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AN IMPERIALIST RUSSIA OR FREE NATIONAL STATES?

Is a Compromise of the Enslaved Peoples of
U.S.S.R. with the Concept of one and
Indivisible Russia Possible?

BY

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FOREWORD

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FOREWORD

THERE are various organisations in America and Britain, with the laudable professed ambition to set free the non-Russian peoples (and in some cases the Russians too, who do not seem to have any great ambition to be set free in this way). The American organisations are as might be expected, the most powerful, as America is where the dollars come from. Even the same organisation seems to change its name like the chameleon its colour, and, at the moment of writing, I do not exactly know what is the name of the one I may be criticising.

But these organisations are really dangerous. The Americans supply the motive power, but the steering is done by the Russian emigrés, the "upper" classes of those who fled from Russia at the Revolution. It is interesting to note that a great many of this class have, in the last few years, voluntarily returned to Russia. Why? Just because they are Russians, with the same ideas of Russian world-domination that Stalin had. And they came to the conclusion that no one ever lived who so added to the Russian Empire, and that he would still go on from success to success, and so he was the man to follow.

The Russian emigrés working with the Americans, like all Russians in past centuries, have no idea of freeing the non-Russian peoples, but of making use of the American dollars to take over "Holy Mother Russia: One and Indivisible." In regard to territorial aggrandisement, no Russian has ever changed, and any difference need not be expected now.

I will leave Mr. Stetzko to tell his own story, but I would like to put forward one aspect which in political circles is avoided. In any contest the whole of *Russia* will fight for their own Government, no matter of what may be the colour of its Government. If the Americans think that in such a contest the non-Russian peoples will join them and fight for them, I think they are mistaken. They do not seem to have realised that the struggle of the non-Russians is not against Bolshevism or any other ideology, but against Russia, to be free from Russia, their age-long oppressor. They have not the least intention of exchanging one domination for any other, even American. If war came, unless the non-Russian peoples have cast-iron guarantee of sovereign independence, they will take advantage of the turmoil in their own interests. As far as I know, no country, even conquered, has ever been held without resistance of the people, and without ground forces. These last, with their unrivalled knowledge of Russia, Russian terrain, language, climate, communications, and so on, will not be supplied to fight for the dollar, and without their help Russia could neither be occupied nor even defeated.

The non-Russian peoples are all determined to be masters in their own homes. For my part I am sure they will be, and I have yet to hear of any just reason for depriving them of their freedom.

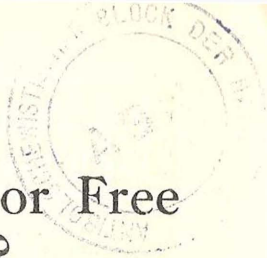
JOHN F. STEWART.



Woodcut by NIL KHASEVYCH (an artist who is working underground in the ranks of Ukrainian Insurgent Army). Made Aug. 5, 1949.

No wise man in the world can fail to heed the obvious facts of Life. As Napoleon said, "Only a cipher or a madman can oppose a revolution at work."

A SOVEREIGN, UNIFIED UKRAINIAN STATE, INDEPENDENT OF ANYONE—this is the aim of the present struggle of Ukrainian people. Ukrainian Liberation Movement and its armed spearhead—the UPA—enjoys the unqualified support of all classes of the Ukrainian population.



An Imperialist Russia or Free National States?

IS A COMPROMISE OF THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES OF U.S.S.R. WITH THE CONCEPT OF ONE AND INDIVISIBLE RUSSIA POSSIBLE?

By JAROSLAV STETZKO

For National Independence and Own National Army

The Russian emigre press reported recently that under the protectorate of certain American circles a "Political Co-ordinating Centre of the Russian people and the nationalities of the USSR" had been allegedly created. But this name did not last for long. At a Congress in Munich (Germany), which ended on 17th October 1952, this name has been changed to "The Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik Struggle." It becomes apparent that those American circles which support the concept of the Russian emigres aiming at the preservation of an undivided Russian empire, are "developing" towards the existing Stalinist formula, the USSR, under which Stalin has maliciously concealed the name of the indivisible imperialist Russia.

If we compare those compromise formulae on which the "Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik Struggle" is based with similar paper formulae of the Stalin Constitution, then a persistent question arises:

For what purpose should the enslaved peoples of the USSR wage war against Bolshevism, if its place has to be taken by a new, but equally hated form of occupation by Russian imperialism?

There is only one formula for every enslaved people of the USSR, which will mobilize everybody for the struggle against Bolshevism:

The attainment of a sovereign national state, independent of anyone, with its own national army. Such a formula is actually being defended by the whole of the Ukrainian nation led by its Liberation Movement which is active on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. But the platform of "The Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik Struggle," which has been created by Russian emigres with the help of some American circles is diametrically opposed to this. There one is not allowed to speak of the partition of the prison of peoples, which was the former Tsarist Russia, and is now the Communist Russia, into national states of the enslaved peoples of the USSR.

The representation at this "Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik Struggle" is as follows: one-third consists of representatives of Russian parties, one-third of non-Russians and one-third of private persons, i.e., nominated by Americans in accordance with Russian wishes.

To guard his malicious constitutional formula about "independence" and "self-determination" of peoples of the USSR, Stalin had set up his M.V.D. To guard the equally malicious and false formula of Russian imperialists in "The Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik Struggle," certain American circles put dollars to work. And what do they intend to propagandize through this "Centre"? "Freedom," but an abstract freedom, such as also preached to us by Hitler when he went to "liberate" the peoples of the USSR from the Communist slavery. Today a similar "freedom" is being preached by Bolshevik Russia on all crossroads and in all languages of the world. She makes a lot of noise above the "Independent Soviet Ukraine" or "Independent Soviet Byelorussia" but Soviet propaganda is not allowed to preach one, *most important* idea, which is the *separation of Ukraine from Moscow*, for only then would Ukraine assume the attributes of statehood, i.e. sovereignty of the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian soil. The same, that is, the most important idea, the one that matters most, *must* not be propagandized in that new society of Russian emigre imperialists, the so-called "Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik Struggle," composed of the gatherers of an indivisible Russian Empire under the protection of certain American circles. How far do they lag behind those real ideas for which millions of people enslaved by the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists in the present-day prison of peoples—the USSR—pay with their blood and lives!

The National Idea—Banner of the Epoch

The most essential problem of our contemporary history is usually avoided, as if it did not exist at all. It is the problem of organisation of the world on the national principle, and this happens precisely when throughout the globe the national liberation movements are bursting their iron or golden chains with irresistible force. Around us empires are falling. The Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, German Empires have gone; Britain is transforming her Empire in a quick tempo into the Commonwealth; the Italian Empire has also gone. The struggle for national liberation has enveloped the whole world.

In Asia, Africa, Europe, in the Philippines, in Indonesia, India, Persia, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Indochina, Korea, wherever the interests of the great powers are opposed, there does the national fight for liberty flourish, through them and against them. The aim of propaganda is to convince the people who strive for independence that that rule, and no other, most favours their independence and indivisibility.

In the USSR, this mighty national liberation process breaks up from within the prison of peoples. Millions of people have been and are fighting and suffering for the national idea. These processes permeate the whole life. We read every day in the Soviet press about nationalist "deviations." Insurgent formations of the type of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) or Turkestan "basmachi" are known throughout the world as national liberation formations.

Political underground organisations organise and direct the struggle in all sectors of life, and orientate the whole liberation process just upon the national idea as the initial and final tenet of the struggle. *A sovereign, unified State, independent of anyone, reached through partition of the prison of peoples—this is the aim of the present struggle.*

This is what competent American people do not want to see. They follow the phantom of preservation of the Empire during an epoch of the unavoidable disintegration of empires. Why is it that just the Russian Empire, most barbarous and tyrannical, must form an exception for the Americans?

No wise man in the world can fail to heed the obvious facts of life. As Napoleon said, only a cipher or a madman can oppose a revolution at work.

There is no return to the past. The Russian Empire cannot be preserved. The national idea, as opposed to the imperial idea, is victorious everywhere. The Bolsheviks *hypocritically* stand up in defence of national idea on this side of the Curtain, being in fact the greatest exterminators of bearers of the national idea and enemies of it in principle. At the same time the Western world either keeps silent or "unofficially" supports the opposite to that, which is today the *only thing* needed. As one of the reasons for opposing the concept of liberation and of partition of the prison of peoples, it is quoted that at the moment of disintegration of the Empire there will arise a political chaos in the East. If this chaos *is not* created by the Great Powers of the West, there *will never* be any chaos. The Balkans were "Balkanized" not by the Balkan peoples, who are neither better nor worse than any other people of the world, but by the empires themselves, and mainly by the Russian Empire, contesting for and playing their interests and inciting one nation against another. On the ruins of the Russian Empire there will not arise an enormous number of states, but only the *status quo ante* will be restored, which the Western powers have recognised more than once. There will also be a return to the balance of power in Europe and Asia, when the monstrous Russian Empire has been eliminated from the interplay of the world powers once and for all.

What is, then, at stake? All the satellite and Baltic countries must become, even in the eyes of the greatest Western reactionaries and enemies of the national idea, independent states, for, after all, it was for them, *inter alia*, that World War II was fought against Germany.

Ukraine and Byelorussia have been formally admitted into U.N.O. Thus it is to be assumed that the necessity of independence for these States has been taken into consideration. For one must assume that, after the defeat of Bolshevism, the Americans will not throw them out of U.N.O. when they had recognized their right of membership in U.N.O. even during the Bolshevik occupation. And after all apart from the Soviet satellites there is nowhere in the world such an extraordinary phenomenon as a country which is a member of the U.N.O. without the power to make its own decisions.

Thus the Western world would have to draw practical conclusions also from today's paper documents, but in a different sense, i.e. Ukraine will be represented in the future U.N.O. by a sovereign *Ukrainian* Government, and not by the colonial Government of Moscow. And this ought to be self-evident for everybody.

The Bolsheviks are juggling with phrases about "sovereignty," "State," "Foreign ministers," and the Americans do not allow the "Anti-Bolshevik Co-ordinating Centre" to propagandize real sovereignty.

The Bolsheviks preach that there is no "one and indivisible" state, but a Union of Republics, which can secede from the "Union," and "the Voice of America" is not yet sure whether there exists at all a separate Ukrainian nation as a historically sovereign nation.

America is in retreat in her psychological warfare against the USSR. Her propaganda does not mention with a single word any national states, but the Bolsheviks represent themselves in all publications and on the air as heralds of this very national liberation of all the peoples of the world.

The Western world is afraid even to acknowledge what it recognised yesterday, e.g. the independence of Georgia, or Azerbaidjan, or the Northern Caucasus. And Siberian independence was supported by American circles in 1918, but it has not become reality, *inter alia*, because of resistance on the part of Japan. Well, where is here the "creation of chaos?" Where are those hundreds, or dozens of states? In fact, it is only a question of the additional recognition by the Western world of: the complex of the Caucasus, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Siberia and the Cossack. And the concept of disintegration of the Empire would have had its crowning in the formal recognition of it by the West. We do not mention Ukraine and Byelorussia, for probably there is not a single serious statesman who would sincerely deny this right to Ukraine, when it is granted to Indonesia, or Tunis, and when she is regarded as having rights equal with those of other countries in U.N.O.

But Why Are They Against Our Sovereignty After All?

It is simply astonishing that the U.S.A., who are defending the struggle for independence of Morocco or Tunis at present, do not want to support the independence of one of the oldest nations of

Europe and one of the most developed culturally, the Ukrainian people. It is not true that certain American circles do not want to provoke displeasure of the Russian nation for, all the same, it was, is, and will be a *hostile* nation towards the U.S.A. It is difficult to understand why the U.S.A. are not afraid to provoke the displeasure of the French or British people, who are on friendly relations with them, by assisting in the disintegration of the French or the British Empire, but for some reason do not want to provoke the displeasure of their enemy, the Russian nation? Or is it possible that it is a question of a possibility of the division of the world into hemispheres? America supports the idea of a unified Irish State, works along the lines of creating sovereign states in the Moslem world, independent of Britain, she supported the independence of Indonesia and India, but does not want to "provoke the displeasure" of her greatest enemy, Russia? It seems to us that in contemporary America there are forces in power to whom the great historic spirit of a Christian and national Ukraine as a bearer of national liberation and new ideas and values is alien, for these ideas render it impossible for those forces dominating certain circles in the West to dominate healthy and viable national organisms. We are convinced that *another* America, the one which will gain her voice tomorrow, America faithful to traditions of Washington and Lincoln, the great messengers of liberty and justice—thinks differently. But that is, for the time being, the unofficial America. She lives on different ideas.

Those who have the deciding vote in the world of today hate us as champions of the ideal of liberty and independence for the peoples of the Russian prison of nations, of the ideal of the heroic spirit and of religion, the respect for human worth, as the champions of the eternal and the new, which raises man above worldly things, the fighters for the non-material, for the values for which one shall not only live, but also die. They hate us for these new values and ideals. The fight for liberation that is being waged by the peoples oppressed by Moscow is naturally on behalf of all the peoples of the West, who are exponents of materialism and the search for pleasure, and for whom "peace," even when dishonourable, and "well-being," even when temporary, counts above everything.

Has ever a nation had such a heroic army as we? General Taras Chuprynka was right when he said that, before the valorous deeds of his army, Thermopylae and all the Roman and Spartan models of self-sacrifice, heroism, bravery and manliness paled into insignificance.

There arises before our eyes a new order in the East, to which the mighty ones of this world will pay no heed; but that will come about sooner or later, for therein lies the great spirit of our times.

By What Right?

How ridiculous and trivial, by contrast to all that is going on in our countries, are all these disputes over the A.C.L.P.R. or

other Co-ordinating Centres? Looked at from a higher standpoint, it all seems so transitory in comparison with the absolute values of the freedom and independence of the nation. *That* can nothing succeed or replace. Labour in vain! Who is to recognise any agreement with emigrés, whoever they may be, in case they speak against the wishes of the nation? Who of those who, in Ukraine or Turkestan or in the Caucasus, fight and die for their freedom, and not for quislings, will take at all seriously the "ambiguous, agreeable formulae" or the "conceptions" which have been concocted by the power of green banknotes. The matter does not turn upon that, but upon *truths*, upon genuine, *complete* freedom, upon the sovereign state, and *liberation from the Muscovite empire*. On that does it turn, and not upon any compromise solutions. There can be no compromise here, never has been, and never shall be. Why, therefore, all this trifling? Whom can it in any way benefit, and whom is it to deceive—except perhaps the money-spenders themselves? The nations will drive out all those who have sold themselves to anyone for money.

Who needs the appearance of all those delegations—at first with seven members, then with four? . . . A storm in a teacup! There in our homeland it is weapons that speak, and not about the fact that it is forbidden to discuss the opening of the prison gates, but there the liberation from Russia is daily and continuously realised by arms and by death—the highest form of death! What right has anyone to prescribe for us what we—who are protecting the West from a bolshevist invasion—are to do? It is an insult and a scandal that it should be suggested to us that we do not speak of our independence, do not speak of the destruction of the Russian empire, do not speak of our national liberation struggle against the tyranny of Moscow!

Who needs a "Co-ordinating Centre" or "Committee" after the pattern of the Soviet forms of the U.S.S.R., Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia or the Caucasus? They already have one U.S.S.R., and another, created by the grace and help of America, they do not need. For what purpose is all this propaganda in the spirit of a new U.S.S.R.? Or another "Compromise formula," and that through the agency of the much-used radio? One needs in reality neither long-winded conferences nor debates, for all is quite clear and straightforward. The Judas money may allure this one or that, but this "action" has nothing to do with either the liberation struggle or the psychological warfare, for an "action" of this kind works against every liberation.

Curiosities of American Politics.

Why and on what basis should our talks with any American partners be conducted in connection with the Russians? When the Americans or the British had talks during World War II with de Gaulle, or Sikorsky, or the Serbian King Peter, or Mikhailovich,

they never asked whether the Germans were present, or how to reconcile this with the German anti-Hitlerite emigres. The Russians and the Americans are quite different and separate entities. Any talks and negotiations, if they are to be conducted with the Allies some day, any probable agreement can now be only separate and direct, and never in conjunction with the Russians.

Today there are *three* factors: the enslaved peoples, the allies, and the Russians. The Russians are our enemies and of the West, too. Their emigres are without importance and influence on their people, just as the German ones were. The enslaved peoples and the allied Powers are natural allies, but the West must recognize and support our ideas. Russian emigres are emigres of a *hostile* people, just as the German one were. Our emigres are emigres of friendly, allied peoples, just as were the French of de Gaulle, Serbian of Mikhailowich, Polish of Bor-Komorowsky etc. How is it possible to place together two opposing partners? How can one treat them equally? Did the allies place the same trust in de Gaulle as, for instance, in Ollenhauer, or Knoeringen? Was it possible to treat equally the "Free French," Belgians, Poles of Gen. Anders, the Queen of the Netherlands, on the one hand and Hess & Co. on the other? What, if at all, helped the allied propaganda directed to the German people during the last War, and how was it conducted? And how, on the other hand, was conducted the propaganda to the French with their Army among the Allied armies, or the propaganda of the Polish exile Government, or the Serbian one? Was it only de Gaulle, or Sikorsky, who were present when decisions were taken by Churchill and Roosevelt or also one of the German generals or politicians from the opposition? Is it not true that even the smallest decisions were kept secret from the Germans of the opposition, to say nothing of the idea of jointly passing them! Can there be the same trust in the leaders of tried probity of the enslaved peoples and in the Muscovite enslaver? . . .

Is it possible to value equally Polish parachutists, or Serbian, French, Dutch or Norwegian ones, which used to bale out within the framework of a common liberation action over their native territories—on the one hand, and, on the other hand—(though actually they never baled out) German ones among the German population, which sometimes in its patriotism, incited by the Hitlerites did harm to shot-down allied airmen? Would not a similar action of the German emigres, just as in future of the Russian ones, be considered by the Russian people, just as it was recently by the German people, to be national treason? . . .

At the same time such an action among the enslaved French or Poles was the highest national heroism! Two justly different standards: Here it is patriotism, and there—treason! from this we must draw far-reaching conclusions of a political nature. What we are doing, is in the eyes of our peoples our national duty. But the same in the eyes of the Russians is treason, just as it was

treason when Lord Haw-Haw spoke on Radio Berlin. It was collaboration with the enemy of Britain. What Russians do, when they talk or perhaps collaborate with the allies, is in the eyes of the Russian people a similar collaboration with the enemy. But for our peoples, it is *co-operation* with an ally, if this ally is going to recognize our ideas and support them.

Can one compare the U.P.A. which waged war on *two* fronts, with German troops which fought against it? Allied propaganda had for its task the demobilisation of the Germans, but the mobilisation of the French. Now, thanks to the cunning of the Russians and their helpers, the distinction is obliterated in the West: the enemies have been mixed up with the natural allies. The Russians pretend to be adherents of the West, in order to save the Empire with the help of the U.S.A. Being now unable to save it by forces within the USSR, they want to make the Americans wage war for them and, in addition, with the hands of the enslaved peoples through opportunists from the midst of these peoples. The historic role of the Russian emigres is to preserve the Empire through creating confusion in the West . . . Is it possible that anyone could be found from among the national patriots, non-Russians, who would help them in it?

It is really astonishing: they want to place us round the same table with an enemy whom no-one believes. And now one intends to give the main role in conducting the psychological warfare against Russia as an Empire to the Russians within the complex of the enslaved peoples, and the tone set by the Russians has to be taken into consideration also by American propaganda. This means that in fact the action against the enemy has to be conducted by members of the same hostile nation. Why then did the Allies not propose Hess to conduct the action against Hitler? . . .

What is then the difference between Nazism and Bolshevism? Why was it not possible to entrust any confidential posts in the psychological and any other warfare to Germans who were in opposition to Hitler, whereas these posts can be now entrusted to Russians during a war against Stalin's Russia? Or has the dictum of a Russian emigre statesman, Milukow, been forgotten in the West, that the Russian patriots would support Stalin in case of war, or the songs of praise of the recent Russian emigres in honour of Stalin, the "non-divider"? Whichever of the Allies want to risk their chance of victory, let them sit down round the same table with the Russian imperialists, but it is no place for us there.

Additional Dangers

The Russians are trying at any cost to obliterate the division between the enslaved peoples and the enslaver. They strive to create, through an illusion of a common front with the enslaved peoples, an impression in the Western world that all are *equally*

responsible before the world for Bolshevism and its horrors. But this is a great lie. If de Gaulle did not sit together with Ollenhauer or Hess, then on what grounds are we to be compelled to sit with Nikolayevskys and Dallins? It is not the same thing: The responsibility of the Russian people, the enslavers, is not the same thing as that of our peoples, the enslaved.

The fact that the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics are members of U.N.O. can also be gravely disadvantageous to us, if Russia through their puppet government in Kiev were to declare war against the West in the name of Ukraine. Men with a lack of good will in the West may regard it as an act of Ukraine, and treat Ukraine as a State waging war against the West, and not as an occupied, conquered country, whose real will is shown through the *underground* government, U.H.V.R. It is not for nothing that Moscow sometimes directs her puppet delegation from Kiev at U.N.O. to table those motions which are most injurious to the West in order, with a malicious intent, to put them formally to someone else's account, though in fact the Kremlin and its agency in Kiev are one and the same thing. Therefore we disassociate ourselves from the idea of this kind of "Ukrainian sovereignty"—the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. It is one thing to recognize how Stalin *has to manoeuvre* in order to talk deceptively about "sovereignty" *under pressure from the struggle of Ukraine*, but quite a different thing to recognize that the Ukrainian State already exists. There exists only the *underground* Ukrainian State, with her underground government—Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), and her army—U.P.A. And it is *this* Ukrainian State that the West has to recognize. The actions of these Ukrainian revolutionary factors are binding for the Ukrainian people, which is friendly in its attitude towards the West, just as for example Poland or France was during the last war. An act of declaration of war against the West by Manuilsky will not be, either legally or in fact, an act of the Ukrainian people but of the Russian occupying power, just as a similar act by the Norwegian Quisling or Belgian de Grell or Laval, was not an expression of the will of their respective peoples but an order of their enemy, Hitlerite Germany. To confuse the enslaved peoples with the Russians may have still another drawback, that is, that Russia, just as Germany is now, may be expelled from U.N.O. and international co-operation altogether after she has been defeated. This fate might also be in store for Ukraine and Byelorussia, which countries are allegedly considered to be members of U.N.O. with full rights. To disassociate ourselves from the Russians as a nation, who are going to lose this (coming) war, is especially important also from this point of view. Why should we tie ourselves in any way to those who are condemned to fall and save them by our good name, as if it were true that everyone suffered equally from Bolshevism: both the conquerors, enslavers, and the conquered, enslaved! . . .

Germany has a non-Nazi government, but the Allies treat the situation from the point of view that it was the German *people* who lost the war, and not only the Nazis. The same applies to Russia. The Russian people are going to lose, and not only the Bolsheviks. Hrechukha and Manuilsky, or Kisilyow, will end their lives of treason like Quisling or Laval . . . Why should we be among those who by their participation in the talk round a common table take the share of responsibility for Russia's crimes against the world? We are not a party to those crimes. Let us remember that neither Sikorsky, nor Mikhailowich nor de Gaulle ever used to sit round the same table with the German opposition, even during the war against Nazi Germany. We have always considered ourselves to be in a position like that for instance of occupied France, and therefore demand the same attitude towards ourselves from the U.S.A. and Britain. We also are adjusting our attitude to the point of view evitably be among *the defeated* in this coming war. The policy of the West towards the Russians can only be one of subversion in order to weaken the front of the Russians. We must not follow a policy of subversion towards our peoples, for these peoples, as opposed to the Russian people which strives to conquer the whole world, are on this side of the barricade, whereas the mass of the Russians are on the opposite side. . . .

Unchangeable Truth

There is only one basis for possible talks with the Allies: the recognition of the Sovereign United Ukrainian State through the disintegration of the Russian prison of peoples into national States, together with the recognition of the underground governments as the only guaranties of national independence, and not creating fictitious sovereignty or other kinds of protectorate. The enslaved peoples can settle their attitude to the Western powers only directly and not in conjunction with the Russians. The Russians have nothing to do with it. It is a matter of settling relations directly between the Allies and the enslaved peoples.

Let us ask again: did the U.S.A. and Great Britain ask de Gaulle or Mikhailowich how they had settled things with the Germans? The U.S.A. may have talks with the Russians in order to organize subversive action on the Russian front. In our case there are much greater things at stake: assistance in the war of national liberation of our peoples against the Russian aggressor who attacked, occupied and now oppresses us. A diversion cannot be described as a war, nor is it possible to confuse our methods and views. The people enslaved by Moscow are in the same position as France, Poland, Serbia, Belgium, Norway, Holland, Czechia etc., were in recently. The Russians are in the position of the Germans during the last war.

Had not the Germans their own Chuprynka, Mihajlovic, Bor-Komorovksi, Osman Batur? Have not the Russians nowadays

the same kind of figures in Russia? Why should this all be forgotten and everything confused? Such a mode of behaviour is in Stalin's best interests, as well as in the interests of the Russian imperialists, the incorrigible foes of the West, who have remained unchanged throughout the centuries.

We Are Separated By An Ocean Of Blood

There already exists a basis for co-operation among the enslaved peoples, i.e. the A.B.N., and they have been co-operating for a long time. They can draw up common plans and common strategy for their struggle. But we have no trust in the Russians, and it is hard to imagine them at the same table with us, But if the Allies consider that the Russian factor does not merely possess subversive value, they may have separate talks and agreements with them, but one thing must never form a basis even for *separate* talks with the Russian, that is the principle of "One and Indivisible" Russia. For, after all, it is impossible to help Russians to their aim of "One and Indivisible" Russia, and at the same time to help the enslaved peoples to their independence. This would be a farce, and not a basis for the struggle against the enemy of the whole of humanity. Co-operation of enslaved peoples with the Allies is only possible when the Allies enter into talks with the Russian *only* on the basis of a Russian State within its ethnographical limits, with restoration of sovereignty to all peoples now enslaved by Russia, with the withdrawal of the Russians back into their Muscovy and the return of our nationals from forced labour camps to their native countries. The Russians must accept the idea of the partition of the prison of peoples into national states. Otherwise there will be no co-operation between the Allies and the enslaved peoples within the USSR even though there may be hungry people among the emigrants who are willing to sell themselves. Nations that wage war are not to be bought! There is no necessity at all for a Common Centre with the Russians, even in the case of their agreeing to partition of their prison (which is improbable). First of all, there is nothing to be co-ordinated with them, for there is so far no organised struggle against Russian imperialism on Russian ethnographical territory. Secondly, we would consider joining a Common Centre only if the principle of national independence were recognised by Russians, they would confine themselves to their own territory and begin some action. Thirdly, the Russians must show by *acts* that they stand for partition of the prison of peoples in *all sincerity* i.e. they must first of all start *fighting for it*. When our peoples have seen these acts, they will be able to change their attitude. Until then there is no sense in trying to confuse people by saying that the Russians have changed. Where can one find even one small organised group of Russians which would be non-imperialist? Where is there to be found even one statement made on their part, condemning the seizure of Ukraine, the Caucasus,

Byelorussia, Turkestan etc. ? Where has there taken place even one anti-imperialist public meeting of Russians condemning the oppressors ? There is nothing to be co-ordinated and nobody to do it with. But the enslaved peoples have to agree on many matters among themselves, for their struggle is an organised, many-sided, planned struggle. For, after all, there do exist political organisations, insurgent formations, and raids do take place.

Who has ever heard of an uprising of national-revolutionary Russians against Stalin—or even one on ethnographically non-Russian soil, such as Ukraine ? By contrast, there has been an insurrection of the U.P.A. commander, Lys, in the Caucasus, and others in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Prussia, and Roumania, among peoples whose speech is unintelligible to the U.P.A. warriors, but whose political ideals are the same.

There is Nothing to Discuss

If, by the way, it really were necessary to come into harmony, it would be sufficient if the Staff were to co-ordinate the actions of a second front composed of the enslaved peoples with those of the Allies, and if the latter were to organise, of their own accord, a synchronised diversion among the Russians. The subjugated peoples will be in the position to carry out their pre-planned actions among their banished and transported countrymen, even those in districts which are ethnographically Russian, without any co-operation or liaison with non-existent Russian organised groups ; thus they will maintain a conspiratorial attitude towards the Russians, in order not to be betrayed by them to the M.V.D. In any case, our strategy is in direct contrast to that of the Russians. We have not the slightest intention of inviting a Chuikov or a Timoschenko to come over on the side of our national revolution. Our national revolution is directed against just that very kind of potentate and supporter of oppression. We in no way intend to offer the role of Hitler-Stalin to Chujkov-Koch, the commissar for East Germany, as the N.T.S., for example, is doing. That is just the quite unbridgeable chasm between us and the Russian imperialists . . . So long as the western world fails to comprehend this unbridgeable chasm, there is no sense in thinking about means of agreement, in so far as an agreement between the West and the enslaved peoples concerns their own soil, and not the occasional emigrants. Do certain circles in the U.S.A. really not understand what is the crux of the matter ? Can France's refusal to ratify the treaty with Germany, even when Germany has been conquered and the U.S.A. goes surety for her, have told them nothing at all ? We, however, are in a far worse situation than France. We, and not Russia, have been physically overcome ; the Russians, and not we, are receiving American support and patronage, etc. Are we thought in the West to be so ingenuous as to dig our own grave, while the

incomparably better situated France shuns the fire? With such an attitude on the part of certain American circles, there is nothing further to discuss.

The Twilight of the Russian Imperialist Elite

The new, by the grace of dollars, elite of the empire turn the pages of the yellowed, uninteresting, federalistic pamphlets, or of Lenin's insidious documents, which present the current tyranny openly and factually and, the more foolishly they do it, the more convincing they are, or they revert to the faded Tsarist ideals. Yet even the reactionary Tsars possessed more shrewdness and "progressiveness"! The imperial elite have died out. It is, however, interesting to observe how the Russian emigrés faithfully imitate the U.S.S.R., by making a Georgian by extraction the head of their "common pot" at the Wiesbaden conference. Was that meant to attract someone? And what was common? Apparently only the green colour, i.e. the table covered with green banknotes; for that is the sole attraction. There is no more talk of Lenin's world-revolution, of the community on the other side, or of the Slavonic or Orthodox liberation. The empire would not be on sale for foreign gold! World history has no such curiosity to show. Therefore that empire will exist no more. Individuals can be bought, but not nations. Today whole nations, and not single groups of people, are the supporters of fights and ideals. The weak-willed and the avaricious can take the Judas money and say to themselves: "I get the money and will then act according to my own judgement." But an ideal is not to be overcome thus. It can be conquered only by another ideal. Lenin opposed the national ideal with an international one, with which he cloaked Russian imperialism and deceived a section of the simple people. Nowadays, however, is our ideal of national liberation not to be trifled with, as it has become, during the long struggle against Leninism, Stalinism and Russian imperialism, part of our very flesh and blood. The nations believe only in themselves and never in foreign liberators. This bitter experience was gained in an ocean of blood and in the hecatombs of sacrifice. It is not significant when a few mercenary folk from some national community go over to the other side of the barricade for the sake of money. Millions are to be had for gold. Ideals, however, are not among them; and even deceptive ideals are stronger and more dangerous than money. If money was all that mattered, there would be no fear in the West of the Communist peril: the Thorezes and Togliattis let themselves be financed, but not so millions of their aroused followers! Only an ideal is needed, even if it be deceptive. There is nothing to fear. Green paper-money is not enough to destroy us. There is therefore no danger of the Russian-American alliance achieving greater successes.

Steps are taken, but the end is still not in sight

The more strenuously we resist all attempts to class us with the Russians and with certain unprincipled elements, the more will the managers relax the pressure. From the S.O.N.R., through the A.C.L.P.R. to the present formula, we have successfully traversed some part of the way, but we are not yet at the end. At first it was attempted directly to champion the cause of the "united and indivisible," and later the same thing in another guise, and so without that formula "the Peoples of Russia." Now there only remains the "same boat" as the Russians. The time will come when one will treat with us separately and seek to win us over to co-operating, apart from the Russians, but still in common with these present quislings who have declared themselves to be the most willing of all and have already proved their obedience.

Participants in this will still be no sincerely patriotic revolutionary elements, and will exert themselves only at the last stage, when we are treated as a power with equal value and rights. No representative of the enslaved peoples who has any self-respect will sit at the same table as the present quislings.

We have nothing to lose but our Chains—but the West has its Freedom to lose

The forces within the enslaved peoples of the USSR which strive towards independence will carry on their banner of freedom and complete independence untarnished, for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain do not struggle for federation with Russia, but for their statehood.

The power of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is based mainly upon a dogmatic and uncompromising attitude towards any attempts to limit in any way the sovereignty of peoples, and upon an indestructible belief in their own powers, in national revolutions as the only way of liberation. The Bloc expresses the strivings and struggle of the peoples, and it is *its* ideas, and not those of the corrupt emigre quislings, which the peoples are following and will follow . . .

As long as the Western world will not come to meet its ideas, i.e. the complete independence and equality of rights of the peoples of USSR, and will not recognize, as co-operating partners, those who have oppressed peoples behind them, whom those peoples trust, so long there will be no co-operation between the revolutionary liberation forces within the USSR and the West.

We have time, we can wait. We have nothing to lose but our chains, but the Western world—if it takes up a wrong policy towards us—has everything to lose, for it is not only freedom that is at stake! It is its very survival!