

UKRAINIAN FOREIGN POLICY



COMMENTS ON THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF
THE UNITS ABROAD OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (Z.CH. O.U.N.)

Introduction

by John F. Stewart

Foreword

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

Scottish League For European Freedom

Edinburgh—1953.

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INTRODUCTION

By

John F. Stewart

Nowhere have I seen a statement to equal what follows in regard to the world situation. In regard to what it is fashionable to call "world tension" and to explain what this tension is—"Russian Imperialism", and the only remedy for it. It is clear, cogent and courageous, and, if the Western Powers think they are going to make a pawn of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., they will find themselves disastrously mistaken—as they have done before in their dealings with Russia.

I can only say that I agree whole-heartedly with everything that is put forward, and it amazes me that it is not the opinion of all my compatriots who have the power to think for themselves.

What concerns me most is—what should be the British attitude?

I cannot do better than describe what traditional British Foreign Policy has been in past centuries and give my opinion, for what it is worth, that we should retrace the more recent steps we have taken away from the old path and return to it. This path has never been more eloquently eulogised than by our present Prime Minister, and I could make no better contribution than to quote his fine words in one of his recent books. Here they are:—

"For four hundred years the foreign policy of England has been to oppose the strongest, most aggressive, most dominant Power on the Continent, and particularly to prevent the Low Countries falling into the hands of such a Power. Viewed in the light of history, these four centuries of consistent purpose amid so many changes of names and facts, of circumstances and conditions, must rank as one of the most remarkable episodes which the records of any race, nation, State or people can show. More-

over, on all occasions England took the more difficult course. Faced by Philip II of Spain, against Louis XIV, under William II and Marlborough, against Napoleon, against William II of Germany, it would have been easy and very tempting to join with the stronger and share the fruits of his victory. However, we always took the harder course, joined with the less strong Powers, made a combination among them, and thus defeated and destroyed the Continental tyrant, whoever he was, whatever nation he led. Thus we preserved the liberties of Europe, protected the growth of its vivacious and varied society, and emerged after four terrible struggles with an ever-growing fame and widening Empire, and with the Low Countries safely protected in their independence. Here is the wonderful unconscious tradition of British Foreign Policy. All our thoughts rest on that tradition today. I know of nothing which has occurred to alter or weaken the justice, wisdom, valour and prudence upon which our ancestors acted.

“Observe that the policy of England takes no account of which nation it is that seeks the overlordship of Europe. The question is not whether it is Spain, or the French Monarchy or the French Empire, or the German Empire, or the Hitler regime. It has nothing to do with rulers or nations, it is solely concerned with whoever is the strongest or the potentially dominating tyrant. It is a law of public policy we are following, and not a mere expedient dictated by accidental circumstances, or likes or dislikes, or any other-sentiment.

“The question therefore arises—which is today the Power in Europe which is the strongest, and which seeks in a dangerous and oppressive sense to dominate.”

Surely there can be no shadow of doubt as to which Power these last words exactly describe! None other in this world than Soviet Russia.

Why, then, did the British Government, in which Mr. Churchill was an outstandingly distinguished member and Minister for War, so flagrantly depart from Traditional British Foreign Policy? That policy which had kept these islands and Europe inviolate for four hundred years.

In 1917 conditions were ideal for the application of this policy. The would-be conqueror of the world, Russia, had been dis-integrated and the non-Russian countries which had formed it had re-established their own ancient, independent Governments, recognised by the world. They comprised more than 150 million

people, their countries in vital strategic positions, with abundant virile man-power and immense natural resources. They were all ready to co-operate with the civilised West. But what Britain did was exactly the reverse of the traditional policy. She supported an attempt at the restoration of the Continental tyrant, and, inadvertently succeeded in establishing the Red Terror instead of the former White one. But either one would have been perfectly described in Mr. Churchill's stirring words. And, in doing so, we destroyed all the smaller nations, immensely increased the power of Moscow, made the Second World War possible, and, indeed, brought it on, and the result of our avoidable action has been the misery, massacre and destruction in Europe which have never been equalled in the history of the world. And so, “world tension.”

There can be no remedy but the retracing of our steps and the resumption of traditional British Foreign Policy. Can it still be done? At the moment conditions are favourable; disorganisation is supreme in Moscow, with various leaders fighting each other for the supreme control; there is alarming disquiet in the non-Russian countries; there was the East German revolt; there it not food for a prolonged campaign, and this time there will be none from America. And there are other favourable conditions.

There are other European countries which would follow Britain's lead as they have done in the past, all the Western countries, from Finland in the north to the Black Sea on the south. And, with all the non-Russian countries under Moscow domination, there would be a world Power which would be second to none, and which could keep the peace of the world. And none of these countries has any ambition to dominate any other, either politically or economically, even the tyrannical Russians would be left in undisturbed peace as long as they minded their own business and kept within their own ethnic territory.

If Britain has no statesman with courage and vision to exploit the present position for the safety of the world, it is a sorry Britain compared to that which existed in the days of which Sir Winston Churchill has written so brilliantly.

FOREWORD

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller

There can be no true cooperation without freedom, and there can be no peace without cooperation, only tension, dissension and finally, conflict. The human world to-day is not divided into geographical groups or by political theories, it is split in twain by two ethical principles—those of freedom and subjection. Wherever freedom is recognized or striven for, there is one group; and wherever subjection reigns or is sought after, there is the other group. Therefore the conflict is universal and not specific.

We English have accepted this, and following the spirit of the age in which we live, we have voluntarily liberated the greater part of our empire, and are in the process of liberating the rest, in order that concord may be established between its parts. Yet, strange to say, faced as we are by the most brutal imperialism ever imposed upon a vast section of the world—namely, that of Muscovite Russia—we fail to see that concord can never be universal until this bestial imperialism is destroyed.

Actually we and all other free nations—between whom there is no fundamental cause of conflict—fail to see that we have nothing to fear except this contradiction in our world outlook—the idea that we can remain free while others are enslaved. All thoughts of solving the problem of concord by means of federation, internationalism and above all by a world government are delusions and snares until all nations and ethnic groups of peoples are free to cooperate in such undertakings. Until they are, there can be no world peace, only war, either latent or actual.

Our way is straight, it is the road of freedom without qualifying verges. Wherever subjection thrives—there is our enemy: wherever freedom is sought—there is our ally. Therefore I welcome the policy set forth in this manifesto of the Ukrainian Nationalists. If we read, mark and digest what is outlined in it, the contradictions in our outlook should rapidly give way to the realization that universal concord is totally impossible as long as subjection in any form is tolerated in the world.

Facts of Ukrainian Policy

When the Fourth Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), convened in June 1953, in one of the Western cities, in which delegates from five European and two overseas countries took part, it was confronted by the difficulty of discussing and finding a solution to the extremely complicated problems which have arisen in the course of the post-war years. The Conference not only had to make a survey of the activity so far of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and of the present position, but it also had to examine the status of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom in relation to international events, in order to be able to draw up the corresponding principles to be adopted in the future with regard to home and foreign policy. The passing of a corresponding statute for the Units Abroad of this Organization, the election of new members for the Executive Committee and for other central committees of the Organization were measures which were of special significance for the future development of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. It was ascertained with the greatest satisfaction at the Conference that the members of the Organization were closely united, and it was stressed that the Organization was allied

with the Ukrainian Nation in the unremitting struggle to obtain national independence.

The Aims

We have often discussed the position of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and have ascertained again that political organization constitutes the basis of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, and together with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) is effectively defending itself against Russian-bolshevist occupation under the most difficult conditions.

It is the special duty of the Z.C.H. O.U.N. as an inseparable part of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine, to defend the interests of this political organization in the free countries of the Western hemisphere. Although this Organization is striving to bring about the attainment of national and political freedom, not only for the Ukrainians, but also for the other nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, which have been subjugated by Russian imperialism and Bolshevism, it meets with considerable opposition in the free countries of the West. In some cases with open hostility, due to the fact that various Western circles are collaborating with Russian imperialist emigrants. The Ukrainian nationalist underground movement has, in numerous publications and reports, clearly defined the political and social aims of the Ukrainian independence movement. It has in particular stressed the fact that the future independent democratic Ukrainian State will bring about a close co-operation with those nations which are at present subjugated, and also with all the nations that will respect Ukrainian independence.

In order to achieve these aims, however, an effective policy is needed, which is not interested merely in bringing the conflict with bolshevism to an end, but which combats all the elements of bolshevism. The Ukrainian Nation and the actual promoter of its national and political aspirations, the O.U.N., have for many years been engaged in a direct conflict with the danger of world Communism and Russian imperialism. They are dependent on their own strength, and, despite considerable difficulties

and an ever-increasing opportunist attitude in the free countries of the Western hemisphere, they have been waging this war with their own forces. The Ukrainian attitude which stresses national independence, however, is no way based on any inability on the part of the Ukrainian nationalist independence movement to win the support of some Western partner or other, but was originated out of the experiences of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement, and has finally become the **guiding principle of Ukrainian national interests as far as political theories are concerned. A principle which has found expression in the conception of independent and national strength.**

This conception does not oppose the inclusion of external political factors in the political calculation of the Ukrainians. It does, however, exclude a political orientation in a certain Western or other direction and prevents any renunciation of principles which are in the interest of the Ukrainian nation in favour of some political power or other. The plan of action of Ukrainian nationalism is thus obvious to all elements and supporters of the Ukrainian fight for freedom.

In essence Ukrainian policy will always remain independent, regardless of the wishes and demands of the "strong countries of the world". And neither temporary failures nor unfavourable foreign political situations can change this fact. The aims of Ukrainian policy and of the Ukrainian fight for freedom will continue to find expression in the struggle which is being waged against bolshevism by the Ukrainians themselves. This fact was realised and stressed by the members who participated in the Fourth Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Foreign Policy

Ukrainian foreign policy is the result of the inner strength of the Ukrainian nation and reflects the essence of the fight for freedom which they are conducting by their own strength. This was admitted to be the case by the members of the Conference. If Ukrainian foreign policy in its essence is not dependent on temporary trends and situation, then their politicians can also deal with problems the solution of which is perhaps not realizable at present. On the other hand, however, Ukrainian policy concentrates on matters which are now of primary importance in the political situation.

The first of these problems is the creation of good neighbourly relations with the nations of the Black Sea Block (Turkey in particular), which aim to achieve a close and mutual co-operation, and, as a block, constitute an important counter-balance to Russian imperialist ambitions.

The countries of Asia was the second problem to which considerable attention was devoted at the Conference. These countries are subjected to the constant influence of the Russian-bolshevist neutralisation policy, which aims to separate Asiatic nations from the free countries of the world, finding previous examples in the imperialist and colonial policies of various individual European countries.

The Bolsheviks, by applying their "Leninist-Stalinist national policy", are turning this weakness to good account, and are thus able to extend the sphere of their influence more and more with the motto of "national liberation" and "social justice". They have even succeeded in combining the Communist Parties with the national independence movements and in this way have managed to build up unheard of dynamic and aggressive political force. Not only would it be a noble task on the part of Western policy to free these national forces from the pressure of Russian Communism, but it would also be insuring the struggle against Bolshevism.

The free countries of the world have tried by various means and ways to combat and to halt the Communist danger, but so far they have never succeeded in evolving any definite plan by which this danger could be halted or eliminated completely. As a rule their efforts were limited to uniting the individual forces into internationalist groups, which, however, had neither the necessary forceful power and strength nor a guiding effective ideology. It can be foreseen with some degree of certainty that every international (socialist and liberal) and European federalistic movement will never succeed in setting up a definite, effective and far-reaching policy.

The reason for this lies in the essence of every form of internationalism, which is incompatible with national interests, because every form of internationalism is harmful for liberation policy. This fact is fully recognised by the majority of the leading Ukrainian groups. Internationalism is no guarantee for constructive collaboration between the nations, as is proved by the example of the European federalistic movements.

The principles which were also defined at the Fourth Conference reveal the actual essence of Ukrainian policy, which is

independent, concrete, drawn up on a large scale in keeping with political events and facts, and free of every kind of internationalist Utopia.

The internal political aspect

The fact has already been mentioned that the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists represent a homogenous part of the entire Organization, and this is also of decisive importance in determining the relation of the Z.Ch. O.U.N. to other Ukrainian political movements and parties. As regards home policy the binding principle is freedom of speech, of publication, of political meetings, and of political parties and organizations. The aspect from which the individual Ukrainian parties and groups are considered is that of their relation to the revolutionary fight for freedom of the Ukrainian Nation and to the foremost principle of the Ukrainian political ideology, namely the conception of Ukrainian national independence.

A constructive and regular collaboration with these Ukrainian political groups is to be desired since it would strengthen opposition to Russian imperialism and would guarantee a successful foreign policy. It is most certainly a fault of Ukrainian political activity that some of the opportunistic Ukrainian political splinter-parties would like to pursue a foreign policy of intervention, and for this reason are unable to reach an agreement with those organizations which uphold the principle of independent strength and pursue a policy which is not dependent on the Western Powers.

The Conference, naturally, also, dealt with the problems of Ukrainian cultural life, the nature of the Ukrainian trade unions in foreign countries, the possibilities in connection with the educating and training of Ukrainian youth, and also with the training of new personnel to undertake organizational work.

Formidable as the task is, the efforts of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian community will be pursued relentlessly, until success is attained.

Principles of Ukrainian Foreign Policy

The Fourth Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), which was held in June 1953, stressed the significance of the Ukrainian work of liberation in relation to the general political situation and defined the policy and activity of the O.U.N. abroad.

At this Conference homage was paid to the memory of those who died on the field of honour and to those who were tortured to death in the cause of freedom for Ukraine; it admired the heroic struggle of the Ukrainians against bolshevist tyranny in their native country and honoured the self-sacrifice and bravery of the members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and of all those unnamed persons fighting in the cause of freedom.

Sincerest greetings were conveyed to Col. V. Koval, the Acting Chairman of the Executive of the O.U.N.; to all the Executive Committees of the O.U.N. in the Ukrainian countries; to all friends and members of the O.U.N. and the insurgent groups; to the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army; to the soldiers and commanders; and to the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.). Wishes were also conveyed for the continuation of their indomitable insurgent strength and endurance to overcome all the hardship and difficulties in the war they are waging against a tyranny such as never before has existed in the world. They were utterly convinced, that, by the mutual efforts of all our people, we shall achieve our aim.

In an era in which those who desire truth, are persecuted by every possible means, a spirit of faith in justice, freedom and self-determination pervades the Ukrainian underground movement and their courageous struggle against the tyrants; this is the moving spirit which calls for any sacrifice for the sake of their native country.

The faith of the Ukrainian underground movement gives those of us who are in foreign countries and cut off from our native country, strength, and ensures the triumph of noble values and ideas throughout the whole world.

The members of the Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, as they are one of the insurgent groups, in keeping with the aims of the Ukrainians fighting for their country, take upon themselves the duty of supporting the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle of liberation to an even greater extent than was hitherto the case, in order to lighten the heavy burden of the insurgent groups at home.

This is the highest proof of esteem on the part of the Units Abroad on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the O.U.N.

All Ukrainians living in foreign countries were exhorted to support the struggle of the Ukrainians at home to the utmost, to concentrate all their efforts on the measures undertaken for the benefit of the latter by the Western communities, and to combat Bolshevism and its fifth column in the Western hemisphere by every possible means. Despite the present critical political situation, the time is more than ever favourable for the Ukrainian work of liberation since our enemy—Moscow and its bolshevism—has become the enemy of all mankind.

Solidarity with the anti-bolshevist organizations of those countries in Europe and Asia which are either the victims of Bolshevism or are directly threatened by its terrorisation, and in particular with nations of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (A.B.N.), was confirmed.

The attitude of the South Koreans in their refusal to accept a compromise was welcomed, and their unswerving resolve to wage a war, which has as its objective an independent and unified Korea, and will not be terminated by means of any half-measures, as far as a truce is concerned.

The significance was stressed of the revolt of German working classes and the mass resistance of the German people against bolshevist tyranny in Eastern Germany, as measures which strengthen its own Ukrainian anti-bolshevist front.

Appeals were made to the Western political powers to make use of the present situation which has arisen in the U.S.S.R., as a result of the fight for freedom of the subjugated nations, and to participate actively in the struggle which is being waged against

the bolshevist régime and thus prevent the Bolsheviks from consolidating their forces.

Resolutions passed at the Fourth Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

Foreign Policy

1) In accordance with the principles of the revolutionary struggle of liberation conducted by the Ukrainian people of its own strength, the O.U.N. realizes its liberation policy, independent of external forces and international political constellation, by relying on the activity and strength of its own insurgent groups. The O.U.N. regards external forces and the international political situation as variable factors which can only be of subsidiary significance as far as our fight for freedom is concerned.

2) The main objectives of our political activity abroad are as follows:

a) that our conception of the reconstruction of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia be recognized and accepted by the free countries, as opposed to all the conceptions directed against the welfare of Ukraine, in particular to the Moscow conception of a "centralized and undivided" state;

b) that other nations should recognize and respect the national fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people and should realize its potential significance for the future.

c) to gain allies for the struggle against Moscow.

3) Approval of the course pursued so far and the foreign activity of the Executive Committee and confirms the foreign political resolutions passed at the Third Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists as still holding good.

The following supplementary measures, however, are stressed as being imperative:

a) the elaboration of our constructive plan to further mutual relations on all sides in the future, in particular as regards the Block of Black Sea countries, as one of the most vital factors in Ukrainian foreign policy;

b) the furtherance of our foreign political activity in the Far East and Near East, and in particular in Turkey, since good

neighbourly relations with the latter are most essential for a future mutual understanding between the Ukrainian and the Turkish States.

Neutralist and pro-Moscow influence is in evidence in the Far East and Near East as in Southern Asia, which is inhabited by half the free people of the world. These countries play an important part in the war against Bolshevism because of their human and economic potential as well as their geographical and political position. It is particularly important for the furtherance of our anti-bolshevist movement and policy that the idea of the downfall of the Russian empire be propagated and that these countries be made to realize the imminent danger of a Soviet aggression.

4) Support for the A.B.N. as a centre of co-ordination for the various revolutionary organizations, but at the same time suggests that co-operation with these organizations should be intensified in view of the Ukrainians' fight for freedom at home.

We regard the A.B.N. as an organizational and political structure of the common front of the revolutionary liberation movements and organizations of the various nations. The most important factor is that they are agreed in their aims, namely, the building up of independent national States, a common course to be pursued, a revolutionary war, waged without compromise, against Russian bolshevism. The fact that all the political forces of the various nations are represented in the structure and political activity of the A.B.N. is, however, of little significance.

5) The propagation must be intensified in the Western hemisphere, not only of the motives which prompt the Ukrainian fight for freedom as such, but also of those ideas and principles which constitute the strength of this fight and make the participants immune to Moscow's destructive bolshevist ideas.

6) It is imperative that this fight and propagation of the motives prompting it, as well as plans for the future when the fight is ended, be scientifically elaborated to an even greater extent. It is likewise imperative that pro-Russian tendencies in the West as regards Eastern problems be scientifically opposed, and that the problems of Eastern Europe and of those parts of Asia dominated by the Soviets be clarified, by revealing them in their true light.

7) It was recommended that, in connection with foreign political activity, the sphere in the trades unions be increased which will make it possible to fight Communism on its most

vulnerable front, and to win over an element which as far as the policy of every nation in the Western world is concerned, is most important for the Ukrainian work of liberation.

8) It is essential that co-operation with those institutions and prominent personalities of the Western world that regard our cause favourably, be furthered and that their positions and influence be strengthened.

9) As regards the present significance of the Ukrainian work of liberation in relation to the international political situation, the Fourth Conference of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists stresses the following points in particular:

a) that the Governments of the Western powers still do not support the idea of partition of the U.S.S.R. into independent national States either by a definite or by a practical and active policy;

b) that the political leaders of the Western powers must be well aware by now of the nature of the Ukrainian fight for freedom and its significance for world-struggle against Bolshevism and the status of the political forces of the world, and that any fundamental mistakes these leaders make in this respect cannot therefore be solely due to lack of information;

c) The fact that certain Western politicians collaborated with Bolsheviks, and with the "Quislings" of various nations, but have refused to have anything to do with genuine representatives, is proof that they do not seek collaboration with the opponents of Bolshevism but with their agents.

10) The so-called psychological war which at present is being conducted by the Western powers and U.S.A. in particular, against Bolshevism is, however, only being conducted on the level of the limited and tactical objectives of Western policy. It does not include a serious incorporation of the aims of the fight for freedom of the nations that have been subjugated to Moscow tyranny. Therefore, there is no point in the revolutionary liberation movement allying its policy, which aims at national independence and anti-bolshevist activity abroad, to the propagandists of the psychological war.

11) The so-called Co-ordination Centre of the anti-bolshevist Campaign (C.C.A.C.), which is organized by the "American Committee for the Fight against Bolshevism" is an activity which runs counter to the aims of the Ukrainian fight for freedom. The claims to sovereignty of the Uk-

rainian nation and of the other nations subjugated by Moscow are denied; and this activity may prove to be a negative influence in the anti-bolshevist struggle, since it aims to break up the independent front of the national groups abroad, a fact which would be to the advantage of Bolshevism.

All activities which run counter to the aims of the Ukrainian people, and are an obstacle to the progress of the world struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism are rejected and opposed. For this reason approval was given to the attitude of the Executive Committee of the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in this respect and of the action taken against the C.C.A.C.

The course that has been taken, regarding the fundamental questions of a policy of liberation and independence, is fixed and unchangeable, in principle and without compromise. All measures are opposed which treat the fundamental questions of Ukrainian policy of independence as if they were matters to be decided by strategic moves and by bargaining.

The International Situation and the Ukrainian Cause

If the quintessence of political progress of mankind lies in the fact that the greater the progress, the more people and nations can enjoy the benefits of freedom, then the past decade is one of the most reactionary periods in the entire history of the world.

Russian tyranny has subjugated countless new nations, which a short time ago were still free. This was made possible by the erroneous policy of the Western powers of not aiding these nations at the proper time.

At present the world is split into two parts as never before in its history: the subjugated nations and peoples, and those threatened by the danger of servitude. More than a third is ruled by tyranny.

Under these circumstances the problem of the oppressed nations has become one of the most important of all world-wide problems.

Two contradictory processes

Based on the conflict between the major powers, a process has taken place in the non-communist countries of the world which has as its aim the attainment of independence by depen-

dent nations; simultaneously with this process of national emancipation a contradictory process is also taking place; namely the process of enslaving more and more nations in those parts of the world ruled by Bolshevism. The past decade in the history of the world is characterized by the ceaseless fight for freedom of the many nations that have been subjugated by Moscow imperialism and Communism.

The Western major powers acknowledge the liberation movements of those nations in Asia and Africa hitherto dependent on them, and in this way accept the primary importance and value of the conception of national freedom, in its relation to present world events.

On the strength of these obvious facts it is contradictory for the Western major powers to underestimate the far stronger and more extensive national liberation movements of the ancient and highly civilized nations at present ruled by Bolshevism. And it is this fact which is the main cause of the present world crisis and of Moscow's daring.

Two standards and their opposing

The concentration of the greatest economic, military and political forces has intensified the partition of the world into two parts. The isolation of $\frac{3}{4}$ people and their natural riches from the free countries of the world, and the transformation of their man-power and their economic potential are for the purpose of a terrible system of ruin and war. It has as its aim the creation of crisis and the elimination of the Western block, namely the U.S.A. as the world rival of Moscow. After the whole world has been conquered, and divided into Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow will rule supreme. This has always been the irrevocable aim of Bolshevism.

In the Soviet block only the Muscovites (the Moscow Russians) are hostile in their attitude to the Western block. Therefore, the nations subjugated by Bolshevism represent a key position, and they might, under certain conditions, become allies of the West, and their liberation will mean the downfall of Moscow's imperial forces.

The imminent danger of further subjugation of the world by Bolshevism has been delayed by the effective and logical anti-bolshevist policy recently pursued by the U.S.A. On the other hand, however, the present American principle of "united and indivisible", runs counter the liberation of the subjugated

nations and is harmful to the progress of the anti-bolshevist national forces in the U.S.S.R. It also impedes the attempts to overthrow Russian imperialism, which remains a constant threat to the rest of the world.

Half Measures

The fact that the U.S.A. does not support the principle of separation of the Ukrainian nation and other nations into national independent States, but on the other hand, aids the attainment of independence in the non-Communist countries of the world, is indicative of a policy which furthers the partition of the world into two parts. For this reason the U.S.A. aims to persuade those dependent nations of the non-Communist world to pursue a pro-American policy, which will preserve the Bolshevik empire as a second world power.

The policy that the Communist regime be maintained in the satellite States on condition that Moscow puts up with a special kind of Tito-ism, together with equally significant diplomatic moves as far as Germany is concerned, have as their aim the partition of the world into two parts, with provisionally agreed strength.

The tendency of America's policy to preserve a weakened Moscow empire within those limits which existed prior to 1939, is contrary to the realization of national independence of those nations in the U.S.S.R., and erroneously relies on the Russians as being the main anti-communist force in the U.S.S.R. It is further proof of the erroneous economic policy pursued by the U.S.A. in connection with the eastern territories.

The method of the so-called democratic reconstruction in the eastern territories under American control, beginning at the lowest level would be quite in keeping with such an erroneous policy.

States that are nationally independent provide a better basis for economic relation than dependent countries.

The erroneous conception based on the balance of power in the world divided into three parts

As Communism is striving for world domination, the efforts of Great Britain to secure for herself and for Western Europe the role of an independent mediator, between the two greatest powers by means of a compromise with the U.S.S.R., at the

expense of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism, would have the same result as the Munich Agreement. Any shifting of the scene of the conflict can only prove an advantage to Bolshevism, since it gives it a chance to slow down the national revolutionary movements, and continue to strengthen and increase its own war potential. Any partition of the world either into two or three parts gives Bolshevism an opportunity to undermine and weaken the inner-political structure of the Western powers, and also shatters the confidence of the subjugated nations. It is only by politically supporting the fight for freedom of the subjugated nations—contrary to the present American political principle of "united and indivisible"—that Great Britain and Western Europe could secure for themselves an active part in the downfall of the U.S.S.R., as well as in the future distribution of power.

Moscow's strength and weakness

1) In these days when the conception of the freedom of nations and of mankind has reached its highest level, nations can only be subjugated either by deceiving them with lies or by enslaving them by means of totalitarian practices.

2) The bolshevist social economic system is a form of national subjugation, suppression, and exploitation of nations and individuals. The fact that certain circles in Western Europe approve of this system must be regarded as a desire to maintain a well-trying system of exploitation in those countries which may possibly be liberated from Bolshevism. Nazism, too, although it was anti-Marxist, did not radically destroy the communist system, but likewise restored it in order to enslave the individual and subjugate nations.

b) Bolshevist ideology has no power of attraction and as proof of the ineffectuality of communist, internationalist, and Russian "Messianic" ideologies, the bolsheviks camouflage their Russian imperialistic aims to the dependent nations of Asia and Africa with slogans of "national fight for freedom and a war against material need."

c) New forces have made their appearance on the world stage with the birth of a new "national" consciousness, and ever-increasing endeavours to assert themselves and safeguard their independence. The communities of the Western world—under pressure of scepticism, standardization of all values, and disbeliefs—are not in agreement with the

ideas which prompt these endeavours. For this reason the Western world is not capable of taking the offensive, as far as ideas are concerned, in order to combat bolshevist propaganda tactics.

d) Civil wars constitute Moscow's aggression against the free world. The principle of guerilla warfare has determined bolshevist strategy in Asia. Political offensives, demoralization, internal conflicts, the furthering of antagonism within any one nation, social chaos, armed clashes and peripheral wars are the fundamental factors of the third world war which Bolshevism is beginning to wage. The temporary cessation of some peripheral war in no way changes the fundamental attitude of Bolshevism, to conquer all free countries in the world.

2) The 10th Communist Party of the Soviet Union Rally has defined its instructions as regards Moscow and world Communism in the immediate future. Bolshevism makes no attempt to conceal its intentions and methods.

a) The 10th Party Rally has proved that the suggestion of a peaceful agreement between the "capitalist" and "communist" countries is treacherous for it has adopted the false cunning theory maintained by Stalin, that there is more likelihood of a conflict occurring within the Western block, than between Bolshevism and the Western world. It has thus set about furthering a process of disintegration on the united front of those countries which are free. This process is being conducted within the free countries themselves, and is noticeably in the attitude of estrangement on the part of the nations subjugated by Moscow, towards the West and also in the mobilization of the coloured races against the West.

b) In Russia's strategy to conquer the world, they follow Lenin's theory, of one step backward, two steps forward. This theory was applied after the epoch of military communism and later with the Berlin blockade. It is again being repeated in connection with the present world conflagration.

c) Regardless of any temporary truces, Moscow, will not desist from its intention to conquer Asia and subjugate Europe and the rest of the world completely.

3)a. The national liberation movements of the Ukrainians and other nations are disintegrating the U.S.S.R. internally. This fact could not be concealed at the 19th Party Rally as the main point of interest was that it stressed the **"friendship of nations—the strength of the U.S.S.R."** It can be seen that the foreign policy adopted by the U.S.S.R. is necessitated in the first place,

by the internal pressure of the subjugated nations. The apparent willingness of the Bolsheviks to co-operate with the West is because of the possibility of the Western powers adopting a definite attitude towards the subjugated nations.

The Moscow empire will continue to remain an idol with feet of clay. Its strength is based on weakness of the Western powers' erroneous attitude to the national fight for freedom of the subjugated nations. Moscow is well aware of the fact that its own weakness lies in the possibility of their collaboration with the free countries of the world. It is the duty of the freedom-loving peoples of the world to encourage this possibility and so increase Moscow's fears.

b) Neither the bolshevist regime nor the realm of Greater Russia can ever become democratized, for this would mean their downfall. The bolshevist regime and democracy are two ideologies that are incompatible. To quote Witte, "The Russian Empire can only be preserved by despotism".

c) The conflict between the Russians and the subjugated nations has now reached a state of tension hitherto unheard of. The Kremlin takes this fact into account, whereas, those elements that were formerly led astray by Communism are now opposed to it, since they have recognized the true nature of communist practices consists in the massacre of individuals and nations. In essence, as well as in form, the policy of the Kremlin is Russian and imperialistic. The purpose of the intensification of Russian influence, is to mobilize all Russians for the defence of the empire. The present attitude of opposition on the part of the Russians, and the relatively small number of persons who are incorruptible, together with millions of non-Russians is creating a political, economical and military crisis, in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite States, and proves the futility of the international catchwords of Bolshevism.

The Kremlin's final move in strategy

Stalin's death presented a long-awaited opportunity to find a new scape-goat, for the crimes committed by Bolshevism both at home and abroad.

a) The Kremlin is stalling for time in order to deal with the situation at home effectively. In order to create political illusions for the Western world, some of the supreme rulers of Russia, have been "cleansed" allegedly, in order to right the

wrongs which have been committed in the past. The Bolshevics are also introducing certain changes in order to discover those rebellious elements which have recently come into evidence, so that later they can be exterminated.

b) Moscow by promises of peace, is endeavouring to bring the liberation movements, which are steadily increasing in strength, to a halt. As a result the Western powers, by signifying their willingness to guarantee the **status quo**, are beginning to desist from a liberation policy. This fact is being used by Soviet propaganda in order to demoralise the subjugated nations by destroying all their hopes of help, in their fight for freedom.

c) The purpose of the promises of peace is to instil in the subjugated nations a feeling of distrust towards the Western powers, by showing that they are, after all, only an object for bargaining for the West. They aim also to divide the Western world by making use of the conflict of interests, and in order to win over some of them to the side of the Kremlin, thus preventing the rearming of those anti-bolshevist nations, such as Germany and Japan. It is also hoped to prevent the European Defence Community from materializing.

d) The friendly moves of the Kremlin towards Turkey and Japan have the same aims, namely to spread confusion, to slow down the speed of defence programmes, to disintegrate political unions, and then, at the right moment to attack the countries, one at a time.

e) Furthermore, the possibility of a military invasion of the West in the near future must not be excluded, when once the West has been demobilized.

The Korean War

Moscow decides to make a truce in Korea, in order to bring this armed conflict to a temporary standstill, as it is giving rise to a feeling of insecurity on the part of the subjugated nations, as far as the relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are concerned. Also to foster the hopes of the nations fighting for freedom in their lone struggle, that this conflict may lead to a final passage-at-arms between the free countries of the world and Bolshevism.

Another reason for the truce is to undermine the authority of the Western world in the face of the Asiatic nations with the fact that certain countries in the West will still continue to sell their

raw materials to Red China. Further, the non-attainment of the aims of a war, that is to say a united and independent Korea, and finally, a degrading truce as far as the prisoners-of-war are concerned.

The resistance of free Korea to the truce indicates that the anti-bolshevist forces in Asia are unwilling to accept any compromise whatsoever.

Peripheral wars are in the interests of Moscow, provided the latter can get other people to wage them, and suffers no losses. The Western powers on the other hand are obliged to fight their wars on their own. In view of the inadequate support given to the national forces in Asia, and in view of the erroneous policy of the West, it is futile for the U.S.A. to hope that the national forces in Asia will succeed in defeating Bolshevism and imperialism in Asia. Russian Communism, which claims to support the national aims and endeavours of the peoples of Asia, has a much stronger position. If the world aims to free itself from constant oppression and fear of aggression, and desires to safeguard a permanent peace, then the final battle with Moscow must be fought on the latter's own soil and against its own forces.

The increase of the Communist Threat to the Western Communities

A second economic and recovery system aided by material help from the U.S.A. will not bring the desired results, since Communism is not only a social and economic but an ideological and political movement. The most important pre-requisite in building up a successful resistance to bolshevist aggression is spiritual re-birth, and this is what the West needs even more than economic expansion. If there is no spiritual re-birth, then the countries of the Western world will more easily fall a victim to bolshevist aggression, and the material aid they have received from the U.S.A. will indirectly serve to increase the bolshevist war potential.

Whilst the U.S.S.R. is disintegrating the West by means of the Communist Party and the fifth column, and is ascertaining their military secrets by employing agents, and at the same time is isolating itself from the world, it is increasing its own military strength to an unparalleled degree, partly by keeping the standard of living of its own people unbelievably low.

The efforts of the West to defeat Bolshevism behind the Iron Curtain by Tito-ism, which is apparently in opposition to Bolshevism, shows that the Western world has failed to recognize the true situation and the importance of political factors behind the Iron Curtain.

A vacuum has been created in some of the Western communities by the fact that nationalism has been branded as undesirable, together with the decay of patriotism and a materialist attitude to life in general which the Communists are turning to advantage by resorting to their usual lying propaganda.

A Totalitarian War

Moscow is making preparations to wage a totalitarian war. And for this reason any war waged on Moscow must not only be an economic and military one, but also an ideological and political war.

The most successful and effective ideological weapons of the West against Communism are the militant anti-communist attitude of the Church, the combating of national and social injustice, and the practice of Christian principles in social and national life.

In order to combat any future aggression on the part of Moscow, it will be necessary for the political and military forces of the West to unite with the liberation movements of the Ukrainians and other subjugated nations. Such a union will, however, only be possible if the free world is willing to recognize the Ukrainian independent and united State, and the splitting up of Greater Russia into nationally independent States, and is prepared to respect the sovereignty of the Ukrainian national policy and the revolutionary fight for freedom.

The ideological conception of the political and psychological war of the West on our front must be in harmony with our ideological principles, otherwise, there will be dissension on the anti-bolshevist front. Whilst nationalism is rallying and mobilizing thousands of persons who will refuse to accept a compromise in the fight against Bolshevism, the hopes set on Tito-ism by the West run counter to the wish of the people, who regard him as the adherent of the Communist regime.

Communism has least supporters in Ukraine, among the other nations subjugated by Moscow. The Western world can therefore have whole nations as its allies. The most deadly blow for

the U.S.S.R. would be for it to be disintegrated from within, by the Western powers supporting the national liberation movements. The West will be strengthened from the moral point of view if it appreciates and supports the moral, ideological and political values of subjugated nations instead of resorting to material measures to mobilize forces, which are incapable of waging war on Bolshevism.

In the final move of the future, it is essential that the Ukrainians and other subjugated nations become allies of the West in a war against the U.S.S.R. and that their territories be regarded as territories belonging to an ally. The political conception of the realm of Greater Russia shall determine the purely military conception.

So far it is precisely the national revolutionary process which has deterred the U.S.S.R. from launching a direct military attack on the West. Moscow needs the pause that the West has allowed it, in order to strengthen its position as ruler in the countries it has conquered, and also to make the necessary preparations for the war.

The only guarantee for success is to rely on one's own strength

The Ukrainian nation and all the other nations in Europe and Asia which have either been subjugated by Bolshevism or are threatened by it, must, above all, rely on their own strength if they wish to attain their justified aims and not shed their blood in vain.

The right to sovereignty and national unification of those nations, which have lost them as a result of the concession policy of the major powers, is not supported and defended as in keeping with the national interests of the nations concerned, but is treated from the point of view of major powers' own current interests.

The liberation of those nations which have been subjugated by Bolshevism and the defence of those nations in Europe and Asia which are threatened by Bolshevism can only be achieved if they refuse to accept a compromise in their fight against Bolshevism.

Although these nations do not constitute a block, nor have they united to form a military alliance, their principles in their fight against Bolshevism differ from those of a Western block, by excluding any agreement with the latter, whereas on

the strength of a partition of the world into two or three parts, the West is prepared to accept a compromise. In this respect the anti-bolshevist nations constitute an objective and **separate** factor in the political chess-match of the world.

These nations have allies in the implacable anti-bolshevist elements of every nation which recognizes and supports the ideology of national liberation and the independence of the anti-bolshevist nations.

**The Ukrainian Revolutionary Fight for Freedom and the
Creation of a Ukrainian Sovereign Independent State will
guarantee a permanent world peace**

The creation of an Ukrainian Sovereign Independent State will bring a fundamental change in the international world order, since its existence means the downfall of the Moscow Empire. In this respect therefore, it would be of world-wide importance for the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom to be supported by the West.

The Ukrainian fight for freedom and their conception and principles of freedom have become a guide for those countries of the world, which are ruled by Russia, and are striving to obtain independence. Any genuine decision on the part of the Western world to support the Ukrainian Sovereign Independent State to the end, would bring about a turning-point in the history of the world, since an international constellation would result, which would guarantee a permanent peace, as the Russian State would once more be confined to its ethnical boundaries.

In 1917 the Moscow empire was one of the victors of the war, but it was disintegrated internally by the Ukrainian revolution and by other national revolutions. The consequences which the Western powers should draw from this fact are obvious.

Although the policy of the U.S.A. assesses the Ukrainian fight for freedom as a factor which will remain active in any case, it is striving to win over the Russians to its side at the expense of the Ukrainians and the other subjugated nations. The anti-bolshevist principles prompting the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom are unalterable, and there will be no re-orientation to agree with the principles of the Western major powers, should the latter oppose and reject the aims of this

struggle, which will be continued in accordance with Ukrainian anti-bolshevist principles. The confidence which the Ukrainians have placed in the Western powers in the psychological war, has been shaken by the fact that there is, at present in evidence, a pro-Russian attitude on the part of certain Western circles.

The entire anti-bolshevist potential will be weakened if no political and practical assistance is given by the Western powers. Effective self-defence against an aggression by Russia, is of the utmost importance for all nations, as only in this way can the integrity of freedom be preserved.

Pro-Russian circles in the U.S.A. are endeavouring to force the idea of a united and indivisible realm of Greater Russia (only with a different regime), on Ukrainian political forces. The present policy of Western major powers erroneously underestimates the central importance of the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom on the anti-bolshevist front.

The logical and thorough support on the part of the Western powers, of the national fight for freedom in the U.S.S.R. would have made world ruin impossible. But the Western world must not use any support it may possibly give, as a means of pressure to make peace with Bolshevism or to gain its favour.

It is a political mistake on the part of the Western world to endeavour to reach an agreement with Bolshevism during the present internal crisis which the U.S.S.R. is passing through, and which is caused not only by internal revolutionary pressure, but also by a struggle for Stalin's position. Now is not the time for a truce, but for a decisive blow against U.S.S.R. in order to render a Russian attack on the free world in the immediate future impossible.