

70

INFORMATION LEAFLETS

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# RUSSIA

THE

# Suppressor of Nations

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SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

# RUSSIA

## THE

# Suppressor of Nations

WHEN the Tsarist Empire collapsed during the First World War, the various non-Russian nationalities hitherto in that Prison of Nations, proclaimed their own independence, a proclamation ostensibly approved by the new Kremlin powers. Of these nationalities the strongest was the Ukrainian, with a population of between 40 and 50 millions, second in Europe only to Germany, a separate people, with its own language, history, traditions and culture. With the will of the entire nation, the Ukrainians proclaimed the Ukrainian Independent State on January 22, 1918. Its Government was Socialist-Democratic, and its first President was the famous Ukrainian historian and archaeologist, Professor Michael Hrushevsky. For a time it seemed the solution of any problem of the future of Ukraine.

Then followed, for the first time, the typical Russian attempt to destroy the new Governments by the Bolshevisation which first was forced on Ukraine, followed in 1920 by the same process on Armenia and Azerbaijan, in 1921 on Georgia, in 1923 on the Far East Republic and Outer Mongolia, in 1939 and 1940 on Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, in 1944 to 1946 on Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Eastern Germany, Northern Korea and others.

The action against Ukraine was directed by Joseph Stalin, Russian Commissar of Nationalities, a renegade Georgian. He induced the Executive Committee of the Kiev Soviet Council of Peasants, Workers and Soldiers to call an "All Ukrainian" Convention of Soviets, so as to precede the elections which had been designed for the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, and thus present a *coup d'état* to overthrow the Ukrainian democratic government and to proclaim the Soviet Government in its place.

Of the 2000 delegates present only 150 opposed the Ukrainian Government, and of these 150 the majority were not Ukrainians. The remainder proclaimed their entire loyalty to the Ukrainian Government, and the meeting, designed for a very different purpose, became an enthusiastic demonstration for the independence of Ukraine.

The minority of 150, led by the *Russian*, Sergiev (Artem), left Kiev and proceeded to Kharkiv on the borders of Red Russia, opened their own Conference and proclaimed Ukraine a Soviet Republic! They appointed themselves the Soviet Government of Ukraine and asked Russia for help. The Red Army marched in and the Ukrainian War of Independence began and lasted from 1918 to 1921. The Ukrainians, however, had to fight, not only the

Red Army, but the White (Tsarist) Russians, as well as the Poles and Rumanians, who used the opportunity to seize what they could of the rich Ukrainian territory. Ukraine, after four years of desperate fighting, fell and became a Soviet Socialist Republic dominated by Moscow. Western Ukraine was divided between Poland (Galicia and Wolynia), Rumania (Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia), and Czecho-Slovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine).

The Ukrainians, by their courageous fight, saved Europe from Bolshevism, but the Western World failed to recognise this, and Ukraine was ruthlessly oppressed by Russia. The West, as even now, knew little or nothing of the historical aspect of the Ukrainian question, and attempts to obtain sympathetic consideration failed. France was committed to the idea of a "strong Poland" through which she could dominate Central Europe, the United States was not interested in Eastern Europe, and Great Britain wobbled between Lloyd George's Russian appeasement policy and the support given by Churchill, then War Minister, to the White Russian armies under Denikin and Kolchak by supplying them with British war materials. This caused the downfall of the Independent Ukrainian Government, and destroyed the Ukrainian Army by a blockade which refused the admission of even food and medicines. Typhus broke out and the want of medical necessities caused many thousands of deaths. If the Ukrainians had received the British support which the Russian White leaders did in the ineffectual attempt to restore Tsardom, they would have conquered, and neither Ukraine nor any part of Europe would have been overrun and occupied by Russian Bolshevism, and there would have been no Second World War. It was the Russo-German Pact of August 1939 which designedly brought that war into being. It also led to Russia's subsequent victories and annexations in Europe.

First in Ukraine and then in other subjugated countries, Moscow has applied its well-tried methods of sovietisation. Thousands of these countries' nationals were deported to Russian slave camps in Siberia and Arctic Russia—clergymen, teachers, professional and business men, prosperous farmers and democratic leaders.

When the natural leaders were thus disposed of millions of the population were deported or were merely shot. Millions perished in artificial famine created by Moscow to break the spirit of the Ukrainian people. Everything was done to destroy the national spirit and give it a Russian Communist aspect but without success. Stalin, who is a realist, well knows the dynamic qualities of the centuries-old Ukrainian National Movement, and, as far back as 1934, at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party, he warned the latter of the "grave danger" that Ukraine presented to the Soviet Union. His subordinate in Ukraine has repeatedly copied this warning and called for constant vigilance to destroy "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

But all these efforts have failed in their object and every nation subjugated by Russia is as determined as ever not to accept Moscow's rule or any association with Russia, no matter what its colour may be. The Resistance Movements are strong, and evidence is accumulating that they form Stalin's greatest anxiety. Their justice, also, is becoming gradually known to the peoples of the West, who will yet sorely need their help to destroy the monster their ignorance and past mistakes have created. If they do not recognise these errors and act on their better knowledge, they will repeat, on a stupendous scale, another Frankenstein episode, with themselves as Frankenstein.

These factors should, without delay, be taken into consideration by the peoples of the still free world. Russia can not only not be defeated, but even cannot be seriously opposed without the *co-operation* of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R.; independence for these (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Albanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North-Caucasians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Idel-Uralians, Siberians, Poles, Slovakians) and the Russians within their own ethnic territories is the only solution. Without their co-operation the U.S.S.R. could not be held if invaded by the West and even their neutrality would be fatal. Any kind of Russian Empire must be broken up into separate national states of the non-Russian peoples.

At the moment, considerable unofficial support is being given to Kerensky, Russian Premier for a few months in 1917 when he fled to the security of America. His plan was first to oust the Stalinite regime and instal his own, but claiming still "Holy Mother Russia, One and Indivisible," that is complete domination over all non-Russian peoples. In America, however, intelligent public opinion is now leading more and more to the necessity of the disintegration of any Russian Empire and Kerensky, at the time of writing this, is kindly promising that if he obtains power he will allow a plebiscite of all the non-Russian peoples, organised, of course, by Moscow, to ascertain if these wish to be members of the new Russian Empire or not. He may possibly yet be compelled to agree that no plebiscite is necessary; all these peoples have already proclaimed their desires by fighting Russia while the Kerenskyites did not. None of them would dream of trusting him or any other Russian and the West will do well to take note of this, and not repeat the mistake of putting their money on the wrong horse as they did during and after both World Wars.

Disaster then will be irretrievable.

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THE history of every people of the world reveals continuous efforts in seeking national self-determination and freedom. Many a bitter battle has been fought to free a given people from encroachment upon its human, economic and political rights by more aggressive and stronger nations. In like manner, at the end of the First World War, the Russian Empire of the Tsars was forced internally by her subjugated peoples to permit the creation of a series of national states on its ruins. In the throes of the civil war, the Russian Revolution, 1917, various disfranchised peoples declared in quick succession their national independence from Russian political domination and oppression. Democratic, free national states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Siberia, Turkestan, Cossacks of Don and Kuban, Mountaineers of Northern Caucasus, Tartars and Bashkirs of Idel-Ural, declared themselves sovereign states, completely independent from Muscovite Russia. It must be stressed here that during the Revolution the claim for freedom by subjugated and stateless peoples was repeatedly guaranteed and affirmed by the present regime of Soviet Russia.

Thus, over thirty years ago, a free Ukrainian state came into being, calling into a free statehood a Slavic nation almost as large as France. This Ukrainian National Republic was recognised *de facto* by Great Britain and France, and *de jure* by Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, the Republic of Don Cossacks, the Republic of Kuban Cossacks, the Republic of Northern Caucasian Mountaineers, Byelorussia, Georgia, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Poland. Then the freedom of this Ukrainian Republic was threatened by the Bolsheviks. The Ukrainian Government, under General Simon Petlura, appealed in vain to the Western democracies for help and Ukraine was forced to sink again under the iron rule of Moscow. The Baltic States, Finland and Poland succeeded, with the aid of the Allies, in retaining their independence, while Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and other peoples to the east again lost their independence under the might of Russian aggression and forceful military occupation. As a result, Ukraine, the largest nation without statehood in Europe, along with other smaller subjugated nations of Eastern Europe became in effect Russian colonies. In many ways the operating methods of Russian colonial rule surpass all the indignities forced upon colonial peoples in the darkest corners of the world.

Again and again during the past thirty years the advocates of the Ukrainian independence and the martyrs for Ukrainian freedom have brought to the world's attention the character of the intruding despotism that wiped out every phase of Ukrainian liberty, murdered its leaders, starved its peasants by the million, and deported millions of others to die in the Far North and East. To all of this story, the Western world has remained passive, silent and indifferent.

The present Ukraine is historically and ethnically Ukrainian territory, which has been populated, developed and defended for centuries by the Ukrainian people. By all human rights it should belong to the Ukrainian people as their national state. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement is now fighting for the establishment of the Ukrainian Independent State.

As under the German occupation, so to-day the Ukrainian Resistance Movement under Soviet regime fights for the national and social freedom of the individual men and nations. Its watchword is: "Freedom of the Individual, Freedom of Nations!" Ukrainian Resistance Movement fights, therefore, for the destruction of the dungeon—Russia—and for the eventual freedom of all nations now suffering under the Bolshevik yoke. The fight against Bolshevik totalitarianism can be successful only through the amalgamation of the strength and power of all the subjugated peoples. Fighting for the formation of a Ukrainian Sovereign Nation on all its ethnographic homeland, Ukrainian Resistance Movement is at the same time fighting for the construction of other free and truly democratic nations now within the boundaries of the U.S.S.R. All the nations enslaved by the U.S.S.R. are in the same circumstances and, therefore, they are all natural allies of the Ukrainian people in this common cause. The circle of natural allies in the Ukrainian fight for freedom automatically widened and strengthened at the end of the Second World War, once the Baltic nations and the "satellite" countries of the Balkans and Central Europe found themselves in the Soviet sphere of influence. Fighting for the establishment of free and democratic states now within the U.S.S.R., the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is also fighting for the restitution of sovereignty and independence of the "Satellite" states of the Soviet Union.

Thus, the principal aim of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is the overthrow of Bolshevism and the establishment of the new order in Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, based on the principle of self-determination of peoples, on independence and sovereignty of national states within their ethnic borders, and on the idea of social justice and prosperity of the popular masses. The realisation of this aim entails: (a) the partition of the U.S.S.R. into national states established on their ethnic territories; (b) the restitution of national sovereignty to the "vassal" states of the U.S.S.R. which were deprived of their sovereignty in the course of and after the Second World War. Furthermore, the realisation of these aims calls for: (1) complete democratisation of state and social life of nations, liberated from Bolshevik yoke; (2) free choice of forms of government and of social and economic structures; (3) assurance of "Four Freedoms" for liberated nations; (4) assurance of free spiritual and cultural development for the peoples in question.

Such a solution alone can settle the rightful demands of all the nations concerned, can bring order to Central Europe, Eastern

Europe and Soviet Asia and aid in keeping a lasting peace for the entire world. Otherwise the entire political and economic structure of Europe and the world will again be based on fragile foundations, producing unrest among the peoples and offering invitations to future invaders and "liberators," disrupting the economic and political security of the world and endangering the durability of peace.

Fighting for the elimination of the totalitarian Stalinite Government, for the overthrow of Bolshevism, for the extermination of the clique of Stalinite satraps and for the progressive order in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement realises that a just social-economic order covering the interest of the broadest masses of population has a first-rate importance for the realisation of its aims in the future. The historical experience of our times shows that the unstable political order, shaky social-economic system, the living standard of the population undermine the structure of any state and society. Therefore the Ukrainian Resistance Movement fights for a Ukrainian State without exploiters or exploited, for a full participation of all citizens in civilian liberties and where all efforts of the government will be directed towards the raising of living standards. Economic democracy is clearly envisaged in the political program of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. The best way to show it is to quote one of the proclamations widely spread all over Ukraine by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement during the campaign against the Soviet elections of 1946. Here we reproduce it in its entirety, translated from Ukrainian.

### UKRAINIANS!

Away Stalin's imperialist tyranny!

Away Stalin's compulsory election!

We will not go to vote for terrorism, plunder, imperialism, slavery and tyranny, for hunger and misery! We will go to democratic elections in free Independent Ukrainian State!

Ukrainians! We will not go to vote for Stalin and his dictatorial party. We will not go to vote for new Red bourgeoisie, for party exploiters, for the leeches of people's blood! We will not go to vote for compulsory work for hunger pay, for stakhanovisation that wrings sweat and blood from the worker! We will not go to vote for kolkhozes, for slavish work of the peasants, for the unheard of exploitation and plunder of property, work and blood of the workers and peasants!

We will not go to vote for imprisonments, for concentration camps, for deportations to Siberia, for burning of our villages by savage police N.K.V.D. gangs, for maltreatings of the masses, or for the murders perpetrated daily by Stalin's police!

We will not go to vote for Moscow's sway over Ukraine! We will not go to vote for Moscow's sway over Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and many other countries of Europe and Asia, which have been occupied, by violence, through Red Muscovite imperialism!

We will not go to vote for new imperialist wars which bloody Stalinite imperialists are preparing!

We will not go to vote for those who betrayed and annihilated the ideals of the French Revolution about the rights of men, who betrayed and ruined Christian culture, who have been faithless to any ideals of Socialism.

Away with Bolshevik monoparty dictatorship, totalitarianism and terrorism!

Away with bloody Red Fascism—blood brother of German Nazism!

Long live the freedom of human thought, religion and speech. Long live freedom of the Press, literature, art and science, denied and ravaged by the totalitarian system of Bolshevism!

Long live freedom of assembly, freedom of criticism, freedom of political and parliamentary representatives of the people. Long live freedom of political, social and professional organisations! Long live free elections and democratic parliamentary governments, pushed aside and spoiled in the Bolshevik regime! Long live freedom of work! Long live the right of all justice, welfare and happiness for all men!

Long live Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State! Long live Free States of all Nations in reciprocal alliance, friendship and fraternity!

Freedom to Nations! Freedom to the Individual!

Death to Tyranny!

February 1946.

Ukrainian Insurgents.

Such is, in short, the political program of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In any case, it is certain that a democratic Ukraine will be able to cope more adequately with the problem of social, economic, political and cultural needs to the benefit of her people than could any imaginable nation imposed on her by force. And, therefore, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is fighting with all its might to destroy this force and to free the Ukrainian people from the yoke imposed on them by the invaders.