential feature of this co-operation is that our underground movements and insurgent troops should be given active political, moral, material and technical support.

## V

(1) The A.B.N. regards all the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism as comrades of our joint fighting front and considers it its duty to defend their rights, to fight for their freedom, and to act as their spokesman.

(2) The A.B.N. exhorts the various national delegations, organisations, and emigrant groups to accept its principles and to support its action.

(3) The A.B.N. expects the Western powers and all the nations of the free world to adopt the justified demands and aims of the nations subjugated by Moscow as their own and to assist the Bloc in fulfilling its historic mission, so that the tragedy of the last World War will not be repeated.

**A.B.N. STATUTES, Part I**  
**THE GUIDING POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE A.B.N.**

**Article 1** The name of the organisation is :

*English* : Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations ;

*French* : Bloc anti-Bolchevique des Nations ;

*German* : Anti-Bolschewistischer Block der Nationen ;  
abbreviated in all languages to : A.B.N.

**Article 2** The A.B.N. is a co-ordination centre of the revolutionary fight for freedom of the underground movements, national central organisations, liberation organisations and insurgent groups of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. A prerequisite for membership of the A.B.N. is acceptance of all its principles on the part of the national organisation concerned, which acts as the representative of a nation in the A.B.N.

**Article 3** 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.

**Article 4** 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 guiding watchword of the A.B.N., "FREEDOM FOR THE NATIONS AND FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL," expresses the fundamental aim of its fight.

**Article 5** The A.B.N. has set itself the following tasks :

- (a) To restore the national state independence of all nations subjugated by Bolshevik Russia, in accordance with ethnographical 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;
- (b) To disintegrate the Russian empire, whatever its nature or colour may be; to fight Russian imperialism in every form, whether evident or camouflaged, as for instance Bolshevism, Pan-Slavism, racialism, compulsory orthodoxy, movements disguised as pro-Islamism, "Peace Movements," and "Russian Messianism," which all resort to the watchwords of a treacherous "fraternisation of nations" and social revolutions.
- (c) To fight national subjugation which is disguised as "Soviet patriotism"; to combat social and economic subjugation and exploitation of the individual by the



- state or by socially privileged classes; to oppose intellectual and cultural subjugation and terrorisation in every form; to exterminate totalitarianism of every kind.
- (d) To fight Communism in all its forms and throughout the world.

## **Article 6**

- (a) *The A.B.N. is definitely fighting* to bring about the disintegration of the Russian empire, in some form or other, into national states of the subjugated nations; to bring about the inclusion of the ethnographical territory of each of our nations in their national state; to liberate the nations from Bolshevik and Communist enslavement; to obtain independence and equal rights for all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism, irrespective of any differences as regards the size of the nations concerned, their race, religion, and prosperity; the A.B.N. is likewise fighting for a genuine national democracy; for the protection of personal freedom; for ethical values which are based on religious principles; for the setting up of a social and economic order which is freely determined by every nation in its own state; for freedom of intellectual and cultural life and work; for the liberation of man from terror, fear and need; for a new and just social order.
- (b) *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 as a political system must be destroyed in order to achieve these aims, but the Russian empire, the hotbed of imperialist world-aggression, must also be disintegrated.

**Article 7** The most powerful weapon in the fight against Bolshevism is the national idea. The A.B.N. rejects all federalist state systems which are forced on the nations and advocates the national state conception which is the guiding principle of its fight against Bolshevism.

**Article 8** Regional relations are not the concern of the A.B.N.'s political programme. There is no objection, however, to any one national organisation, which is a member of the A.B.N., reaching an agreement in regional questions concerning its nation apart from the direct aims of the A.B.N.

**Article 9** Organisations, however, which aim to promote federalist relations with Russia and to co-operate with Russian imperialists cannot be members of the A.B.N. The same applies to former collaborators of Bolshevism and hirelings of the Soviet Russian regime in their countries.

**Article 10** The A.B.N. likewise advocates the realisation of the social ideal, that is to say social justice. The A.B.N. most definitely rejects collectivism as a modern form of national and social subjugation and enslavement of the individual, and likewise opposes totalitarianism, dictatorship, and class-conflict.

**Article 11** Democracy, as interpreted by the A.B.N., is the unison of personal and national freedom. Our national liberation fight is a fight for the freedom of the nation, for the freedom of the individual, and for a social ideal which is realised by a genuine national democracy.

**Article 12** The most important prerequisite for the attainment of the aims of the A.B.N. is the revolutionary anti-Bolshevist fight of all the nations subjugated by Moscow and the co-operation of the national anti-Bolshevist underground movements for the purpose of disintegrating the Russian Bolshevik empire from within and exterminating Bolshevik tyranny in its entire sphere of influence, that is to say both in the U.S.S.R. and in Moscow's satellite states.

**Article 13** The liberation revolution must be conducted on a national, political, social, economic, intellectual and cultural level. The plans for this revolution and its subsequent realisation must include all the countries subjugated by Bolshevism.

**Article 14** The revolutionary political organisations and groups of the subjugated nations are the supporting elements of the fight for freedom of the nations which are united in the A.B.N.

**Article 15** We advocate the co-operation of the underground movements and national liberation organisations of the subjugated nations abroad with political circles, movements and organisations of the Western powers and the East which support the same ideas, for the purpose of achieving a joint victory. The Bolshevik world-menace must be opposed and fought by all freedom-loving forces, whether free or subjugated, throughout the whole world. A united front with the free nations must be set up against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism; all plans in this connection must be co-ordinated and there must be joint action with all those circles in the West and East which are favourably disposed towards us; political, moral, material and technical aid must be accorded to the fighting nations and their underground movements by the free world.

**Article 16** The A.B.N. is favourably disposed towards all initiative on the part of the West which recognises and supports the ideas of the A.B.N. The latter, however, is



not prepared to abandon its principles and to agree to demands which are alien to it. The principles of the A.B.N. are a guarantee for a victory, not only in the interests of our nations but of the whole world. By remaining true to its principles the A.B.N. is serving freedom-loving and peace-loving mankind throughout the entire world.

**Article 17** The A.B.N. approves and supports the union of the Western defence front against Moscow and advocates a firm and united front of the West with the fighting front of the subjugated nations, their underground movements, their national liberation organisations and the representatives of these in the free world.

**Article 18** The A.B.N. opposes all initiative and all political trends in the West which are based on the idea of the indivisibility and preservation of a Great Russian empire and in this way help to promote Russian imperialism in the future.

**Article 19** The A.B.N. is opposed to any settlement between the Western powers and Moscow which recognises and permits the subjugation of our nations, either *de jure* or *de facto*.

**Article 20** The A.B.N. is fighting for the independence of each of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism, irrespective of whether these nations are represented in the A.B.N. by their own political organisation or not.

Passed at the Third Congress of the A.B.N., 27th to 29th March 1954.

## GREETINGS

WEST POUNDGATE MANOR,  
CROWBOROUGH, SUSSEX.

Dear Mr President,—Having to-day learnt that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is holding its annual meeting in Munich on 20th of this month, I send my greetings to you and the members attending. Kindly convey to them on my behalf my profound admiration for the noble work they are carrying out in keeping the flame of liberty alight among the many nations and peoples enslaved under Muscovite tyranny.—Yours sincerely,

J. F. C. FULLER,

16th February 1954.

C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., Major-General.

SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM,  
EDINBURGH. 12th February 1954.

*The President, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.),  
Dachauerstr. 9/1. Munich, Germany.*

Dear Mr President,—I understand that A.B.N. is to have a General Meeting on 20th inst., at which office-bearers will be elected for the following year. My sincere wishes will be with you for a successful meeting and for taking of decisions which will prove to be the right ones.

The work of the Scottish League was begun on 24th August 1939 on the signing of the Russo-German Pact, which we recognised as a much greater Russian danger to the world than a German one. We have never altered our line by a hairsbreadth, that being Freedom and Sovereign Independence to all nations within their own ethnic frontiers. When A.B.N. was formed later, we sincerely welcomed it and have done our best to co-operate with it ever since, and to give Mr Stetzko all the support we could, recognising that he began the fight which, like our own at first, had strong opponents in various lands.

The policy of A.B.N. is the policy of the Scottish League, and it was carried on for long against apathy or direct opposition in very strong quarters. But, as I never gave up the fight, so Mr Stetzko has never given up, and I trust that your meeting will give him the whole-hearted support that we do.

It is a matter of great sorrow to me that, as far as I know, there are, in every single group of exiles from Russian dominated lands, antagonistic parties within the group. In the Scottish



League there are no antagonistic groups, every member has the cause at heart, and we recognise that we fight for only one object — freedom of all peoples, and, as the only source of suppression is Moscow, then the power of Moscow for evil must be destroyed for all time. For that, a strong, combined effort is needed; surely internal differences among oppressed peoples can wait till that object is attained, and then the parties can differ as much as they like. That is the policy of the Scottish League. I am aware that, both in this country and America, there are organisations, supported by unlimited funds, which have objects different from ours, although they profess to be going towards the same goal. But none has the same object as ours, freedom for all nations, and none can say as we can, that we are not financed by anyone to the extent of a single penny, and, while we refuse to accept any financial support from any outside parties, so we refuse to finance any other person or organisation to the extent, even, of that single penny. We do our work with the support of our own members only. If once financial support is accepted from anyone it would mean the loss of our independence, our greatest asset. In this country, sectional organisations have been formed for the liberation of different individual peoples, and we have been asked to join and support them, with the promise of considerable advantages to us; we have steadfastly refused, and I do hope that A.B.N. will act on the same principle and refuse such offers, and retain its independence. I happen to know from private sources that, while pretending to work for the object, attempts are being made to destroy or weaken A.B.N. or to change its policy so as to bring into public prominence men who have really no other object than to become public figures.

The burden and the heat of the day in this country have been borne by the Scottish League alone, and, now that world opinion is becoming influenced and the spade work is done, there are plenty who will now rush into the arena. I do urge that all members of A.B.N. will see the aim of these people, and will defeat it by carrying on the work so excellently begun by those who have led it, without reward of any kind from any source, and, with instead, a good deal of unpleasantness for fighting as they have done; we have had that experience ourselves.

I have, of course, no right to meddle in the internal affairs of A.B.N., but, in the election of office-bearers, we do support, as far as it is our place to do so, that Mr Stetzko be retained in a position in which he has done such valiant service. I say this because he is the only leader I know personally and I have the highest opinion of his ability and patriotism. I know from personal friends in Canada the extremely high estimation in which he is held in that great country, on which, in my opinion, the hopes of all of us should be set in future.

I do not know anything of the finances of the A.B.N., but it should depend, as the League does, on the effort of its own members, of whatever nationality. It is only by a united, unselfish effort on the part of all of us that there is any hope of destroying the power of the greatest evil that has ever existed in this world.

Please give my warmest greeting to all your members.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN F. STEWART, *Chairman.*

15th February 1954

*The President, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations,  
München, 2. Dachauerstr. 9/11. Bayern, Germany.*

Dear Sir,—I am writing to you, as a loyal supporter in Scotland of the resistance movements in Europe, on the occasion of your General Meeting in Munich on the 20th of February 1954. As a minister of the Church of Scotland, I want to assure you, and all within your movement, of my sincere goodwill, and to express the hope that 1954 will see the nearer fulfilment of your hopes of Freedom and National Independence of your oppressed nations. May the day soon dawn when you will be able to burst open the prison doors of Communism and set the souls in bondage free.

With every success for your gathering and your cause.—Yours most sincerely,

FREDERICK E. WATSON,  
Minister of the Church of Scotland.



Foreign Affairs Information Series  
No. 27

# For What Type of War Should The West Prepare ?

by

Major-General J. F. C. Fuller,  
*C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.*

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SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM  
Ashfield, Juniper Green, Edinburgh - Telephone 87789

## FOR WHAT TYPE OF WAR SHOULD THE WEST PREPARE?

by MAJOR-GENERAL J. F. C. FULLER, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

In a lecture given in London last year, Mr Fitzroy Maclean, a British Member of Parliament, who probably knows more what is happening behind the Iron Curtain than any other Englishman, said:

"If you go to Moscow, one of the things you will be taken to see is Lenin. They have Lenin in a glass case. . . . You see him there, with his little beard and his head lying on a cushion, and he is looking up at you with a slightly sardonic smile on his face.

"I am told that one of the reasons that Lenin is in such a good state of preservation is that his little glass case is hermetically sealed. I am told that if you were to take half a brick and smash the glass, Lenin would very soon disintegrate. I do not know whether that is true, but it is certainly a parallel which applies to the whole Soviet system.

"One of the reasons this system has lasted as long as it has done is that it is hermetically sealed; it is kept from all contact with the outside world. Practically speaking, no Russians can get out of Russia and no foreigners—or so far as to make no difference—can get into Russia. It is because they have no standard of comparison, because they know nothing of the outside world or of any other system, that the Russians put up with this terrible tyranny to which they are subjected.

"If, so to speak, you were to take half a brick and smash that glass, and let in some fresh air, then you might very well see the whole system melt away. And, of course, in a war there would be a very considerable likelihood of that happening."

That is why the Kremlin is terrified of war; it cannot count on the loyalty of its subjugated peoples, and of course this applies far more in an offensive than in a defensive war. In a defensive, the Russians fight for their homeland; in an offensive war their eyes are opened by other peoples' homelands. Only should the western nations be so weak physically that an offensive war would mean a walk-over will the Kremlin risk war. Hence the present cold war—the transference of conflict from the physical to the psychological sphere.



This is the crucial difference between the wars of the nineteenth century and those of to-day. The former were simple, they were military contests for political ends. Those of to-day are complex, for though they also have political ends, as much so as in the wars of religion, they are surrounded by an ideological atmosphere—their breath of life.

Are the Western nations prepared or preparing to wage ideological warfare? In no way whatever. They have no cold war General Staff; no Intelligence Department; no Operations Department organised to wage it. Their Allies behind the Iron Curtain await them, but they do not even give them hope. Daily they are attacked, yet they are doing little to defend themselves, and as regards counter-attack they are afraid of antagonising the Kremlin.

I should like to deal fully with this vital problem, but unfortunately have not the space to do so; so all I will say is this: in psychological warfare ideas replace bullets, and the rest follows suit, because all the principles of psychological war are identical with those of physical. Further, physical war itself, or, rather, its threat, is its foundation. This means that in cold war an idea derives its potency, not only from its magnetism, but also from the big stick waved over the infidel's head. Remember that it was with the Koran in one hand and a sword in the other Mohammed established the Islamic world, and that had he not had the sword, the Koran alone would not have cut much ice.

It was fear of Russian military intervention—the big stick—which halted the Korean war when Macarthur was on the point of winning it. A negligible fear, because the conditions within the U.S.S.R. prohibited the Kremlin entering the conflict for fear that it would lead to a general shooting war. The one thing the Bolsheviks fear most, because it is the half-brick which will smash their glass-house.

Here we see the intimate relationship between psychological and physical warfare, and to the latter I will now turn.

What do we see? That the simple war problem of the nineteenth century has been vastly complicated: (1) by nuclear and other scientific weapons, which in popular idiom is called atomic warfare; (2) by a vast extension of the most primitive type of warfare—guerilla warfare—the ultimate expression of the nation in arms.

Therefore, besides cold war, we have now three forms of hot war. They are: (1) regular warfare as hitherto known; the clash between armies composed of the traditional arms—infantry, artillery, etc.; (2) scientific warfare, which is almost at present confined to the laboratories; (3) guerilla warfare, which, if not prepared for, is nevertheless latent in every

people or nation. Consequently, to-day, we are faced by an extremely complex problem, and, if only in our heads, we have to combine warfare of the present, the future and the past.

How should we set out to tackle this problem? By simplifying it. Let us, then, try to do so.

With Clausewitz we should start off by remembering that war, other than in the form of pure brigandage, is a political instrument, the task of which is to establish conditions favourable to the attainment of the political aim.

In the present case, what should the political aim be? The disintegration of the Bolshevist Imperium, for, once it ceases to be, the present world problem is solved. Though its destruction may give rise to some other world problem, this does not concern us here.

The aim is, therefore, a revolutionary one, so again with Clausewitz we should ask ourselves the question: Where is its centre of gravity to be found?

In the hearts of all people behind the Iron Curtain who are violently opposed to Bolshevism. If they overthrow Bolshevism, Bolshevism will automatically be killed. Whereas, were the U.S.S.R. to be occupied by invading armies, it would only be militarily suppressed.

How does scientific warfare fit this problem?

One prominent school of thought says: It is quite unnecessary to conquer the U.S.S.R., for we now possess the means of obliterating every great city and industrial centre within it; and once they are obliterated the Kremlin cannot continue to fight a war, therefore it must surrender unconditionally.

Not only does this solution take little notice of the political aim, or the revolutionary character of ideological wars, but it does not differentiate between friends and foes behind the Iron Curtain, who together perish like the good and bad in Sodom and Gomorrah. It entirely overlooks that, should the Russians be deprived of the means of waging regular and scientific warfare, they can nevertheless resort to guerilla. To throw half Europe and three-quarters of Asia into complete anarchy, and then set out to fight a super-Thirty Years War in order to reinstate some semblance of order is definitely no solution.

What, then, should be the main role of the atomic bomb, etc., in warfare to-day? It should be that of the big stick, which, through threat of its use will prevent the Kremlin indulging in regular warfare, however fiercely it is attacked psychologically. Otherwise put, it should cover the psychological attack with a terror barrage. Therefore it is essential that the West should have scientific superiority, and the higher it is the more will Western nations be able to push



their psychological attack, or, should regular war break out, the more will they be in a position to delay the use of nuclear weapons while it is being fought.

This psychological use of the atomic bomb is by no means a pure assumption, for, in the last few years we have seen it in operation. Directly the Americans explode an atomic bomb, the Russians explode another. Already the bomb has become a political weapon of the first magnitude, publicly used through press and radio to delay the outbreak of regular war, and when, as in Korea, regular war comes, what do we see? That the Americans dare not use atomic weapons through fear that the other may follow suit.

What is the result? Not only the restriction of the outbreak of regular war, because it may lead to scientific war, but to the introduction of wars by proxy of the guerilla type, such as we see in Malaya and Indo-China. They are what may be called the ultimate expression of cold war, a change over from the war of subversion to the war of action—either civil war or colonial rebellion—without involving the main participants. Nevertheless, the fullest effect of guerilla war is attained when it is combined with regular war, as it was in Russia.

Once Hitler, through his blind policy of suppression had transformed the bulk of the anti-Bolshevik peoples within Russia into temporary Muscovite patriots, and thus eliminated the one thing Stalin feared most—a civil war within the U.S.S.R.—Stalin organised the sporadic guerilla bands into well-equipped and supplied guerilla armies. It is no exaggeration to say that, by constant attack on the German communications, they so weakened the German field armies, that they were one of the main causes of Russian victory.\* In this connection it should be remembered that over half the soldiers of the Russian army are recruited from the subjugated peoples. Therefore, had Hitler offered these peoples freedom instead of suppression, many of the Russian guerillas who attacked the German lines of communication, would have attacked the Russian lines instead. In other words, Hitler would have placed the Bolsheviks between two fronts—an external and an internal one.

\* In connection with the guerilla warfare at the time referred to, it may be mentioned that, at the same time, guerilla warfare against both Russians and Germans was being vigorously prosecuted by Ukrainians, Belorussians, Baltic Peoples and others. The most important of these being the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which had been organised in 1942, and has not ceased fighting against the Russians to the present day.

Further information on these matters is contained in many publications which can be obtained from the Scottish League for European Freedom.

J.F.S., Ed.

The creation of the latter is the key strategical problem which faces every would-be conqueror of the U.S.S.R. It annihilates space, hitherto Russia's shield, by filling it with turmoil and revolt.

Having briefly examined the possibilities of scientific and guerilla warfare, I will lastly turn to regular warfare. The type of war all armies are prepared to wage to-day.

**Vis-à-vis** Russia, there are two theories on the employment of regular forces. They may be named after their most prominent exponents—General Ridgway and Field-Marshal Montgomery. The first is: Unless the N.A.T.O. forces in Germany are powerful enough to defeat an initial Russian attack, the Western Powers "will remain exposed to the peril of decisive defeat." The second, in the Field-Marshal's own words, is: "A small shield in front, big reserves behind, which are organised—properly organised—and the war is won; mind you, not by the active forces you keep up in peacetime, which are small. The war is won by the nation in arms behind the shield, which mobilises and gets cracking quickly. . . . Remember that the first shock is taken up by the shield, and it is the organised reserves which come along and really do the business."

The obvious defect in the first is its vast cost, which the Western nations refuse to face. The obvious defect in the second is that the small shield in front will be over-run long before the reserves are mobilised and brought from overseas. The main ones are 3,000 miles away. In any case, the French reserves are likely to panic and crack up instead of "getting cracking."

Although it is no more than common sense to base defence expenditure on financial possibilities, it is not necessary to jump to the conclusion that the Western war problem must necessarily be a defensive one. To do so is to surrender the initiative to Russia even before considering what a war with Russia entails. But when we do so, we find that there are two centres of gravity—a strategical and a political one.

Where is the first to be discovered? Certainly not in the Middle or Far East. It is to be found between the Vistula and the Rhine, its heart is Eastern and Western Germany. Should the Russians occupy Western Germany, what remains of Western Europe is at their mercy, whether by military or psychological attack.

The second is our old friend—the discordant conditions within the U.S.S.R. Should at the outset of war, the Western Powers be able to win a decisive battle in Eastern Germany, the high probability is that the moral shock to Soviet prestige will be so great that all the occupied countries will at



once explode into revolt, and that the chaos resulting will unhinge Russian logistics — supply and movement.

Have the Western nations at present got the necessary forces to win this initial decisive battle? No. Can they raise them at small cost to themselves?—Yes, if Western Germany is roped in and re-armed so that she can defend herself; remember that there are 50 million Western Germans.

Now, what about the other half? Are the Western nations prepared to turn revolt in the occupied countries, Ukraine, etc., into a full guerilla war? They are not! Firstly, this demands contact with the leaders of the underground movements, next, a well-considered plan of assistance, and, lastly, stock piles of guerilla warfare weapons and aircraft in readiness to drop them.

Granted a re-armed Germany, it becomes possible to combine shield and sword. And this combination should give us sufficient force wherewith to fight a decisive battle, if our offensive and defensive arms are combined with the highest mobility. This is essential. Firstly, because velocity is the answer to numerical superiority. Secondly, because in atomic warfare ability to move dispersed and to concentrate rapidly and then disperse again is the only practical protection. Thirdly, because of its size, an attacking or defending Russian army will be compelled to advance or deploy on a wide front in order to guarantee its supply. Therefore, as its communications will run through potentially hostile countries, the tactical aim should be, suddenly and rapidly to penetrate this extended front at one or more selected points and awaken revolt in rear. This is not a gamble, because Russia will be sitting on a psychological volcano, packed with human explosives incomparably more potent than any number of atomic bombs.

The main elements of the forces visualised are:

- (1) A tactical air force to gain local command of the air.
- (2) A defensive wing — the shield — composed mainly of heavy tanks, anti-tank units, bomber craft and atomic artillery, to delay an advancing enemy.
- (3) An offensive wing — the sword — organised and equipped to penetrate the enemy's front with extreme rapidity, preferably under cover of night.
- (4) A guerilla wing to arm, supply and equip revolt in rear of the enemy.
- (5) An air carrier wing to supply the forward troops and transport airborne ones.
- (6) An atomic bomb wing, as a standing threat or for purpose of retaliation.

These, in brief, are the main elements in the war I consider the West should arm for.

Finally, I will summarise the more important points I have mentioned:—

- (1) In an ideological age wars take on an ideological character.
- (2) They are conflicts between ideas in which bullets play a secondary part.
- (3) The cold war is the real war, and its aim is internal attack on the enemy.
- (4) Ideas are largely impotent unless backed by force—the threat of actual war.
- (5) The greater the threat, the more audaciously can cold war be waged, hence the importance of scientific superiority.
- (6) As this may lead to the outbreak of actual war, the West must be prepared, not only to fight it, but to convert its cold war into civil and guerilla war within the enemy's country.
- (7) These things the Western nations will never adequately do unless: (a) Western Germany is fully re-armed, and (b) unless they co-operate with the Resistance Movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Finally, let us remember this: In the mobile and scientific warfare of to-day, he who prepares for the defensive digs his own grave.



Foreign Affairs Information Series

No. 28

# The Legal Position of the Non-Russian Nations in the U.S.S.R.

by

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## THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN THE U.S.S.R.

by PRINCE NIKO NAKASHIDZE

[The author is a lawyer of world-wide repute and authority on matters of International Law. — J.F.S., Ed.]

The Western states regard the problem of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union as complicated and difficult to solve, and are undecided on this point.

They thus hesitate to acknowledge and proclaim the right of these nations to regain their independent states, as they did in the case of the Baltic states.

The solution of this problem is left to the future and to a possible turn in events and to newly created conditions.

Some of the Western politicians go so far as to regard this problem as a domestic problem of Russian politics which can only be solved with Russia's approval.

The West contents itself with defining the right of self-determination of the nations in general terms.

What exactly is the status of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union from the point of view of constitutional and international law?

### I. Historic facts

The following historic facts must be acknowledged:

The old Tsarist empire was created by conquering foreign countries and by subjugating foreign nations.

Many of these nations are in no way related to the Russians, either by origin, history, language, or culture.

The states of all these non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union existed for several centuries before either the Russian nation or the Russian State was formed.

The nations which were compelled to become part of the Tsarist empire—the Finns, the Baltic nations, the Caucasian nations, the Ukrainians, the people of Turkestan, and also the Poles at that time—were conquered by force; after the collapse of the Tsarist empire in 1917, these nations detached themselves from Russia and once more set up their own states in the shape of democratic republics.

The process known in international law as the "rehabilitation of the international person" (Jellinek) was thus effected.



These states were recognised by other states which already existed, and have thus become subject to international law.

In none of these states was Bolshevism able to gain ground. Bolshevism has only been successful in Russia.

At various times the non-Russian countries of the present Soviet Union were overpowered by Russia's military supremacy (in those days the RSFSR—the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) and robbed of their independence. Some of these states, as for instance Georgia, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, were recognised *de jure* by Russia.\*

Forcible seizure cannot be recognised as a lawful condition; and this principle has been accepted by every State in the civilised world with regard to international law.

## **II. The position from the point of view of international law**

1. The non-Russian member-states of the Soviet Union have been forcibly occupied by foreign State, namely Russia (RSFSR).
2. From the viewpoint of international law these states are in the same position as were Holland, Norway, Belgium, etc. during the German occupation, and as are at present Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the Baltic states under Soviet Russian rule, that is to say completely in Russia's vassalage.
3. The problem of all the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union is thus an international one.
4. The states of these nations had already been recognised and it is therefore not necessary to grant them recognition once more. The question at issue is the liberation of these countries from foreign, that is to say Russian, occupation and from compulsory membership of the Soviet Union.
5. Even at the present time the non-Russian states of the Soviet Union are formally and legally sovereign states. Even though their sovereign status may be only feigned for the sake of appearances, these states are nevertheless legally defined as such in the constitution (Articles 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 18a, and 18b of the Constitution of the Soviet Union).
6. This legal fact has been corroborated in accordance with international law by the states of the free world, inasmuch as they have admitted Ukraine and Byelorussia, to the UNO

\*It should be noted that Ukrainian Independent Republic was also recognised by a number of the Western Allies, including Great Britain, and, at Brest Litovsk, by Russia.—J.F.S., Ed.

as members enjoying the same rights as all the other members of that organisation.

7. By reason of this conclusive act all the other non-Russian states of the Soviet Union have also been recognised as such, for they have been forced to become part of the Soviet Union in the same circumstances, and are members of the Soviet Union with the same rights and under the same conditions, as Ukraine and Byelorussia.
8. The annexion of the countries which Russia occupied since 1939 has not been recognized by the states of the free world; their liberation from foreign occupation and vassalage and the restoration of their sovereignty and independence has been proclaimed and is demanded by all.
9. Legally and ethically it is nonsense to single out 1939 as the year by which to establish the right to restore the independent State.  
The claim and the right to freedom and to the restoration of its sovereign status of a nation which has been forcibly subjugated cannot lapse with any one year.
10. The date on which the country in question was occupied is of no importance. If it were, this would be contrary to all ethical, legal and democratic principles.
11. After its collapse or disintegration the Soviet Union will cease to exist as such, and the various member-states will therefore no longer be part of the Union. In any case, they could not continue to be members of a Union which no longer exists.
12. There are no legal objections to this legal fact being corroborated according to the principles of international law. Moreover, this would not be an act of hostility towards Russia for, according to Article 17 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, each member-state has a right to secede from the Union voluntarily.
13. In keeping with the acknowledged ethical, legal and democratic principles of the civilized world, the right of the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union to the restoration of their independent states must be recognized without prejudice, similarly to the rights of the Baltic and other countries, and must now be proclaimed.

In order to ensure that the Russian Empire shall continue to exist, Russia is endeavouring to extirpate these subjugated nations by every possible means and is seeking to reduce the nations to a lower level by re-settling them in far-off districts of Siberia.



If the free world disregards all these facts, and sacrifices all ethical and legal principles, which form the basis of civilization; and if, in the erroneous belief that it can ensure the "peaceful co-existence" of the two worlds by making light of the fate of millions of people and of the subjugated nations, it allows itself to be guided by "sacro egoismo" and recognizes Russia's right of possession over the nations as a vested right,—it will bring about its own downfall and will be doomed to destruction as was National Socialism and Fascism.

