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**HOW TO LOCALIZE AND WIN
THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA**

BY

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Introduction by

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INTRODUCTION

The following *brochure* by the last Prime Minister of Free Ukraine is so lucid and all-embracing that little Introduction is needed.

Mr. Yaroslaw Stetzko, the writer, must surely be recognised as an unquestionable authority on the subject on which he has written so admirably.

I have not gained what knowledge I possess of Central and East European affairs from reading books written by other people. My professional work happens to have entailed my traversing much of Soviet Russia, far from the visitor or tourist track, and living in countless homes of peasants as one of themselves. In the years between the two wars that same business caused me to be for a considerable part of each year in the independent States on Russia's western frontiers. I had therefore unique opportunities for acquiring personal knowledge and experience of Russian policy and actions in the past, as well as imbibing the feeling of peoples whose ancestors had been in the closest contact with their eastern neighbour for centuries.

I think Mr. Stetzko's work, short as it is, is one of the most important yet published on the subject of Russia. If anyone thinks the present world situation can continue indefinitely, I can only say that I differ; the explosion will come, and we, as usual with Britain, will not be prepared for it unless we follow Mr. Stetzko's advice; and there will be no time to recover this time. Whom are we fighting in Korea? Russia!

I endorse every word of this *brochure*, but I would like to draw special attention to the section, "Unauthorised Dabblers in Politics." The Resistance Movements in the non-Russian States of the U.S.S.R. and their struggles for freedom have one obvious enemy in Moscow. But, to my mind, a less obvious but not less dangerous enemy exists in the many societies professing to aim at the freedom of the Russian peoples. Incidentally, there are no Russian *peoples*; there are Russians and peoples who are not Russians. These societies, although professing to be prepared to consider some kind of freedom for the non-Russian peoples some time, all have one thing in common—the indivisibility of "Holy Mother Russia," that is, the maintenance of the Russian Prison of Nations with the non-Russians, as at present, prisoners within it. Many of these societies have almost unlimited funds at their disposal, funds which are applied to the suborning of nationals of these non-Russian States, for there are traitors in every land. It is satisfactory that they will be dealt with as traitors should be when they fall into the hands of those fighting for the cause they have betrayed.

To my mind, there is a most sinister power behind these societies, whether the latter know it or not, and, as no good can come of avoiding plain speaking, that power is New York finance, which is seeking world conquest just as much as Moscow. That power will never give freedom and independence to the non-Russian countries ; its object is to obtain control of the enormous potential wealth of these States, to exploit it, not for the benefit of their own peoples, but for a cruel money-power. It is obviously much easier to control one central concern than a number of smaller ones seeking to exploit the wealth with which God has so bountifully provided for their own folks.

In this connection I cannot do better than quote a very great and surely unbiassed authority, Clarence Manning, the distinguished Professor of Slavic Studies at Columbia University. He says :

" The West has not yet faced the rolling back the iron curtain. Meanwhile there is the story of execution, deportation and annihilation of the non-Communist elements, there is the same appeal from leaders abroad, from the population at home, and the same feeling of helplessness which allows the Kremlin-selected envoys to roam at will through the United States, Great Britain and France in the name of an international law in which the Russians do not believe.

" The West still listens to the siren song of the anti-Bolshevik Russians. Those of the Conservative-military class and of the Social Revolutionists and their allies, both agree that Russia is one and indivisible ; that all the various peoples that exist within the territory of the once Russian Empire must be treated as a unit. It makes no difference that Stalin proclaims the dangers of the various nationalisms within the Soviet Union. It makes no difference that he appeals for membership of the various Soviet republics in the United Nations as a new sop to this national agitation. The West hears only the voice of some Kerensky or Tsarist who proclaims the opposite, and they forthwith believe that a free Russia, one and indivisible, is the only solution. It makes no difference that Stalin proclaims the annihilation of whole groups for their opposition to Russia ; that he announces that it is only the Great Russians who are loyal to the Soviet State and are responsible for Soviet victories. That means nothing as compared with the word of a Tsarist general or a Kerensky who proclaims the opposite."

It is a dangerous error on the part of the West to try to put aside the Resistance Movements in the various non-Russian States. It is only through collaboration with them and not through any atrocious scientific weapon that Russia can be conquered, and I do commend Mr. Stetzko's arguments to the most serious consideration.

For the rest, I would only wish to add that I have long had the honour of close friendship with Yaroslaw Stetzko, and no one could meet him on the intimate terms I am proud to enjoy, without recognising in him a great and unselfish patriot, and a statesman of the highest ability.

May God reward him in his work, and his people for their unanimous unswerving support of their leader.

How to Localize and Win the War against Russia

By YAROSLAW STETZKO

Worse than Bolshevism

The fear of bolshevism in the West is worse than the evil itself. Indeed, the fear of bolshevist Russia is the West's most dangerous enemy, paralysing its will, driving it to compromise and preventing it from doing anything positive to put an end to Russian aggression.

"Fear has big eyes" is a Ukrainian proverb. The bolsheviks are only too familiar with the West's paralysing fear of Russia. It is systematically fed by Fifth Columns who spread rumours of the incomparable strength of the Soviet Union, its masses of fanatic soldiers, deadly Russian weapons, the omnipotence of the M.G.B.-M.W.D., etc. By means of such legends the bolsheviks hope to suggest invincible strength and thus paralyse the West's will to fight.

It is, of course, good if the West is mobilized by the danger threatening it. But if fear of this danger calls forth defeatism in the West, then it no longer benefits the West but the enemy. Though the West recognizes the danger of bolshevism, it does not take the necessary steps to meet it. Many Western politicians repudiate the policy of the strong hand because they are afraid of irritating or provoking Moscow. That is hiding one's head in the sand like an ostrich, or something worse; it is the policy of a man hypnotized by a boa-constrictor's venomous eye and unable to avert death.

It is high time that the West realized its chances of victory if it unites with the nations subjugated by Moscow. Such an alliance would make it not only superior to bolshevism, but invincible. Co-operation with the subjugated nations would also give the West confidence in its strength that the free world needs, and must develop if it is to be victorious.

The Real Enemy

Just as in World War II the real enemy of the Allies was Germany only, but not the many countries occupied by Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway, Serbia, Greece, Poland, Czechia, etc., the present enemy of the West is Russia alone and not the non-Russian countries occupied by Russia, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Armenia, Aserbaijan, North Caucasia, the Cossack Republic, Idel-Ural and Siberia, countries that declared their independence in 1918-21 and had their own governments.

In the Soviet Union to-day, the Russians play the part of a *master people*, and it would be a great mistake to put them on the same level as the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. and regard them as equally subjugated. It would be just as much a

paradox to maintain that, for instance, the Germans under Hitler were just as much "subjugated" as the Poles in the General-gouvernement during the last war.

No plans for world conquest are cherished either by the Ukrainians, the Bulgarians or any other non-Russian people under the dictatorship of Moscow. But the Russian people, which has always proclaimed its messianic mission, is still striving for world hegemony. If the West, therefore, seeks to put up a defence against this aggression from Moscow, it must first be quite sure who its real enemy is, where he is, what his plans are, what his strength is, and on whose power he depends.

It would be tragic if the West were to swallow Russian bait and consider all the nations in the East as equally to blame for bolshevism. In reality, bolshevism was put into the world by the Russians alone and is merely a continuation of the 500-year-old Russian imperialism, as Dean Acheson, Secretary of State in the U.S.A., very rightly confirmed. It is not an "international clique," but solely Russians that are responsible for bolshevism, a specifically Russian phenomenon, a system of world policy that is not even identical with marxism or communism.

Up till now, the Russian people has made no great attempt to destroy bolshevism. Why is there no resistance movement in Russia proper, no insurgents like the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) created by the Ukrainian people from its own resources? Why is there not a single sign of anti-bolshevist resistance in Russia, such as the U.P.A. in Ukraine, the Basmachi in Turkestan, the White Partisans in Slovakia and other fighting organisations in all the non-Russian countries under Moscow's occupation?

Natural Allies

In organizing its fight, the West must be sure with whom and against whom it intends to fight. It must and can fight only in co-operation with the peoples subjugated by Russia, and *against* Russia. Another question to consider is what propaganda is called for if, in addition, diversion is to be created in the Russian people itself, *i.e.*, in the enemy's ranks; and still another is to decide if the real enemy may be regarded as a potential friend and if the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union should be lumped together with the Russian people on the false assumption that they have a common fate.

A clear distinction must be made between oppressors and oppressed. This alone will permit a clear strategy of battle and reveal where the real enemy is. The decisive blow against the heart of the enemy's power is always the most important part of wise strategy. The proper knowledge and use of allies widens the front of attack and opens new possibilities. Unwise strategy may lose the support of potential natural allies and drive them into the arms of the enemy, as Hitler did in his Eastern campaign.

The enemy in the East is, and will always be, Russia alone, in its ethnic frontiers, a fact Western strategy must always remember.

In World War II, for instance, it never occurred to any of the Western Allies to fight against France, Belgium or Poland merely because these countries were occupied by Germany and might possibly be transformed into friends of that country. On the contrary, every normal person was certain that opposition to Germany in those countries had grown as a result of occupation. And the Allies quite properly did not fight against peoples under the power of Germany: they supported the resistance of De Gaulle in France, of Bor Komorowski in Poland, of General Mykhailovich in Serbia, etc. Similarly, the West to-day ought to support the organizations of resistance among peoples oppressed by Russia, if it wants to ensure victory over Russian world imperialism.

An Absurd Attitude

The attitude of present-day Western politicians towards the peoples subjugated by Moscow is absurd. The Western Allies considered it quite natural for France or Holland in the years 1940-44 to desire liberation from the yoke of Germany and independence, and all their plans were based on this natural assumption. Why, then, do they not consider it equally natural that, for instance, Georgia or Ukraine or Turkestan should desire liberation from the Russian yoke and independence to-day?

Western politicians are putting up gigantic plans for Western defence and strategy. Anyone with the slightest idea of the national liberation movements among the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and their potential is horrified at the thought of the methods employed by Western politicians against Russia.

And the solution is as simple as child's play. Treat our peoples as you did those of the countries occupied by Germany in the last war and you will not go wrong. That is all we ask of the West.

Untenable Arguments

The answer will perhaps be: You want us to fight, not only against Russian imperialism, not only against bolshevism but also against the Russian people as the instruments of bolshevism. And we maintain that you must have courage to look at the truth. The aim of the conflict must be victory.

Against whom did the Allies fight in World War II? Only against national socialism, or against Germany? And against whom in the first World War? Against the Kaiser, or against Germany? If the fight was against national socialism only, why the dismantling of industrial plants, why the demand for ethnographic German territory in the East and why the complete demilitarisation of Germany? Why has a central state been replaced by a federation? In putting those questions we do not wish to pronounce any judgment on the policy of the Allies towards Germany. We wish only to state facts and draw conclusions at a time when the world is threatened by a far greater enemy than Germany, namely, Moscow. If such preventive measures seem called for against Germany, are they not far more justified against imperialist Russia?

The very existence of bolshevism which always was a more dangerous enemy than national socialism, and always lay on the watch, ought to have been sufficient reason for the Allies to treat Germany differently during and after the war. At any rate, no one can deny that in the Second World War, the Western Allies fought not only against national socialism but against Germany as a whole, just as Germany fought against France, and not merely against the Second or the Third Republic, and against Great Britain and not against the British monarchy.

An Inexorable Historical Fact

In expressing these indisputable facts, we do not want to advocate the extirpation of the Russian people or even their annihilation by atomic bombs in a future war. We merely wanted to show *who is on the side of the West and who is not*, in this historical conflict and to draw therefrom conclusions as to strategy. We wish to state unequivocally that a Third World War must attack not only bolshevism, but Russia, whereby we do not mean the entire territory of the Soviet Union, still less its sphere of influence and its satellites, but only the territory occupied by the Russian people.

But we should like to point out to Western politicians that the situation in Russia is quite different from that in all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R., which fact should greatly influence the strategy of the West.

As in World War II, the propaganda meant for the German people was different from that for the French, Belgian, Dutch, or other people under Germany, the propaganda of the West to-day must vary according as it is directed to the peoples of non-Russian countries or only to the Russian people itself.

As long as the bolshevists parade the power of their countless divisions before the eyes of the Western World, and as long as the press in the West continues to alarm the peoples on this side of the Iron Curtain by reports about the divisions, the West will be too overwhelmed by the Russian "superiority" to produce any satisfactory programme to meet it. Nor can Western Europe's efforts to put up 30 divisions against the advancing massed armies of the Soviet Union be of much value in strengthening the West's self-confidence and hope of victory.

A comparison of the two sides from the numerical standpoint reminds us of the meeting between David and Goliath. Russia has always depended on the uses of masses. The problem, therefore, is to find the proper method of destroying the numerical superiority of the U.S.S.R. and to apply it with due skill at the right time and place. The only weapon capable of blowing the Russian prison of nations up from within is not the atomic bomb but the idea of the national liberation of the peoples oppressed by Russia. And the support of the liberation movements of these peoples and the satellite states is the weapon the West must seize, if it would be

victorious against Moscow at minimum cost. Co-operation with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), the common front of these peoples, is in the interest of the West.

The Peoples Behind the A.B.N.

There may at present be gaps in the organization and structure of the A.B.N., but that is unimportant. The decisive point is that it represents fighting organizations and liberation movements in various peoples that are already operating. It is of little account which nations are represented by a definite organization in the A.B.N. and which are not. The main thing is that all the non-Russian peoples in the Bolshevist imperium are behind the A.B.N. as a factor of great potential power, since no nation has ever abandoned, can never abandon, its rights of sovereignty and claim to freedom. Even if recreant representatives of these nations in exile have deserted the banner of independence for their nation, this banner will be held aloft by the A.B.N. and the nation in question will throng to support it in the decisive hour. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast the slogan of independence for every people within its ethnic borders, no matter whether emigrés of one or the other people may support federation with Russia, thus betraying their people's cause. The A.B.N., for instance, is firmly convinced that neither Aserbaijanians, the Byelorussians or any other of the subjugated nations will consent to federation with Russia, but will continue the fight for complete separation from Moscow and thus realize the sacred right every independent state has of deciding its own affairs.

Unauthorized Dabblers in Politics

We know very well that these peoples would never approve a resurrection either of the "Vlassov Movement" (K.O.N.R.) or of the "Kerensky Movement." Dabblers in politics in exile who accept as representatives of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union the ideas of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia," automatically forfeit all authority to represent their peoples. Should the West attempt to introduce by bayonets the idea of an indivisible Russian imperium into the Soviet Union, and should the S.O.N.R. with some non-Russian dabblers in politics appear in their native countries, they will be received as traitors in the service of the enemy, and treated accordingly. Fresh blood will then be shed against new occupiers and traitors.

These traitors among non-Russian emigrés are being paid with American dollars to-day. But we warn the Western world against cultivating treason in these circles. That Russian imperialists are ready to play the part of Judas is no reason why Americans should do so. Sooner or later these traitors will appear before the court of their own peoples and they cannot escape punishment. Their doings in exile are not fundamentally different from the practices of the N.K.V.D. and the M.V.D. at home. Should they appear

one day in their native countries in the ranks of the Russian "liberator," they will be confronted by the national divisions of their own people who will sweep them and their protectors out of existence.

The Oath will be Kept

At the foundation of the A.B.N. in 1943 in Ukraine in a meeting at a place that was occupied by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), the latter and the insurgent troops of other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union swore an oath of mutual loyalty and help, an oath sealed by blood. This oath will be kept, till the hour of freedom strikes, not only in Kiv, but also in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, and in Baku, the capital of Aserbaidjan, and their national flags fly as a symbol of liberty in all the capitals of the non-Russian peoples. That is why the A.B.N. holds fast to the device that alone represents the inflexible will of all peoples subjugated by Moscow, namely, "Our own life in our own country, free of federal interference from Russia! Our own life in our own state, with an army, a parliament, a government of our own, independent of Moscow or any other alien power!" And that is what will come!

Just as the giant Goliath was brought low by the boy David, "Great Russia," a colossus on feet of clay, will one day be conquered by the united strength of our peoples—of 3 million Aserbaidjanians, 15 million Byelorussians, 45 million Ukrainians and all the other non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. Our idea of national liberation is so powerfully explosive that it will inevitably bring about the fall of the Russian imperium. It is the guarantee of victory over the giant Goliath. The intrigues of certain Western circles, who try to purchase the services of instruments among non-Russian exiles for a new Russian imperialism and tyranny, put obstacles in our way, thus undermining the West's chances of victory from the outset. Such attempts will not help to localize the conflict between the East and the West. On the contrary. They will expand it all over the world.

A Tragic Paradox

It is a tragic paradox that the Western world should make every effort to avoid war while the attitude of its politicians towards the decisive problem of the non-Russian peoples must inevitably lead to a world-wide expansion of the war.

All who are serious about avoiding war keep their eyes on the Achilles heel of the Russian dungeon of nations, *i.e.*, on the possibility of utilizing the explosive power of the idea of national liberation among subjugated non-Russian peoples. For this would, if not avoid war, at least localize it. It is therefore in the interest of the West itself to support these peoples in their fight against Russian imperialism, to attract them from the Russian front into their own. It is here that a blockade of the enemy can be successful by a concentrated attack.

The West should not leave the entire burden to us, while it stands aside and watches us bleed to death. Russia to-day is not only our enemy, but the enemy of the whole world. We don't want to be made a cat's paw of, and the West itself must take part in the fight and make sacrifices which can be reduced to a minimum only if the struggle is co-ordinated with the strength behind our liberation movements. The foundations of the Russian imperium are by no means firm and it would not be difficult to shake them if this was gone about in the right way.

The West must do something to give the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union some concrete hope and destroy their feeling of isolation from the Western world.

A Voice in Support of Our Ideas

General Fuller, the English military writer, launched the following proposal in his article, "What the Kremlin Fears Most":

Lastly, I will end with a concrete proposal. Because from past history there is no reason to suppose that a change of regime in Moscow will call a halt to the age-old urge of Russian expansion, the aim of the Western powers should coincide with the aim of the A.B.N. This means that the Soviet Empire must be dealt with as was the Turkish—that is, split up into its component parts, each part becoming an independent country.

The first step towards achieving this end is the formation of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain into a common Anti-Bolshevik front. The duties of this front should be to plan and organize partisan activities within all subjugated countries and train refugees and form them into the nuclei of national armies, around which the enslaved peoples can build up their fighting forces on or after the outbreak of war.

If these things are done, the Western nations need have no fears. But if they are not done, though the West may win the next war, in its winning it will reap its own destruction and may well end in bolshevizing the world.

The ideas for which we have been fighting for years are evidently gaining ground in competent Western circles. The sooner the West takes practical steps, the surer the localization of the war. If the biggest stations in the world begin to broadcast not only in the language but also in the spirit of the A.B.N., if our fighters behind the Iron Curtain feel that they are being supported everywhere, and if all these programmes are co-ordinated with our centre of planning and we are recognized as an ally of the West with equal rights, then cracks in the structure of the Soviet Union will begin to appear. Even if the U.S.S.R. should reply to such measures by a declaration of war, it would not be able to conduct a war of aggression because the Soviet army would begin to disintegrate in the first weeks of the war, just as it did when Germany invaded the country.

Instead, therefore, of puzzling about how to avoid the war that the Soviet Union is systematically preparing for, the West ought

to be planning how to win it with the minimum of casualties. But if the West, for instance, approves a new edition of the "Council for the Liberation of Russia" (S.O.N.R.) and supports a policy of Russian imperialism, it will play into Moscow's hand just as surely as Hitler did when he refused to recognize the independence of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, thus paving the way for Stalin's "Patriotic War."

The Duty of the West

General Fuller shows great wisdom and far-sightedness when he writes :

"If the West is to gain the sympathies of the enslaved peoples, it must inspire them. To think in terms of the atomic bomb is autocratic, to think in terms of liberation is democratic."

The limitation of the war in time and place lies, therefore, in the hands of Western politicians if they will appropriate the ideas of the A.B.N. General Fuller expressed this clearly when he said :

"Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the A.B.N.—however lacking in organization it still is—is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim—not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

In conclusion let us repeat : the realization of democracy in the East is unthinkable without the disintegration of the Russian dungeon of nations into the national independent states within their ethnic frontiers of the subjugated peoples, the first condition for the complete development of the character of the individual. For us, the democratic idea cannot be separated from the idea of national liberty, a principle that is expressed by the slogans :

Away from Russia !

Freedom for peoples !

Freedom for the individual !

THE SECOND FRONT

(Preparations, Consequences and Importance)

The West can gain a permanent victory over the U.S.S.R. only if a second front of the subjugated peoples can be erected behind the Iron Curtain throughout the entire country. If it does not co-ordinate and synchronize its actions with those of such a second front, the West will scarcely win any war against the bolsheviks.

Conditions for Formation of a Second Front

The first condition for this co-ordination is that the West should recognize without reserve the conception and the ideas of the subjugated peoples, *i.e.*, the disintegration of the U.S.S.R. and the reconstruction of its various independent states, and that it

should help the satellite states to recover their sovereignty ; further, that the West should refrain from interfering directly in our internal affairs, but help us to build up our sovereign democratic national states.

To realize these aims, it is essential :

(a) To contact representatives of the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain, who have formed the A.B.N., to recognize them as entitled to speak for our subjugated peoples and to launch a great political and publicity campaign behind the Iron Curtain. In other words, the centre of co-ordination in the free nations would have to co-operate closely with the centre of co-ordination for the subjugated peoples, in order to organize campaigns and draw up plans of strategy, etc.

(b) For the West to contact the co-ordination centre of military operations for the subjugated peoples, in order to draw up plans for common military and political campaigns.

Military and Political Strategy

The following points are important for military and political strategy :

(a) In order to meet the bolshevist tactics of war on two fronts—aggression abroad and civil war at home—and bolshevist methods of involving the West in peripheral wars (Korea, China, etc.), the following strategy is indicated: first, the second front of all subjugated peoples should be consolidated by a proclamation by the West in support of their aims ; secondly, an attack must be launched on Moscow, the bastion of bolshevism, and on the Russian ethnographic territory, in order to liquidate the hinterland of bolshevism.

Whenever the West attacks bolshevism in its stronghold, the subjugated peoples will be able to cope with the Russian occupation troops, provided they receive support from the West. If the strategy of the Allies is co-ordinated and synchronized with that of the subjugated peoples, it will be able to cut off Russian troops in central and western Europe from their bases by the formation of a front in their rear, *i.e.*, in the Baltic states, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Poland, etc., the Allied fleets giving support from the Black Sea.

(b) Logical conclusions must be drawn from the fact that the Soviet army is composed of soldiers of different nationalities. Bolshevist armies in the Far East, for instance, are largely composed of members of subjugated nations. We should even now launch an ideological attack by broadcasting, and it should be possible for us to spread messages throughout the Soviet Union and its satellite states by means of pamphlets, thus closing the grip of psychological warfare round the U.S.S.R. In bolshevist divisions, not far from the Korean theatre of war, there are freedom-loving Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Tartars, Georgians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians,

Cossacks, North Caucasians, men from Idel-Ural, Armenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and other anti-bolshevists. Secret stations in Japan, Australia, Western Germany, Turkey and elsewhere ought to speak to the subjugated nations in our name. But the speakers must not be "stickit" exiled politicians of the past, who are regarded by our peoples with irony and contempt, but uncompromising anti-bolshevist champions of freedom, who appeal to our peoples in the name of their organizations and movements and from the stronghold of the A.B.N.

Co-ordination Essential

To sum up, victory over bolshevist world aggression and imperialist Moscow will be assured only if the plans of the free world of the West can be co-ordinated with the will and political aims of our peoples.

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