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# Memorandum of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations

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Appendix I.

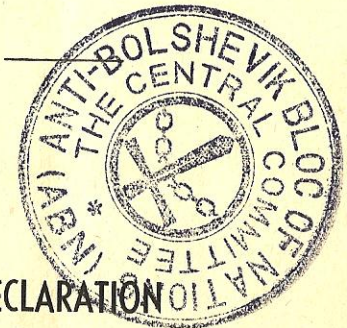
## DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOCK OF NATIONS

Appendix II.

THE SOVIET UNION-AN UNDEMOCRATIC POWER

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*Yaroslav Stetsko*  
**Memorandum  
of the Anti-Bolshevik Block  
of Nations**



Appendix I.

**DECLARATION  
OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOCK OF NATIONS**

Appendix II.

**THE SOVIET UNION-AN UNDEMOCRATIC POWER**

*Published by*

*The Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations.*

*Atkinson*

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#### MEMORANDUM

Memorandum of June 30th 1946, submitted by the Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations to the Chairmen of the Peace Conference in Paris on the subject of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, which was founded on April 16th, 1946 at a session of the plenipotentiary representatives of political bodies, national liberation centres and organisations of nations, enslaved by Soviet Russia in Europe and Asia.

Sirs,

The Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (A. B. N.) extends its warmest greetings to you and takes this opportunity to inform your Government that an Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, consisting of nations enslaved or menaced by the Moscovite imperialistic Bolshevism has been created on April 16th 1946, following a session of plenipotentiary representatives of political parties, national liberation centres and organisations of the nations in Bolshevik dominated Europe and Asia. The creation of the Block is a manifestation of a clearly and freely expressed will of the member nations.

The principal aim of the A.B.N. is the overthrow of Bolshevism and the establishment of a New Order in Central and Eastern Europe and Asia,, based on the principle of self-determination of nations, the independence and sovereignty of national states within ethnic borders and on the idea of social justice and prosperity for the popular masses. In its main task —the partition of the Bolshevik empire, the A. N. B. unites all revolutionary anti-Bolshevik forces of nations enslaved or threatened to be enslaved by Bolshevism. Its activity is directed against the U.S.S.R. — the most brutal and imperialistic force in the world. Thus, the destruction of Bolshevism, partitioning of the U.S.S.R. into national states within ethnic boundaries, and the restitution of national sovereignty of U.S.S.R.'s vassal states is the chief aim of the A.B.N. and the guiding spirit in its activities.

The main feature of active membership in the A.B.N. is the recognition of the necessity of a united revolutionary struggle within the U.S.S.R. and satellite states for common ends, as announced in the Declaration of the A.B.N. (appendix I).

Those nations who are waging this struggle within the U.S.S.R. and its vassal states belong to the A.B.N. They are of the opinion that a national, political, social and cultural revolution in the Soviet Empire is the only means towards the attainment of liberty for the enslaved nations.

In this sense the A.B.N. is an organisation for struggle. To-day its main task is to conduct a political and military struggle against a common enemy in accordance with one coordinated and strategic plan. It should be emphasised that the A.B.N. considers external factors of secondary importance, at best, as a contributing element; but the main and decisive factor in the struggle is, in its opinion, a popular revolutionary uprising within the U.S.S.R. and countries dominated by them. The strongest external blows resulting from a war against the U.S.S.R. cannot

be sufficient and decisive in the crushing of the U.S.S.R. without the existence of above mentioned revolutionary forces within the U.S.S.R. itself and its « sphere of influence ».

Full destruction of Bolshevism entails :

- a) The partition of the U.S.S.R. into national states established on their ethnic territories, i.e. into states of all nations who aspire to freedom from the Bolshevik yoke, e.g. Ukraine, White Ruthenia (Byelorussia), Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, Siberia, Don and other Cossak lands, northern Caucasus, etc.
- b) The restitution of national sovereignty of countries that "de jure," do not belong to the Soviet Union but which "de facto," are subjugated by it, e.g. Poland, Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Slovakia, Bohemia, Finland, Outer Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, parts of China, etc.

Relations between these independent and sovereign states, established on the ruins of the U.S.S.R. would be freely regulated by the governments of these states. But in the face of a constant threat of German and Russian imperialism, one of the aims of the A. B. N. is to create in the future such forms of friendly partnership of the states belonging to the A.B.N. which would, without limiting the sovereignty of each member, guarantee their safety and protection against any danger of violence originating either without or within the Block. The Block of States of Free Nations, established on the basis of the A.B.N., will be such a form of organisation, in which there will be coordination of external and military-defense policies as well as of the execution of economic programmes and other acts of mutual assistance by completely independent states not bound together by force or by any imperialistic regime. To promote their interests and welfare the member states within the Block will be able to form various confederations, coalitions, and associations on a larger or a smaller scale as long as these are not directed against the interests of all the members of the Block. This Block of States of Free Nations would be strong enough to guarantee independence and freedom to all its liberated member nations, and to protect them against any possible aggression. This Block would be the answer to the problem of balance of power on the Continents of Europe and Asia.

The maintenance of world peace and human progress will depend upon the desire and ability of nations to work together. Lasting peace can only be achieved when it is based on true democracy, in accordance with the freely expressed will of all nations and respecting the right of each nation to self-determination. Therefore, the nations united in the A.B.N. hereby express in the name of the people they represent and the decisions adopted by the United Nations, their desire that the will of nations should be respected in all its phases and all its acts by all.

It should be stated that the nations united in the A.B.N. were on the side of the United Nations in the war that has just ended. During the war, they proved their loyalty to the common cause of the United Nations by their deeds. They had never been allied to the Axis countries as, for example, the U.S.S.R. had been by virtue of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of 1939 and the pact with Japan of 1941. The Committee of the A.B.N. considers it its moral duty to bring to the attention of your Government and people and to the Governments of the other United Nations the fact that the contribution of the A.B.N. to the common cause and victory of the United Nations cannot be underestimated. Victory to a very large extent, was won thanks to the sacrifices and struggle of the Polish, Ukrainian, White Ruthenian, Croatian and Serbian peoples and other oppressed nations which now constitute the A.B.N. Tremendous losses suffered by the Axis armies in Poland, Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the Balkans were inflicted upon them by the underground revolutionary armies and resistance forces of these people. Like all the members of the United Nations, the nations now united in the A.B.N. fought against Nazism with confidence and hope. They fought for democratic institutions and their ancient traditions of liberty. They believed in the Atlantic Charter which promised a better future for all nations, large and small; they still believe that these principles will be also applied to them at an opportune moment and the future will yet bring the fulfilment of their aspirations: to be free and independent in their own states, on their own soil, in a free Europe and Asia, and equals in a family of free nations.

Believing in the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, the nations united in the A.B.N. consider that they have the right to expect the implementation of the guarantees of freedom of nations, of personal freedom, freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of conscience, of press, word and assembly, freedom to express their will in free uncoerced elections. With sorrow they must declare that owing to existing conditions in the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states it cannot be said that these guarantees of freedom are implanted or recognised and the elections already held or to be held provide the opportunity for a free choice and democratic elections of representatives of the people. They emphatically state that the present regime in their homelands has nothing to do with democracy and freedom.

Although the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms and the Washington Agreement were all confirmed by the U.S.S.R., there is no political freedom in the Soviet Empire nor in its puppet states. On the contrary, the Soviet Government in the vassal states in practice rejects every principle of political freedom. In reality real democracy is non-existent. Their "democracy", is fiction. The U.S.S.R. and its vassals reject most of the things which Eastern Europe considers essential: personal freedom, government based on law, the subordination of the executive powers to the legislative and judiciary powers, a government elected by the people, freedom of conscience, speech, press and assembly. They do not attach any value to the human being as such, they recognise violence which is sanctified by the end, for the attainment of which it is used. They hold

that violence used for a sufficiently long period can give birth to the recognition of its principles. The U.S.S.R. and its satellites are governed by one party and one person by means of dictatorship. The U.S.S.R. is the outward manifestation of an existing tyranny of the worst totalitarian kind, worse than the Nazi or Fascist system (appendix II).

There can be no doubt that Russian imperialism constitutes a formidable threat to international relations. It is a greater threat than Nazism was, for it has greater possibilities than Germany ever had. Its power reigns supreme over 1/6th of the globe, with puppets and fifth columns in the rest of the world.

Seeking for the causes of the Second World War one must look for them in Bolshevism, because it was Bolshevism that was the spiritual father of National Socialism in all its varieties, commonly known to-day as Fascism. It is clear that it is not the popular liberation movements, branded by Bolshevism as "Fascist", for obvious reasons, which constitute the threat, but the menace lies in truly reactionary, totalitarian and imperialist systems, the classic example of which is Bolshevism. Copying Bolshevism in theory and practice, thus becoming enemies of culture and civilisation, totalitarian movements attempted that which was the dream of Bolshevism and which is being realised to-day: the conquest of the world and establishment of a world "New Order". Bolshevism dogmatically executes the policy of the Tsarist reactionary imperialism, being one hundredfold more reactionary. Soviet Russia in its earliest stages became an imperialistic power, employing from the very beginning the well known methods of its predecessors, the Tsars, even exceeding them. In 1917 Soviet Russia recognised the right of self determination of nations, but in 1921 drowned the independent Ukrainian Republic in blood after four years of war. By the agreement of May 17th, 1920 Soviet Russia recognised the political independence and sovereignty of Georgia, a small country in the Caucasus, governed at the time by a democratic Socialist Government. But in 1921, without declaring war, the Red Army invaded this country and subjected it. The Soviet Government gave repeated assurances of respecting the territorial integrity of China. In spite of them a huge slice of China, Outer Mongolia, was carved out and included de facto into the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government was one of the first to sign the Kellogg Pact and was the first to break it by using its armed forces to solve the dispute with China about the Chinese Eastern railway in 1929. The Russian Foreign Minister, Maxim Litvinov, in the role of an "angel of peace", initiated and concluded non-aggression pacts and neutrality treaties with the Western neighbours of the Soviet Union: Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland. The Soviet Government broke each and every treaty. The Soviet Union was expelled unanimously from the League of Nations for its unprovoked attack on Finland. The secret agreements concluded with Nazi Germany on August 23rd, 1939 and during the second visit of Ribbentrop to Moscow in September, whilst removing the danger of an attack on the Reich from the East, gave the Soviet Union the chance, together with its Nazi partner, to deliver a death blow to Poland and occupy Western Ukraine

and Western White Ruthenia and to implant there strong totalitarian Bolshevik regimes. Then followed the occupation and subsequent subjugation of the Baltic States and finally the annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. With the tacit approval of Hitler, Soviet troops on November 30th, 1939 attacked Finland. In April, 1941, Stalin and Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka signed a neutrality pact between Japan and U.S.S.R. In 1945, the Soviet Union, making use of the course which the second World War was taking, gained possession of Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Poland, the Balkans, Albania and considerable parts of Austria and Germany. It is penetrating into Asia, is already firmly planted on the Pacific Ocean. At home, it has wiped off the maps four so-called autonomous Soviet Republics and is forcibly deporting native population from its ancestral lands into the vast expanses of the U.S.S.R. (e.g. repatriation of Ukrainians living West of the Curzon Line). The Soviet Government is promoting a system of blocks of pro-Soviet countries, dependent on the U.S.S.R. as an aggressive measure directed against the West. Imperialistic tendencies of the U.S.S.R. grow from day to day. Its expansion is directed towards the Dardanelles and Turkey, Iran, Arabia, India, Indonesia, China, Korea, etc. The U.S.S.R. poses as the protector not only of the world proletariat but also that of Slavs, Moslems and even the Negroes in the U.S.A. Soviet agents and fifth columns throughout the world are also working for the fulfillment of Soviet dreams of world domination. The U.S.S.R. has become the greatest menace to the world that history has known.

The nations united in the A.B.N. had reasons to believe that after the Second World War the victorious Allied Powers would establish a just peace, unattainable after World War I. After the Potsdam Conference, President Truman in a broadcast to the American people explained the tasks confronting the Allies thus : "At Yalta it was agreed, you will recall, that the three Governments would assume a common responsibility in helping to re-establish Governments in the liberated countries of Europe, broadly representative of democratic elements in the population. That responsibility still stands. We all recognise it as a joint responsibility of the three Governments,.. The Yalta Declaration signed also by Stalin on February 12th, 1945, stated : "The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice,.. Such is the guiding principle of the Atlantic Charter. At the Conference in Washington on January 1st, 1942, the Atlantic Charter was signed by representatives of 26 nations, it was signed on behalf of the Government of the U.S.S.R. by the Ambassador, Maxim Litvinov. The Charter lays stress on "freely expressed wishes of nations,, concerned with the general re-organisation of the world. It clearly puts forward "the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they want to live,.. Furthermore, it foresees a peace in which all nations will live in safety within their own boundaries and all men in all lands will be assured of living their natural lives in freedom from fear and want.

According to these principles of the Atlantic Charter which are applicable to all nations according to the elaboration in the Charter of the United Nations (Introducing, Charter I), and to the twelve points of President Truman, and bearing in mind that it is the responsibility of the United Nations to carry these principles out in practice, the nations in the A.B.N. who stand firm as defenders of legality and liberty and who do not recognise and will not submit to any regime established by force, hereby present the following request to your Government and other non-Soviet Governments :

I. — The principles of complete national freedom and complete democracy in accordance with the pledges of the Charters and Declarations forming the basis of the United Nations as well as the moral basis of this war, which to all nations have meant struggle for freedom and democracy against slavery and dictatorship, should be introduced and implanted in the U.S.S.R., and its vassal states. This calls for :

1. Sovereignty and freedom of all nations, oppressed by Bolshevism, despite their size and race, granted on the basis of the right of national and political self-determination ;
2. Restoration of their sovereign and fully independent national states within ethnographic boundaries and reparations for the damage and evil done to the peoples by the rule of Bolshevism and Nazi-Fascism ;

A. Complete freedom to choose : their form of government and means by which to attain full democratic privileges and freedoms for their citizens as well as the forms of social and economic relations within their states on the basis of social justice and in accordance with the vital interests of the broadest popular masses and needs of each individual. Thus, in order that the right of self-determination of nations and complete democratization of political and social life of the nations within the A.B.N., be carried out in full, with the participation of a U.N. commission, and in conformity with the ideas expressed in the Charters and Declarations, all nations must be given the right to abolish the totalitarian anti-democratic Bolshevik regime and to introduce a democratic form of Government which would be the expression of the free will and choice of the people. The nations themselves must decide their fate and not their oppressors.

With reference to the internal political life of each state it is necessary to :

- a) Establish democratic governments replacing the present day governments based on the dictatorship of an anti-popular totalitarian monopoly system.
- b) Hold elections to constitute assemblies in all the countries at an earliest possible date in accordance with electoral laws governing

the elections of deputies to constitute assemblies, which would guarantee full freedom of speech, press and assembly and universal direct and secret casting of the ballot.

- c) Organize the judiciary, permeated with a democratic spirit, as one of the first tasks of the Government. Law Courts should be independent in their functions and should mete out justice according to law and conscience and not to Fascist-Bolshevist self-will.
- d) Announce through the new governments, in the form of a declaration, the fundamental democratic liberties granted and safeguards of their application into practise. Personal freedom, freedom from fear, of conscience, speech, press and assembly should be particularly stressed and guaranteed as well as the right of private enterprise and ownership of property.

At present :

II. — National governments and centres as well as liberation councils of the nations of the A.B.N. should be recognised by the United Nations as temporary governments of the nations in question ; the people, represented by them, should be admitted to the United Nations if they are not members of the U.N. already. These representatives in the United Nations and at the Peace Conference should be appointed by the above mentioned organs. The acts passed by the representatives of these bodies would be subject to subsequent ratification by their constituent assemblies.

III. — Insurgent revolutionary armies of the nations of the A.B.N. which :

1. are commanded by persons responsible for their subordinates ;
2. have distinct and distinguishing emblems recognisable at a distance ;
3. carry arms openly ;
4. conduct military operations in accordance with the laws and customs of warfare (article 1 and 2 of the Hague Convention of 1899 as edited in 1907) should be recognised by the United Nations as warring armies in the state of war, particularly as they fought against the Nazi and Fascist invaders and have now turned their weapons against Bolshevist totalitarianism for freedom of nations and the individual and for the progress of mankind.

IV. — The totalitarian U.S.S.R. being an aggressive anti-democratic and totalitarian state, as well as similar governments in power at present in the vassal states of the U.S.S.R. who are but instruments of Bolshevist imperialism, should be expelled from membership in the United Nations. They should not participate in the Peace Conference. The nations united

in the A.B.N. solemnly declare that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Bolshevist Governments in U.S.S.R.'s puppet states have no right to speak on behalf and in the name of our nations or to represent us at international forums. At the World Peace Conference the nations of the A.B.N. should be represented by their liberation centres, forming the A.B.N. (appendix I).

V. — The United Nations, with the participation of the A.B.N., should try before an international tribunal members of the Soviet government, administration, V.K.P.(b) (Bolshevik Party) and corresponding Bolshevist leaders in the vassal states, accused of having violated international and human laws (conducting aggressive wars, mass murders of innocent and peaceful populace, organising planned famines with the purpose of annihilation of people, organising concentration camps in which tens of millions people were tortured and slaughtered, etc...). These people are accused of crimes against humanity, as war criminals and aggressors and particularly as oppressors of nations, ruthlessly subjugated by them and ruled over for twenty eight years, as well as of those conquered more recently. They are accused of violating the right of self-determination of the peoples and of trampling on the most fundamental rights of man since 1917. We consider that it is the duty of the United Nations to bring all these persons accused by the governments of the nations of the A.B.N. before an international tribunal for trial in view of the obligations of the United Nations to mankind and the millions of victims of the war and in the interests and for the realisation of those ideals for which the war was waged and won.

VI. — In order to carry out into practice the right of nations to determine their fate and to democratize the forms of their present governments imposed on them by Bolshevism, the instruments of power of Bolshevism (the Red Army, the N.K.V.D. with its various branches, the Communist parties, etc.) must be either withdrawn or liquidated as the case may be.

The nations united in the A.B.N. deal in this memorandum with things which are so clearly expressed in the Atlantic Charter and in the Charter of the United Nations as well as in the twelve points of President Truman! To achieve these ideals there is but one way : to carry into effect the right of national and political self-determination of nations and the establishment of truly democratic regimes. The accomplishment of these two things will end the war which is still being waged in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, and will ensure a just and lasting peace. It would bring about the restoration of national, political and individual rights for all and this would enable the return of millions of prisoners of war, displaced persons and refugees who have refused to go back to submit themselves to Communist dictatorship at present in power in their homelands. It would mean not only fulfillment of pledges given to all nations but above all it would be a vital and

necessary contribution to general peace. Consequently, the nations united in the A.B.N. consider that there are no reasons for continued recognition of dictatorship Bolshevik governments, endowed with less democratic characteristics than even the regime of Hitler, and which alone stand as the only obstacle in the path of carrying out the principle of self-determination of nations and the introduction of popular democratic regimes. Continued recognition of the Bolshevik regime means the recognition of totalitarianism and the surrender of common aims and ideals of democracy; it means the recognition of aggression and violence used against nations and man as instruments by which international relations are to be achieved and built. The A.B.N. solemnly believes that there cannot be and will not be any permanent peace until the ideals, embodied in the Declaration and Platform of the A.B.N. are realised, until the world aggressors, oppressor of nations and individuals, the enemy of civilised mankind—the totalitarian and imperialistic Bolshevism is destroyed and until on its ruins independent national states are established. There will be no peace if nations are not given the freedom and opportunity to determine their own lives and future, and democratic institutions and governments are not introduced. Only a Block of States of Free Nations not bound together forcibly by any imperialistic regime, but born out of a free decision of free nations and established on the ashes and ruins of the U.S.S.R. and the Bolshevik regimes in its satellite States as the defender of freedom and shield against any attempted aggression, is the only guarantee of a just and lasting peace. The A.B.N. will never abandon this its principle aim, and will fight for it by all possible revolutionary and diplomatic means, disregarding external constellations whatever form they may take and decisions of world conferences which do not bind them so long as the totalitarian Bolshevik aggressor and oppressor of nations and individuals, the U.S.S.R., takes part in them.

In submitting this memorandum to you, Sir, we are so sure of being right that we challenge the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, who claim that the nations governed by them have determined freely their own fate and that they are blessed with all democratic freedoms, to place, under the control of a United Nations Commission, these issues before our nations for their verdict. If Bolshevism feels that truth and right are on its side then let it accept this challenge in which the last and decisive word will belong to the popular masses.

We hope that you will be so kind as to bring our views, as expressed in this memorandum to your Government and the Peace Conference. We have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours respectfully,

Committee  
of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations.

## APPENDIX I

### DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOCK OF NATIONS

For the sake of the great ideal of human progress—the freedom of nations and freedom of the individual, the most important task is the struggle with Bolshevism.

Bolshevism, as totalitarianism of the worst kind, is the most reactionary force, comparable only with Fascism, and is at present the deadliest enemy of any idea of freedom. As Fascism, camouflaged by "national," slogans, so Bolshevism cloaked in "democratic," phraseology is a criminal theory and practice of terroristic monopoly dictatorship which excludes even the slightest bit of freedom, democracy and nationality. Such a dictatorship going under the name "dictatorship of the proletariat," in the form of "Soviet rule," reigns supreme in the Bolshevik autocratic Empire—the U.S.S.R.,—a true prison of nations of Eastern Europe and Asia and a holy terror to the nations of the world. Having introduced in the U.S.S.R., an automaton-like bureaucratic and police regime of the compulsory "Stalinist Socialistic," type which is a hideous compound of State capitalism, ruthless exploitation of the human being and absurd communistic experimentations, Bolshevism has pillaged the nations within the U.S.S.R., bound them with fetters of intolerable national, political, social and economic enslavement, has kept them in misery and hunger, in hopeless spiritual and physical slavery, persecuted and oppressed by means of terror

Bolshevism, not unlike Fascism, strives for the conquest of the world. To achieve this it fosters militarism on a prodigious scale. Its imperialism, born and reared for the sake of a world communistic revolution and in the name of "liberating nations from the capitalistic yoke," is most dangerous to the world since it inevitably leads to upheavals and destructive wars. Bolshevik totalitarianism and imperialism threatens to engulf the whole of the civilized world, replacing Christian civilization, culture and all spiritual values with primitive materialistic dogmas and concepts. The struggle against Bolshevism, as previously against Fascism, for the freedom of the individual and nations, is the most progressive and most revolutionary factor in contemporary life. Now that Fascism has been wiped off the face of the earth, Bolshevism is the only remaining pillar of reaction in the world. This remaining bastion of reaction is



being heroically stormed to-day by those enslaved, or endangered with subjugation, freedom loving nations who yesterday fought and destroyed Fascism. In this struggle, just as in the fight against Fascism, not only is the fate of individual nations to be decided. The salvation or death of humanity depends on the outcome of it. That is why the struggle against Bolshevism is a case of life or death to all freedom loving nations and peoples of the world. And that is why historic necessity compels them to unite into such a unified front on such an international scale, as that which made victory over Fascism possible. In the present time it is imperative to create a single anti-Bolshevik united front and a single coordinating centre of this struggle against Bolshevism.

Heeding this order of the day we, the representatives of national and political bodies and anti-Bolshevik liberation organisations of the enslaved or menaced by Bolshevism nations who fight for freedom against Bolshevism and are allies in this common struggle, are uniting all our liberation efforts for the attainment of our common goal and are creating hereby the ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOCK OF NATIONS (A.B.N.)

The A.B.N. is a voluntary association of freedom loving nations united in the struggle against Bolshevism for a common end. Its geopolitical sphere includes all of Europe and Asia under the Communist regime. The A.B.N. embraces the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Kriviches (Byelorussians), Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Albanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, the Cossaks of the Don and other Cossak lands, Kalmiks, Northern Caucasian peoples, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidjanians, Turkestans (Turksmen), Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kazakhs, Kirgisians, Karakalpaks, Russians, the peoples of the so called Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic, Tartars, Bashkirs, Mongols and other peoples of Siberia and the Far East. Each of these nations has its own specific problems to be solved and its own individual ends, but one thing is common to all: struggle against Bolshevism. All other things must be subordinated to this main aim in the A.B.N. On its banner, as the principle aim of its struggle the A.B.N. has inscribed this slogan: "Freedom to Nations! Freedom to the individual!,"

**The struggle for the realisation of this slogan means to fight against:**

1. Totalitarianism of all types, national or international, be it masked as "Socialism,, or "Communism,, in the form of a dictatorship of a class, party or person, whether with a "democratic,, or a "national,, exterior;
2. Imperialism and militarism, whether preached in the name of "world revolutions,, "liberation of nations,, or for the sake of power and rule for "master,, races and nations, whether they go under the banners of international-nihilist or national-chauvinistic ideals, "historical rights,, "economic laws,, religious or ideological principles;

3. National enslavement, masked by empty phrases of "Soviet friendship of peoples,, under the leadership of the "great,, and "leading,, nation, or open subjugation in the spirit of the rule of "master nations,, over "slave nations,,;
4. State and political forms of Government forcibly imposed on nations, which negate their will and basic rights as individuals and nations by armed violence;
5. Social and economic conditions which permit the exploitation of man by man or man by state. Against class, caste, party or other privileges or restrictions imposed by both Capitalism and "Socialism,, of the Soviet brand;
6. Spiritual and cultural oppression, the suppression of free will, conscience and thought of man for the sake of theories, doctrines or beliefs imposed from above;
7. Terror conducted by the state, class or party: against constant human dread and fear of repressions, prisons, concentration camps, penal servitude, exile, and compulsory deportations;
8. Misery and hunger, necessitating a hopeless and constant struggle of the human being for a crumb of bread and mere existence.

**The realisation of the slogan of the A.B.N. calls for:**

1. Democracy,—a real democracy, not falsified and not divided into "proletarian,, "bourgeois,, or any other democracy, but a democracy which would be the rule of the people;
2. Sovereignty and equality of all nations, despite race, creed or size, with the right of national and political self-determination.
3. Liberation of nations from the yoke of the occupant, restoration of independent national states within ethnic boundaries and compensations for all wrongs committed by the oppressor, particularly the return of the populace to their ethnic territories, forcibly removed from them as a result of the enemy's colonisation policies;
4. Free choice of forms of government and enjoyment of all democratic rights and freedoms inherent in the human being;
5. Free choice of social and economic structures within the states based on social justice and answering the vital needs and interests of the broadest popular masses and necessities of the individual;

6. Free spiritual and cultural creativeness, a real freedom of conscience, thought, word and creative manifestation of the individual ;
7. Liberation of human beings from the dread of terror and guaranteeing every person the necessities of life and a tolerable livelihood in conformity with human dignity.

**The A.B.N. is against :**

1. The U.S.S.R.—the Bolshevik prison of nations, and against Bolshevik regimes in the vassal and satellite states ;
2. Bolshevik totalitarian system in government, social, economic and cultural spheres of life of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites ;
3. Bolshevik terror, misery and hunger of the popular masses in the U.S.S.R. and its puppet states.

**The A.B.N. is for :**

1. The destruction of Bolshevik prison of nations and the liquidation of the Bolshevik regimes ;
2. Independent sovereign national states of free nations, established on the ruins of the U.S.S.R. and its vassal states ;
3. Complete democratization of state and social life of nations, liberated from the Bolshevik yoke and for a new, just, social order.

Taking as its main and fundamental tasks the organisation and conduct of a united and coordinated anti-Bolshevik liberation struggle of the nations enslaved or menaced by Bolshevism, the A.B.N. seeks a lasting and creative peace amongst nations after the abolishment of Bolshevik tyranny in the world, during which every nation's safety and integrity of its territory would be assured against military aggression. Peoples in these countries would live in peace, free from the fear of war and misery. Therefore, the A.B.N., which, although not transgressing on their sovereignty, would promote closest cooperation between them and will secure them from any threat or violence from without or within the Block. Such a form could be a Block of States of Free Nations, organised on the basis of the A.B.N. This Block would call for coordination of economic plans and other forms of mutual assistance of the nations not bound together by force, by a government thrust upon them against their will. Within the Block various federations, coalitions and other stronger or weaker ties between the member nations would be permissible, provided they did not constitute a threat to the Block as a whole. As an association of nations forged together for the main

purpose of fighting Bolshevism, the A.B.N. incorporates first of all all active, revolutionary, national-liberation forces of nations who stand on the principle of uncompromising war against Bolshevism for the attainment of the ends for which the A.B.N. stands. Means to these ends are liberation revolutions of nations, i.e. national, political, social and cultural revolutions,—armed revolution of the nations incorporated or attached to the U.S.S.R.—a revolution of the popular masses : peasants, workers and toiling intelligentsia,—in other words, revolution by those social classes who are guardians of freedom and sovereignty of their nations.

The A.B.N., adopting the means of national revolutions of nations enslaved by Bolshevism and part and parcel of the U.S.S.R., unites in one anti-Bolshevik front all who cherish the ideals of freedom and democracy, incorporates all constructive currents of political thought and action of every nation whatsoever methods of struggle against Bolshevism they apply, and subordinates them to the one principle aim and to a single strategy of struggle. The A.B.N., considers political revolutionary insurgent armies the main factors of the political and military power of the A.B.N., and the vanguard of the national revolution of nations. Besides soldiers of the Red Army, sons of nations enslaved by Bolshevism, are potential armies and will at the opportune moment transform the Red Army into an army of the national revolution of nations under the influence of the ideals put forth by the A.B.N. Its ideological political nucleus is already formed in the form of nations belonging to the A.B.N. The A.B.N. also counts on the support of the soldiers of armies in the vassal and satellite states of the Soviet Empire, corresponding to the Red Army. But the main and basic strength of the liberation revolution of nations of the A.B.N., is in the popular masses,—an inextinguishable and inexhaustable source of revolutionary energy. In these masses who, in accordance with the tasks facing the A.B.N. and national liberation organisations, are being mobilised and organised in a united anti-Bolshevik front rallied together for common vital interests.

History has issued its verdict on Bolshevism : Bolshevism must disappear from the face of the earth if mankind is to live in peace, truth and wellbeing.

Death to Bolshevism—is the order of the day. All freedom loving nations and people of the world are arising to the call. Hatred of Bolshevism is forging them into a united whole. The vile Bolshevik attempt to make all nations subservient to it with the aid of misleading slogans fabricated by its international agency, the Comintern, have failed.

The Comintern, exposed as the symbol of Bolshevik reaction and a hot-bed of trouble, pretended to dissolve itself but actually with different tactics and in new robes seeks to lead popular masses astray. In opposition to the reactionary Bolshevik Comintern, the revolutionary A.B.N. rises as the vanguard of national liberation revolutions of enslaved nations. In the place of the false and tricky slogan of the Comintern : "Proletarians of all countries, unite,," the A.B.N. puts forth its call : "Freedom loving nations and people of the world unite in the struggle against Bolshevism for the freedom of nations and the individual,,"

**The Committee of the A.B.N. calls upon :**

All European nations enslaved or menaced by Bolshevism as well as Asiatic nations whose lot is the same ;

all freedom loving nations of the world despite their race, creed and language, particularly the Russian nation, harnassed by Bolshevism to further its interests, yet suffering as much from the Bolshevik regime as the other nations ;

all progressive forces of humanity ;

all who seek freedom and for whom freedom of the human being and human dignity is a cherished ideal ;

**to fight in brotherly union against Bolshevism—the enemy of freedom.**

**The Committee of the A.B.N. wants :**

A common, planned, coordinated struggle against Bolshevism, waged according to a single strategic plan of a political and military nature ;

mutual assistance of all enslaved nations in all spheres and sectors of life, both externally and internally ;

the cessation of hostilities and abandonment antagonistic attitudes between nations who are in the struggle against Bolshevism ; and for a just and peaceful settlement of controversial issues between them ;

internal unity in the liberation struggle of all forces within the nation which is fighting for freedom.

The A.B.N. appeals to all united national forces to stand steadfastly behind the A.B.N. in the final decisive battle with Bolshevik tyranny for the freedom of nations and the individual !

Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik  
Block of Nations (A.B.N.)

Headquarters, May 25th, 1946.

## APPENDIX II

### THE SOVIET UNION—AN UNDEMOCRATIC POWER

The U.S.S.R. is ruled by a dictatorship of the Communist Party in an utterly totalitarian fashion and such monopoly dictatorships are also being set up in the Soviet Union's "sphere of influence." The small ruling minority uses violence, claiming that it is sanctified by the end to which it is put. It holds that if violence is applied for a sufficiently long period of time it will eventually induce the people to accept the principles for which it stands. This very small minority in power, which in 1939 constituted less than 1% of the total population of the U.S.S.R. (1,588,000 out of 170,000,000) is the straitjacket which holds together vast millions of people of various races and languages who make up the population of the Soviet Union. The members of the Communist Party bound together by rigid discipline, occupy all the high executive positions in the political and economic life of the country. Any decree of the politburo, the supreme steering body of the Communist party, made up of Stalin and his most trusted lieutenants and advisors has all the force of law in the Soviet Union. Whatever his personal opinion may be, every Communist is expected to work for the success of any enterprise launched by the party leadership. The party is an end in itself.

The difference between Communist and Nazi-Fascist regimes is very slight, almost in name only. Both ideologies hold to the same principles—so dangerous, that it matters very little which one of the two applies them in practice. If a man's outlook is rigidly determined by a forceful totalitarian education, if his social and economic opportunities are totally dependent upon a totalitarian bureaucracy, if his political activities are limited to casting his vote in totalitarian undemocratic elections for a single list of candidates drawn up before hand, if he owes blind allegiance to a "leader," (Führer, Duce, Vozhd), and the party line—then this is the most tyrannical of dictatorships, the most evil of all forms of government.

The nations united in the A.B.N. have had ample opportunity to see totalitarianism in action, to see how it worked in both Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. The by-products of dictatorship were there in both cases : mass murders of innocent people, concentration camps, famine artificially created to dispose of rebellious population, reign of terror, cruel and summary punishments, liquidation of undesirables without trial by the N.K.V.D. or Gestapo, population's constant fear of arrests, sudden death and violations of basic human rights. These "measures,, are unprecedented in human history. The nations of the A.B.N. saw the Nazis and Communists advocate violence as a means towards establishing and keeping control in the hands of a minority faction over a vast majority of people ; how they justified terrorism on the grounds that the party represent the people. These nations observed that all political measures undertaken by either the Nazis or Communists were calculated to maintain and safeguard dictatorship. They noticed that all economic measures had the same ultimate aim and that the first result of such measures was the lowering of the standard of living of the common man in order to make him dependent on the Government for his livelihood and his very existence. They were struck with the similarity of electoral laws under both systems giving the sole party in existence and the Government the power to choose not only the candidates but to select the electors also. They witnessed the "real freedom,, of religion in the U.S.S.R. where the positive law, as proclaimed in Stalin's Constitution, guarantees freedom of religion and freedom of anti-religious propaganda, but where, in practice, the teaching of religion, holding of prayer meetings, sermons in Churches, evangelising, etc., is forbidden because this is regarded as "religious propaganda,,. The Soviet administration has forbidden the publishing or import of Bibles, so that since 1928 not one Bible was printed or brought in legally from abroad. This "freedom of religion,, manifested itself very clearly recently in Western Ukraine where the whole Ukrainian Catholic Church was ruthlessly destroyed and its Bishops and hierarchy imprisoned or exiled. The Soviets believe so fanatically in their own infalibility that they are ready to grasp power by murder and maintain it by murder. After the blood bath of the "revolution,, other blood baths have followed,—concentration camps, mass murders, organised famine, and various purges in which the blood of innocent victims flowed freely. They regard the most foul methods as permissible and justifiable if they strengthen their rule. On the other hand it is the greatest misconception that Communism is a dictatorship of the working class. This is fiction. The Soviet regime is a dictatorship ruling over the workers. Bolshevism was not established by a voluntary and spontaneous uprising of the working classes but a conspiracy in which anti-popular politicians utilised the forces of deserters, soldiers and land-hungry peasants. Having come to power, these politicians reign over these classes by means of terror. In addition to the terror unleashed by the Secret Police the entire Soviet population has been under constant barrage of the greatest propaganda machine in history for over a quarter of a century. Every source of information and every device of psycholog-

ical pressure,—schools, libraries, press, literature, theatre, cinema and radio are concentrated on strengthening the regime and exacting mechanical obedience from the populace. No modern nation has ever been so completely isolated from knowledge and facts about the life of other nations, or so systematically assured of the superiority of the Soviet system over those in other countries.

The nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R. for the past three decades have been the human guinea pigs of the greatest and cruelest laboratory experiments of all times. At the cost of incredible suffering and the loss of millions of lives the experiments showed the utter worthlessness of many theories and the dubious value of the remaining ones. The experiment in drawing to a close.

Russian Communism began with a classless army, has ended in gold braid, epaulettes and exclusive officers' messes. It began with equality of remunerations, has ended in fabulous salaries for high officials and stark poverty for 4/5ths of the population. It started as ardent internationalism and ended in the greatest chauvinism. It began by denouncing capitalism and has ended in state capitalism. It began by giving the control over industry and means of production to workers and has ended in the complete enslavement of the workers by a small omnipotent party. It began by promising democracy and has ended in an undisputable reign of the Vozhd, which is more absolute than the reign of the most autocratic Tzar.

But long ago this may have been predicted as inevitable. Moreover, a regime established by violence must be maintained by force. A regime which sets out to own and conduct the whole political and economic life of the nation will eventually find itself exercising ruthless control and domination over the people. The U.S.S.R. is a shocking example of tyranny within a totalitarian regime. The abolishment of individual freedom by a power-mad party and a huge cumbersome bureaucracy is the inevitable results. A monoparty system, a complete totalitarian system, it has been proved (Germany, Italy), begins with the dictatorship of one man. The Soviet system has ended with the dictatorship of Generalissimo Stalin. But dictatorship also begins with a civil war and ends in external war. This is the path on which the U.S.S.R. in the near future will also have to tread. There is no doubt that Bolshevik imperialism constitutes a definite threat to international relations. It is more dangerous than Nazism for it controls greater resources and has greater possibilities than Germany every had. With one sixth of the world already in its hands it has millions sympathisers abroad, potential quislings to the countries in which they reside, and active fifth columns in every country.

Various aspects of Russian foreign policy of the past two and a half centuries are particularly significant in the light of the present. It was

Peter, the First who wrought the first great change in Russian history. By wresting the Baltic provinces from Sweden he opened a window for Russia to the West and gained an important outlet to the Baltic Sea without which Russia could scarcely have become a great power. Catherine the Great gained mastery over the Black Sea from Turkey having crushed Ukraine and destroyed all remnants of Ukrainian statehood. Then began the long struggle with Great Britain for the control of the Dardanelles which would give Russia hegemony over the Mediterranean. It was Catherine who was primarily responsible for one of the greatest international crimes in history, namely the partition of Poland, together with Prussia and Austria. Paul the First, together with Napoleon, planned an overland invasion of India. Every successive Tsar during the two centuries, from 1689 to 1869 fostered the gradual but steady expansion of Russia through the Siberian expanses to the Pacific Ocean. This policy culminated finally in the firm establishment of Russia as a Pacific power.

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## FOR THE PARTITION OF THE U.S.S.R.

*Z. Karbovich.*

**« Freedom-loving nations and peoples, unite for the struggle against Bolshevism ».**

In answer to the hypocritical and deceitful slogan, « Proletarians of all countries, unite », which in practice, spells oppression of nations caught in the web of Communism reign of terror and slavery of the working class under the dictatorship of the Kremlin Bolshevik clique of exploiters, the cry of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations used as the motto for this article must ring forth throughout the world and the geopolitical orbit of the Bloc, assuming concrete forms in organizations and deeds.

« Freedom to nations and the individual »—is the aim of the A.B.N., which will be put into effect on the ruins of the U.S.S.R.

« Freedom-loving nations and people of the world unite for the struggle against Bolshevism »—is the means through which the end will be attained.

The first and foremost aim of the A.B.N., non-recognition of which would bar membership in the Bloc and render it impossible to be the fighter for the positive ideals of the point is involved here. Not only the destruction of Bolshevik Russia—the U.S.S.R., is in mind, but also that of any kind of Russia—Boshevik, Democratic, Orthodox, All-Slavic, Tsarist, Republican or Atheist, Russia the « defender of Orthodoxy, Russia—protector of Islam, Russia, « guardian of the interests of small nations », or Russia—the « protector of world proletariat », as long as Russia is the bearer, executor and bastion of the most brutal of imperialisms.

There is no place in the A.B.N., for anyone who fights against the existing regime alone but upholds the principle of a one and indivisible Russia. The A.B.N., may utilize in its struggle sentiments against the regime but its policy is clear-cut, as well as its aims. The A.B.N., in principle, has nothing against the Moscovite nation, but combats Russian imperialism mercilessly. Revolutionary and patriotic elements of anti-imperialist national organisations of the Moscovite nation can take part in the struggle of the A.B.N., if they desire a Moscovite state within its ethnic frontiers and wish to put an end to Russia—the prison of nations. Such Moscovite national organisations are our allies in the struggle against

Bolshevism. The Red Fascists, the Kremlin clique, greedy for power, exploits also the Moscovite popular masses in order to fill its pockets and be able to finance a world Bolshevik « revolution ». What interest can a Moscovite peasant or worker have in a Communist revolt in Venezuela, a country rich in oil, in Mexico or in Liberia as long as he at home in Moscovy receives the required minimum of consumer's and manufactured goods; as long as they are equitably distributed and not diverted for the interests of Communist revolts in Java, India, Congo, Italy, etc? Of what interest is world « revolution » to the Moscovite nation when whole generations are slowly dying of hunger and cold, when the grim realization sinks in that sooner or later the whole world will rise against Bolshevism, as it did against Hitlerism, the land of Moscovy will be occupied, as Germany, for decades by the victors, and the nation, decimated in a new war, will have to labour not for itself but for the victors? Annexations of its ethnic territories, reparations in kind, resources and labour will have to be borne. For what cause? So that the Kremlin clique may satisfy its sadistical and looting instincts?

The Moscovite popular masses are not regarded by us as enemies. We fight the Moscovite nation in so far as it serves as a tool of Moscovite imperialism, whether it be White or Red.

The partition of Russia calls for the splitting up of Russia into national states within ethnic frontiers—into states of all nations who compose the U.S.S.R., and the restoration of sovereignty to those nations which although not actually annexed to the U.S.S.R., are in fact ruled by the Kremlin by means of their stooges such as Tito, Osobka-Morawski, Gottwald and similar « democrats ».

**National states on the ruins of the U.S.S.R., and the restoration of sovereignty to the present satellite countries of the Kremlin is the fundamental dogma of our struggle, of the Great Revolution of Peoples—the A.B.N.**

The establishing of mutual relations between the states of sovereign nations reborn on the ashes of the Red Empire and the winning of sovereignty and independence of the vassal countries of the U.S.S.R., is left to the free decision of the responsible Governments and parliaments of those countries, which will express the will of the nation in this respect. At the same time, in the face of a constant danger and threat from the aggressors who will never die out, it will be necessary for the reestablished sovereign states of free peoples to create a lasting international structure—the Union of States of Free Nations. This great coalition of Baltic, Balkan and Black Sea countries including also the Caucasian, Turkestan and Siberian states would be the guarantee of the independence and freedom of the nations concerned.

Present day participation in the A.B.N., does not bind the member nations to any commitments in the future. Within the A.B.N., there is room for various opinions on the forms which future relationship should

take. No definite and final decisions are made to-day about future federations, confederations, unions, united states, or coalitions or about the Union of States of Free Nations. In this Union different forms of cooperation are permissible, federations and coalitions included. As the A.B.N., at present, so the Union of States of Free Nations in the future, will be the broad basis for common action to secure the present day or future « Intermariums », or other ends.

The essential thing for the future form of mutual relations between countries is to be organic, not artificial. It should be set as little limitations on the sovereignty of the nations as possible, but at the same time create such conditions in which closest cooperation and most effective measures of safeguarding freedom could be carried into effect. External, military-defense and economic policies should be brought under a common denominator. In essential matters affecting the Union all its members would act together. In order to coordinate these policies the nations of the Union could create common permanent institutions such as an Inter-governmental Council for Defense to ensure their safety, an Interstate Economic Council for all matters, pertaining to national economy and general well-being, an Interstate Council for Foreign Affairs for external political purposes, etc... For closer cultural ties, the exchange of achievements and for solving common question of social reform, etc, an Interstate Council dedicated to this would be the answer.

Any limitations of the sovereignty of the individual member-states of the Union would be effected by mutual consent for mutual welfare. Thus, there would, in reality, be no limitations on sovereignty, if all members of the Union are equal despite the size of their countries and population, amount of natural resources, etc. For is the sovereignty of an individual, who is a member of a family, limited when obligations are placed on him for the common good whilst the other members of the family are also occupied in other ways to the benefit of all! In every society a division of labour and specialization is a natural phenomenon, out of which benefit is derived by all and without which no community could function and exist. There has never been, is not and never will be unlimited freedom. Only creative freedom is unlimited, which is guided by the welfare of all concerned, the society as such, and the component members—individuals, without which it is non-existent. In its final analysis the inter-state relations within the Union of States of Free Nations will be based on the same principle. Cooperation and coordination of all actions should be close. A planned economic policy would have as its task to satisfy the needs of the whole,—the Union of States, first of all, and only then could the members enter into any economic and business relations with other countries. For example, if military-defense considerations called for the strengthening of the Baltic fleet, the Union of States as a whole would lend its assistance to the Baltic members of the Union in accomplishing this task. It is, of course, premature to form concrete plans for cooperation. The guiding spirit, though, in considering and solving problems of this nature would be the vitality and permanency of any inter-state policies, plans or institutions from the point of view of

the inter-national situation and the interests of creators of these plans. The concept of a new order established on territories of the present Soviet controlled Europe and Asia would contribute to the solution of the problem of balance of power in Europe and Asia and in the world generally, and would serve as a bulwark and safeguard against the possibility of a regeneration of Muscovite or German imperialism. Putting an end to the mosaic of various so-called neutral countries whose « neutrality » is usually utilized by aggressors to play up one against the other and to conquer them piecemeal in the end, the idea of a Union of States, with a clear-cut and stable foreign policy, would end disunity and render all aggressive imperialistic ventures of this sort impossible. This bloc of states in which independence would be safeguarded and common interests respected would be quite imperialisms which constitute a threat to the freedom of smaller nations. Its geopolitical scope, membership, framework, etc., would be determined by a general and unanimous decision of the candidates to the Union of States.

The ground work for the future Union is being done by and in the common struggle, which prepares the nations of the A.B.N., psychologically for this great ideal.

The necessity of permanent cooperation in the future as a defensive measure against aggression, is the third task which confronts all nations either enslaved or menaced by Bolshevism to-day and perhaps some other imperialism tomorrow. Yet this requirement is not a condition of active participation in the A.B.N. Membership in the A.B.N., only demands struggle against Bolshevism for the partition of Russia into national states and destruction of Bolshevik regimes in the U.S.S.R.'s vassal states.

Our common goal can best be reached by means of a Revolution of Nations within the U.S.S.R., all those enslaved long ago as well as those conquered more recently. To be more precise—we rely not on a world revolution of enslaved nations but on:

- a) revolution of the nations of the U.S.S.R. Those nations which are not yet incorporated into the Soviet Union but are actually annexed (e.g. Hungary) may also be included in this group;
- b) direct struggle of nations far from the cradle of Bolshevism, but oppressed by a Bolshevik regime and ruled by satraps of the Kremlin clique (e.g. Yugoslavia);
- c) struggle against Bolshevism and Russia of nations endangered by the threat of occupation or annexation.

Nations must realize that every country where the NKVD is to be found will sooner or later lose its full independence. The Russophilism of the Czechs will not help them in the least, nor the pro-Bolshevik attitude of Benes; the Poles will not be saved by Mikolajczyk who hopes to gain victory over Bolshevism in the forthcoming « elections »; the lot of the

staunch-hearted Finns will also not become any easier because their national hero, Mannerheim, has disappeared quietly from the public eye. Over all of them hangs the dreadful shadow of the Bolshevik yoke. Their sole salvation lies in active and whole-hearted participation in the uncompromising struggle of the nations of the U.S.S.R. for their liberation. The road to freedom does not lead through partial and sporadic armed resistance against Russia on one's own soil, nor through the ballot box, nor through external pressure brought to bear on Moscow. The only assurance of success and victory lies in a decisive, gigantic clash with Bolshevism of all nations in all spheres.

The Russian bear must be destroyed in its own lair. Bolshevism will vanish from the face of the earth completely when it has been dealt a death blow aimed at its very heart. A victory over Bolshevism in a border country will have no real effect, because like poison gas, it will expand and gain entrance everywhere again. But even so, is a voluntary withdrawal of Bolshevism from such countries as Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, conceivable when it attacks Persia, Turkey, Spain, France, Italy, Venezuela (in South-America), India, and even the British Empire? Tito, Osobka-Morawski, Gottwald and other stooges will be only swept out together with their masters by the force which will storm and take Kremlin. It is true that a local victory of national elements, won with foreign support (e.g. the Spanish civil war) in one of the countries on the borderline of the Soviet U.S.S.R., may be a prelude to war or internal upheavals in Soviet Russia. But it must be remembered that the Bolsheviks will stubbornly defend each position because everything lost now is irrevocably, since it is no longer possible for them to play up one partner against the other, as Germany and Japan have ceased to exist. Now the division is very clear, the Anglo-Saxons world and their followers on one side, and Bolshevism on the other. The present external position of Bolshevism is far less favourable than it was before the war. It is impossible to set Britain against the United States or vice versa and Soviet attempts to turn loose the English-speaking world on the A.B.N., will be equally unsuccessful. Bolshevism has to reckon with two blocs: the Anglo-Saxon Bloc and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. There is not even any room here for a temporary compromise with any one of the two blocs.

Three categories of nations belong to the A.B.N. One, which relies on its own strength, on a revolution in the U.S.S.R. and on a great revolution of peoples. It consists of nations subjugated by Bolshevism long ago and several recently conquered peoples. External factors are regarded by them as being of secondary importance, which, at the best, may only have a contributing value. Their faith is in a revolutionary, national and social political concept of struggle. The second one counts on a revolution of nations too, which would help to shake off Bolshevism's shackles, but does not put into effect the great ideals of a national and social revolution of nations in its country. It wages its own political and armed struggle against the Bolshevik regime. It organizes its own forces by its own means and regards the external conjuncture as immaterial. This group

sees its liberation in two methods, in a revolution of nations of the U.S.S.R., and in war. From both it expects and awaits its salvation devoting, however, much attention to the mobilization and organization of its own strength. Those who consider their fate dependent wholly on external factors and constellations make up the third category.

It is obvious from which group the A.B.N., derives its real strength. However, the above classification is entirely schematic, for with each nation political groups and centres may be found which adhere to either one of the three schools of thought. A stereotyped classification of this sort is merely intended to show which thought is prevalent in the given nation as a result of its size, geopolitical position, material, physical and spiritual potentialities.

No nation is excluded from the A.B.N., which strives for the partition of Russia into national states, whether it belongs to the first, second or third category, nor is any patriotic anti-Bolshevik nationalist party of a nation battling for freedom barred. The essential requirement, we repeat, is to recognize and subscribe to the idea of the necessity of a revolutionary struggle in the U.S.S.R. Not every member nation of the A.B.N., must necessarily organize a revolutionary struggle in the realm of Bolshevism, but it is its duty to give all help possible to this struggle, in the homeland and abroad, by various means at its disposal, such as propaganda, etc...

To summarize the above, the A.B.N., embraces not only revolutionary anti-Bolshevik forces but generally all patriotic nationalist elements of the nations enslaved or endangered by Bolshevism which sincerely desire the destruction of Bolshevism and Russia and the creation of a new order, based on the principle of self-determination of nations, independent national states of those nations who aspire to statehood and the idea of social justice and prosperity for all.

The A.B.N., strives for and bases its hopes on a Great Revolution of Nations which will be national, political, social and cultural.

Anti-Bolshevik and anti-Capitalist social ideas, together with national ideas, are the driving force behind the revolution of nations within the U.S.S.R. A new national and social revolution is appearing on the horizon, heralded by its vanguard—the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

We, the A.B.N., fight for the destruction of Bolshevism and partition of Russia on the basis of self-determination of nations into national states established on the ethnic principle, and the restoration of sovereignty and freedom to Russia's vassals.

We, the A.B.N., strive for a new social order based on the welfare of popular masses, for social justice and to satisfy the needs of the common man.

We, the A.B.N., combat totalitarianism of whatever colour it may be—Red, Brown or Black. We uphold the creative ideals of a healthy democracy. We are for the rule of the people.

We, the A.B.N., are opposed to reaction, Bolshevism and Capitalist exploitation.

We, the A.B.N., want a new progressive and just national, political, social and economic order.

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The achievement of our aims is possible only through a united effort of the nations concerned. The principal task is to unite the warring popular masses and to have them act together in all spheres under the slogan : « Freedom loving nations and people of the world, unite in the struggle against Bolshevism ». The foremost duty is political struggle and to act in unison, all actions reflecting common vital interests of all freedom-loving nations. Joint action is also necessary in the social, economic and cultural fields of the peoples fighting Bolshevism. Common, all-embracing organizations should be formed wherever possible, such as A.B.N., youth clubs, associations of writers, journalists and scientists, trade unions; common publications should be put out and common concerts, festivals, etc., arranged periodically.

The greatest weight is carried by common actions of a political nature in which the masses take part. There are innumerable occasions for such concerted actions, e.g. against fraudulent elections, deportations, forced repatriations, Bolshevism participation in international conferences, meetings, etc. Members of the nations of the A.B.N., must find a common language to express their convictions and opinions on all events and phases of life, work and struggle. The idea of a great family of nations of the A.B.N., must become a reality. We must work in this direction. The workers of the A.B.N., member nations work side by side in the same factories and shops, live together, fight together against Bolshevism and act in the defense of their ideas. It is imperative to link the struggle of the nations in their own countries with the activities carried out abroad and to synchronize the two. Excluding specific activities abroad for a definite purpose, all acts abroad must echo and conform to what is being done and thought in the home countries. For example, if a wave of actions directed against one of the enemy's undertakings is sweeping the native country, this action, as far as it is possible, must also be launched abroad. To accomplish this, however, the emigrants must be organized under the banners of the A.B.N. In addition, it must be a mass movement in order to be an effective sounding-board of the homeland. We may conclude, then, that the A.B.N., will be successful in its external political undertakings if its concepts and ideals are carried out in the political, social and economic and cultural fields and if it is based on the internal political and social order of the nations of the A.B.N., otherwise it will fail to be more than a theory. Its policy must be backed by power, the power of support of the popular masses. Then all external political acts



and enterprises of authoritative representatives and spokesman of the A.B.N. will assume the voice of real authority and will carry great weight for it will be seen that behind them stand the home countries and their emigration as one body, following a single plan and acting together for the attainment of their aims. It will be clear to everyone that the voice of these spokesmen is the voice and will of the peoples they represent. At the same time they are in the position to induce the masses to fight for the ideals and aims which they propagate.

The A.B.N., is a great revolution of nations for the attainment of common political, social and cultural ends of a universal nature. As an anti-Bolshevik and anti-Capitalist revolution it is waged for the good and welfare of the popular masses, for the freedom of nations and the liberty of the individual.

The A.B.N., is not only the outward manifestation of the desires and aims of the nations enslaved by Bolshevism, but an ideology, a way of life, which is revolutionary in character and is aimed for the batterment of political, economic and cultural conditions. In all aspects the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations has a common denominator.

The A.B.N., is not something born out of conjuncture, a play, an « intermarium » stretching to Vladivostok, a disguised imperialism of one of its member nations. It is the common possession and good of all the nations.

Nations are marching to their freedom, and none can stop them. The Moscovite-Bolshevik imperialism has been exposed and shown for what it is. The Comintern as an instrument of Muscovite Fascism has been disgraced and formally « dissolved ». But Red Fascism endeavours to act under different guises. It is creating to-day « democratic fronts » against... Fascism, which has been stamped out (except in the U.S.S.R.). Yet many naive people in various countries permit themselves to be deceived, forgetting or deliberately shutting their eyes on the obvious fact that Muscovite imperialism and the reactionary Comintern still operate, although in a different form. But against it rises the Revolutionary Anti-Comintern, the liberation movement of freedom-loving nations, the Great Revolution of Nations—THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS!

## THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

*Oleh ZELENETSKY*

**« Freedom-loving nations and persons of the world,  
unite in the struggle against Bolshevism for the  
freedom of nations and the human being! »**

(Declaration, A.B.N.)

There is no doubt that mankind is going through a dangerous crisis which began with the end of the first World War. In our time it is growing more acute and threatens to end in a catastrophe. Having reached a certain level of progress, our civilization has stopped its march forward. Mankind has ceased to develop its creative powers. Indeed, the opposite is true; there is regression. Seeking for the causes of this crisis, some find them in the general deterioration and decadence of civilization, which, in their opinion, is beginning to degenerate. Some conclude that our era of civilization, having reached its prime, is on the downward slope and is doomed to disappear completely as earlier civilizations have, to be replaced by a new epoch.

In our opinion this view is wrong. The source of the crisis is not to be found in the general decadence of our civilization. Is it not true that the fundamental ideas of our times—the greatest achievement of human thought and deed through the ages, have remained as fresh, invigorating and attractive as ever? The causes are to be found elsewhere. In mankind itself forces have appeared which consciously hold back progress, having conceived in their minds a new insane system on which human life is to be based, which has nothing in common with progress, and which is being forcibly imposed on the whole world. These reactionary forces are embodied in the imperialistic systems of National Socialism and Fascism; these evil forces lie in Russian Bolshevism. Here is where the causes of mankind's crisis and the threat to modern civilization are to be looked for. Here is where the causes of the war just ended can be found as well as the explanation of « two worlds », divided by an Iron Curtain. This division is not the result of some natural phenomenon which indicates two diametrically opposed worlds, one in retreat, being on the verge of extinction, and the other, on the offensive, in its infancy. Indeed not! The division is the effect of the reactionary forces of Bolshevism

which are forcibly imposing their mad ideas and no less insane way of life on the fraudulently conquered and insidiously subjugated part of humanity which has found itself under their rule.

The causes of World War II must be sought in Bolshevism alone. After all, Bolshevism was the spiritual mother of National Socialism and movements which are to-day termed Fascist. In this connection one must confuse the popular liberation movements, branded as « Fascist » by Bolsheviki and their fellow travellers for obvious reasons, with despotic totalitarian systems of Fascism and—Bolshevism. Copying Bolshevism in theory and practice, and having become as great an enemy of civilization, Fascism in all its varieties set out to accomplish that which Bolshevism put forth as its goal—the conquest of the world and introduction of its « New Order ».

As a result of the Second World War, National Socialism and other authoritarian imperialistic Fascism dictatorship, which together launched the war with the intention of imposing their will on mankind, were crushed. But Bolshevism, the first cause of evil, source of inspiration and guiding example for Fascism, by sly manoeuvrings, emerged from the war not only victorious but also strengthened. This fact, notwithstanding the annihilation of Fascism, made the crisis of mankind more acute. Bolshevism considers the present moment most suitable for the execution of its plans, viz :—world domination and a global Communist regime. It uses all available and possible means to attain this end. Every means which leads to this end is good. Mankind, instead of healing its wounds inflicted by the war, and rebuilding normal life, is in the shadow of a looming catastrophe resulting from the criminal activities of Bolshevism.

Is there any solvation? Some think that the danger can be averted by compromising with the Bolsheviki. But the latter, irregardless of all sincere attempts made by the Western Democracies to reach some sort of an understanding, is not abandoning its plans and consequentially pushes on towards their realization. It wants no compromise, it desires to be the sole ruler of the world. What, then, is the alternative?

In answer to the mad dreams of Nazism, mankind mobilized all its forces and energies and unitedly stood up in defence of its existence and achievements, eventually destroying the forces of evil. **In a like manner mankind must deal with Bolshevism.** In the name of the sanctified ideals of progress, in the name of achievements reached by mankind in its search and struggle for the revelation of truth, in the name of human freedom and liberty of nations without which life is unbearable, this tremendous effort must be made. **Only deeds and an uncompromising fight against Bolshevism, the greatest enemy of mankind and civilization; only complete destruction of Bolshevism will solve the crisis of to-day, deliver mankind from the stalemate and ensure further development and progress.**

This truth becomes ever more evident in particular after the recent bitter experiences with Bolshevism. When the process of realising the danger from Bolshevism in the West is proceeding slowly by means of evolution, the reaction of nations enslaved by Bolshevism is manifested very distinctly.

Having perceived the context and spirit of Bolshevism in practice, having experienced the terror and nature of Bolshevism, nations under its heel instantly realized that there can be no compromises with the Red Fascism, only a fight to the finish. Guided by the example of nations, enslaved earlier, they entered on the path of uncompromising revolutionary struggle against the oppressor.

Struggle against Bolshevism is not just a normal case of struggle against imperialism. The methods of Bolshevik rule are worked out in such detail and are embodied in such a ruthless theoretical and practical system of government that the necessity of an immediate coordination of all forces of the nations under the Bolshevik yoke became imperative. This necessity of a united struggle against the common enemy, the realization, of the threat which hangs over all peoples under Soviet control lead to an understanding between those nations and the coordination of all active, revolutionary, anti-Bolshevik forces, which took the form of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

#### Ukraine—the cradle of the A.B.N.

The seed of the A.B.N. is to be found in the Congress of Enslaved Nations, held in Kiev in 1917, and the first Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia which took place in Ukraine on Nov. 21st, 22nd and 23rd, 1943. As far back as that, at a time of relentless war of certain nations, in particular the Ukrainian, against the other enemy of freedom—Nazi imperialism, the necessity was felt of a united front of all revolutionary forces and the closest cooperation between these movements.

When, after the defeat of Nazi Germany, the most dangerous enemy to all freedom-loving nations became Bolshevism, the idea of a common struggle, born at the First Conference of the Enslaved Nations, became increasingly popular amongst all the peoples under the Communist yoke, and finally found its outward manifestation in the unification of all freedom-loving nations within the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Unlike the Nazi-Fascist Anticomintern, which sought to replace Bolshevik banditism by its own, the A.B.N. is a bearer of the great ideal of freedom of the individual and of the nation, an ideal which promotes progress, an ideal which is the very basis of our civilized era.

The task of the A.B.N., is the destruction of that reactionary force and ideology, known as Bolshevism.

#### The Common Struggle

The means to this end is a united struggle of all nations enslaved earlier and more recently by Bolshevism, and those who though at present not directly dominated, are in the sphere of Communist influence or potentially endangered by it.

The A.B.N., holds the view that just as individuals unite in the face of some danger or for the realization of some plan or ideal, so also nations, in the face of a grave danger which threatens to uproot and destroy all the most treasured ideals of the human race and its very existence, must unite and coordinate their forces for a common struggle.

### The Goal

The aim of this common struggle, which is also the principal task of the A.B.N., is not only the annihilation of Bolshevism, but also the **rebuilding of Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet-dominated Asia along the lines of independent national states.** The series of national states, created on the ethnic principle and based on internal order emanating from democratic liberties, should guarantee friendly and good-neighbourly cooperation in the sphere of external, defense and economic problems. Resting on this voluntary and friendly cooperation, the Union of States of Free Nations will be the best barrier against any imperialism, whether originating in Moscow, Berlin or elsewhere.

The method adopted by the A.B.N. of achieving its goal is a common revolution of all nations conquered by Bolshevism. It is to be first of all the result of concerted revolutionary liberation activities of the nations who have chosen struggle against Bolshevism, and also the consequence of active reaction against oppression and the peak of the renaissance which began with the collapse of Fascism.

A whole plan of action of a practical and political nature is based on these ideological concepts of the A.B.N.

### Plan of Action

The principal task of the A.B.N., at present is to unite the forces of nations each on its own battling against Bolshevism for freedom, into one centre to : 1° ensure effective defense of their vital interests on their own ethnic territories; 2° coordinate the general offensive of the single revolutionary front against the enemy; 3° synchronize the main tactical and ideological principles of foreign policy and external political actions.

Where the struggle against Bolshevism has not been organised yet, or is not waged according to some plan, the duty of the A.B.N., will be to organize and stimulate centres of struggle.

### Scope of Activities

The chief terrain of the A.B.N.'s activities are, naturally, the lands occupied by the Bolsheviks. It is also active in all regions where nationals of those countries which are waging war against Bolshevism live in either compact masses, groups or even scattered.

The main strength of the A.B.N., however, lies in the coordinated political and revolutionary struggle in the homelands, thus, its main attention is directed towards them.

In countries occupied by the Bolshevik invaders the A.B.N., not only coordinates and inspires armed resistance, but also educates the popular masses through political and revolutionary activities in which it reveals Bolshevism as the cause of their national and social oppression and points out that only through the collapse of the Bolshevik Empire they can hope to be free from national, economic and social slavery.

In the external field, the A.B.N., has taken upon itself the obligation to organize those nations which belong to the A.B.N., to conduct an anti-Bolshevik propaganda campaign throughout the world, which seeks to reveal the true nature of Bolshevism, so often camouflaged by pseudo-humanitarian slogans of Soviet « neodemocracy », and finally to mobilize public opinion and win its support for the ideals propagated by the A.B.N.

### Cooperation of Enslaved Nations

Nations become members of the A.B.N., by voluntarily agreeing to closer or looser cooperation on the basis of the recognized and accepted programme of the Bloc. The degree of cooperation depends on whether the nation concerned has accepted the whole or part of the political programme of the A.B.N. Within the framework of the Bloc various agreements and affiliations between individual nations, or groups of nations, are permissible for the welfare of the member nations.

Each nation, which belongs to the A.B.N., has its own specific problems. Controversial issues and disagreements often appear between two nations. All these problems must assume secondary importance in the face of a danger menacing all nations. As long as the common foe exists, which not only politically oppresses but endangers the physical existence of different nations, all problems of a non-essential and relatively unimportant nature must be put aside. After final victory is won over the aggressor, the moment to decide and solve these problems will come. They will be dealt with then in a friendly and loyal spirit born and cemented during the period of the common struggle for common ends.

### Rebirth of our Civilization

The importance of the A.B.N. does not lie in its political, revolutionary and practical concepts of struggle against Bolshevism alone. The Bloc has brought forth such ideals and slogans which may well prove to be the turning point in the present crisis of mankind and become the foundation of a renaissance of our civilized era. **The declaration of the A.B.N. not only emphasizes the ideals of freedom equality and justice in its ideology and programme which must become the basis of further progress and development of mankind, but at the same time makes the need of**

activism, as the guardian of these ideals, unmistakably clear. The proclamation of democratic ideals in itself is not important. The main thing is for the believers in these ideals to stand up in defense of them when the necessity arises. They must actively oppose all reactionary forces bent on annihilating our civilization.

The A.B.N., is the first to reveal candidly and clearly the fundamental cause of the present crisis of mankind and to expose Bolshevism as the greatest enemy of human civilization, individual freedom and liberty of nations.

The A.B.N., simultaneously shows the road to be followed by mankind if our heritage, way of life and civilization are to be saved. This is the path of uncompromising struggle against Bolshevism until it is destroyed and ultimate victory is not won. There in lies the motive of proclaiming the idea of unification of freedom-living nations for a common struggle against Bolshevism.

### New Order

In pair with ideals of freedom, activism and uncompromising struggle, the A.B.N., proposes a plan of a new order which will come into being on the ruins of Bolshevism. This order will be founded upon the right of self-determination of nations which is an indivisible component of all human laws and declarations dealing with the rights of a human being and a nation. The Bolshevik prison of nations must crumble. On its ashes a series of independent national states, built on the principles of Democracy, will come into being. These states will create a union, based on equality, sincere friendship and mutual respect. This Union of Free Nations, embodying the above principles, will be characterised by its durability assured by the common experiences and liberation struggle and common interests, both of an economic as well as a political and cultural nature. It will be the best bulwark against any type of totalitarianism which has always been the greatest menace to civilization and progress. Therefore, the A.B.N., holds sacred the right of each individual and every nation to freedom. At the same it supports international peace, close cooperation and friendship between nations—the idea of « one world ». Such an ideal cannot be attained by force, deceit, mutual suspicion or insincerity. It is only possible when the principle of equality and freedom of all nations and all people is recognized; when it is based on sincere friendship between people and nations. Then, and then only, there can be any hope of a lasting peace and progress of mankind.

### THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF ENSLAVED NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN UKRAINE ON NOVEMBER 21st AND 22nd, 1943.

*Turkestanian*

The First Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia, was convoked at the request of Azerbeidjanian, Armenian, Georgian, Tartar, Ukrainian and ~~Uzbek~~ national revolutionary organisations which were fighting their oppressors, the Hitlerite and Bolshevik imperialisms, for their freedom and complete national independence. The Conference was called and held in the atmosphere of the Ukrainian nation's struggle against the German occupant. Many delegates came from countries occupied by the Bolsheviks, successfully crossing the front lines. All of the delegates were armed. Each one of them was not only a representative but also an actual soldier of his respective national revolutionary army.

Thirty nine delegates, representing thirteen nations took part in the Conference. Azerbeidjan sent six delegates, the Bashkirs—one, ~~White Ruthenia~~—one, Armenia—four, Georgia—six, Kabardinia—one, Ukraine—five, ~~the Uzbeks~~—five, ~~the Kazakhs~~—one, the Ossetins—two, the Tartars—four, the Cherkas—one, the Chuvashes—one. In addition ten other persons participated as honorary guests from different countries.

The Conference was called to order by Prof. Stecenko. Briefly, he outlined the political situation of the enslaved nations and then went on to describe the existing cooperation of enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Asia with the Ukrainians. This cooperation dated as far back as the « Nationalities Congress » which was held in Kiev in 1918, when Ukraine was a free state.

A praesidium was constituted, to which Mr. Levchenko (Ukrainian) was elected as Chairman, Lt. Fisul (Azerbeidjanian) as first Vice-Chairman, Major Gogia (Georgian)—second Vice-Chairman. The Secretariate was composed of Mr. Druzny (White Ruthenian), Mr. Shymrat (~~Uzbek~~), Mrs. Zelena (Ukrainian).

Professor Gurielli (Georgian) delivered the first address entitled « The Present Political Situation ». He emphasised the necessity of fighting

the German and Russian imperialisms which are trying to seize the countries of other nations, enslaving the latter and exploiting the riches and resources of the countries. Both conceal their real intentions by posing as bearers of new progressive ideas destined to re-make the world and introduce a new and better order in it. « The oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia have never yielded and never will place their necks into this yoke, for their greatest desire and aim has always been to live freely in their own independent states, built on ethnic territories.

« But to attain this, the nations now enslaved, must wage a relentless revolutionary struggle against both imperialisms, Nazi and Bolshevik, until final victory is won. To ensure ultimate victory this struggle must be coordinated and conducted in a single revolutionary front. Only through closest cooperation and counting on their own strength, rejecting all support from either of the imperialists, the submerged nations can hope to successfully resist the German and Russian onslaughts. A single revolutionary front calls for :

1. Coordinating of all military operations.
2. Common strategy and tactics of warfare.
3. Constant and closest cooperation between the revolutionary undergrounds of the nations concerned.

« One aim should be uppermost in the minds of everyone : to attack the common enemy which threatens the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia simultaneously from all directions ».

Mr. Khodjajev spoke on the same subject. He pointed out that in the struggle against two imperialistic powers two phenomena come to the aid of those battling for freedom. « The competition between the imperialists in enslaving and exploiting conquered leads to chaos and contradictions which throws the administration and machinery of state out of gear. On the other hand imperialisms breed hatred and arouse national consciousness in the enslaved peoples, which culminates in revolutionary liberation movements of the oppressed. This movement and struggle, conducted under the most progressive idea of the present epoch : freedom to nations and freedom to the individual, is the answer to the oppression, terror and pillaging carried out by the imperialists ».

Prof. Stecenko spoke on « The Political Tasks before Enslaved Nations ». Having shown how oppression of other nations is the result of the imperialistic policies of neighboring powers, he spoke of the eventual downfall of imperialism. « Imperialism is a policy of a state, which aims at the conquest of foreign territories and exploitation of their resources, wealth and population. The most dangerous, from the point of view of nations in Eastern Europe and Asia, are the imperialisms of Germany

and Russia. The nature of the war is anti-popular. The longer it lasts, the deeper becomes the precipice between the imperialistic cliques in power and the popular masses, which will result in mighty revolutionary upheavals. The subjugated nations have a great task confronting them,— to put an end to the war and bring peace to mankind. This can only be achieved by means of a revolution which would lay the foundations for a permanent peace in the future. To ensure lasting peace it is necessary to rebuild the world into sovereign, national states of free nations. All objective possibilities of victory for national revolutions are already in evidence, but victory will not come by itself, it must be fought for. This requires political and military strength, and this in turn demands intensive work and struggle ».

The second day of the Conference opened with the address of Mađam Owerska dedicated to the discussion of the organisation and practical aims of a united front of submerged nations. « Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia feel the impact of both the Nazi and Bolshevik imperialisms. The latter is the stronger and more dangerous of the two because it has succeeded in occupying most of the regions of Eastern Europe and Asia, whilst the Germans are being pressed by the Russians out of the remaining territories of Eastern Europe. The collapse of German imperialism is only a question of time. The sole threat which must be reckoned with is Russia, against which an implacable and stubborn struggle must be waged if the nations on the border of Europe and Asia hope to survive and develop. Whilst taking advantage of favourable external political and military circumstances the warring oppressed nations must primarily rely on their own strength.

« Bolshevik imperialism threatens a great number of countries : Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine, <sup>→ *Belorussia*</sup> White Ruthenia, and the Tartars, the peoples of the Caucasus, the Volga, the Urals and those of middle and Northern Asia. One must at all times bear in mind that one half of the population of the U.S.S.R. is non-Russian. We have the advantage of numbers. Our strength lies in a united anti-imperialist front. The second advantage is the fact that Russia proper, the nest of Bolshevik imperialism, lies in our midst, surrounded by nations enslaved by it, who at an opportune moment can strike simultaneously at it from all sides. The third important factor is the exhaustion of the imperialist. As war goes on, weariness and exhaustion grow, making it weaker and therefore more vulnerable. The last, but not least, favourable circumstance is the composition and morale of the Red Army. In its ranks are our brethren, sons of countries raped by Russia. Amongst the Red Army soldiers dissatisfaction and displeasure with existing conditions is mounting.

« The principal task of the enslaved nations is to fight for their freedom and national states. These nations are sufficiently mature to lead their own independent lives, a fact which has been borne out by past history and present events. The desire to be free, in free states of their own,

→ Turkistan

governed by people of their own choosing, has manifested itself so strongly and is so deeply rooted that nothing else will satisfy these nations. In the past, revolts have flared up against the Tsarist and later against the Bolshevik imperialism (e.g. uprisings of the Caucasians, particularly of Georgia in 1924-25, the revolt in Azerbeidjan in 1937-38, frequent uprisings of Basmathes in Middle Asia during the period of 1932-34, constant upheavals and frequent revolts in Ukraine, particularly in 1930). It is plain that war for liberation is nothing new, it has been going on for sometime now and has developed its tradition. The Ukrainian nation is courageously waging its struggle against Germany and Russia at present. The Caucasus are also alive with widespread revolutionary activities directed against the Bolsheviks. Thus, the task of organising a united revolutionary front of nations aspiring to freedom calls for the cooperation of already existing political liberation centres and organisations and the organisation of underground forces, on one hand, and the coordination of military activities of the revolutionary armies already in existence, on the other. From the stage of political opposition it is necessary to gradually pass to armed struggle in which Bolshevik imperialism would be confronted with a single front of the nations subjugated by them.

« Among the nations which still have no political organizations, work must be started by propagating ideals of freedom and political independence, and the idea of a common front of struggle, to be followed by the organization of an underground network which would lead the people into struggle. In order to coordinate the activities of the struggle for liberation of suppressed nations it is imperative that a Revolutionary Committee of Enslaved Nations be constituted as soon as possible, composed of representatives of revolutionary undergrounds of the nations concerned.

« If we act jointly, through a single and mighty front of all enslaved nations, we will be victorious. If we act separately we shall all be exterminated by Bolshevik imperialism, piecemeal.

« The Revolutionary Committee will coordinate the political work of the various undergrounds and military operations of the underground revolutionary armies. The first immediate duty of the Revolutionary Committee will be to issue instructions how to carry on propaganda in the Red Army. It must not forget also about the soldiers drafted into the German Army. Having organised detachments of national revolutionary armies and trained them in Ukraine, they must then be transferred to their native countries to begin the struggle for freedom there, serving as a nucleus around which all patriots can rally. As the Red Army will be penetrating ever deeper into Europe, the soldiers who belong to the enslaved nations must be won over and encouraged to leave the ranks of the Red Army and join their national liberation movements. This is indeed a great task which confronts the propaganda department of the Revolutionary Committee which, in addition, will also have to keep informing the whole world about our struggle, explaining who we are and what we are fighting for ».

The speaker then went on to suggest and explain the tactics and methods of revolutionary struggle to be employed with the advent of the Bolsheviks. « In this connection it is necessary to launch a vigorous propaganda campaign amongst all enslaved nations, spreading the idea of freedom. Besides existing methods publications in languages of the respective nations should be regularly published, or in Russian, a language understood by all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. It would not only help to promote the cause of freedom and struggle for independence but would also make all the work of the Revolutionary Committee easier.

« The peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, suffering in the yoke of foreign rule, united in a single revolutionary front, must and will win complete freedom. This revolutionary front, armed with fiery ideas of freedom will not only deliver the oppressed nations from Bolshevik tyranny, but, will rebuild the world on the principle of sovereign national states and thus ensure a just and lasting peace ».

The election of a Resolution Committee followed. Those elected were : Gogia, Stecenko, Fisul, Oserska, Gurielli, Shimrat and Khodjajev.

The concluding remarks were made by Mr. Levchenko. « This first Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia », he said, « will go into history as a victorious expression and manifestation of the nations, will to live in freedom and states of their own. The reward for our work and struggle will be the attainment of this freedom. With weapons in our hands, a stout heart and firm belief in the righteousness of our cause and final victory, let us stand firm in the struggle against the aggressors and oppressors. Nothing can make us falter or abandon our fight for freedom. Our struggle will be waged under the slogan "Freedom to nations, freedom to the individual" until this great ideal is achieved and our nations will be able to organise their lives in their countries, free and independent from anyone! »

**RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE  
ENSLAVED NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA.**

**The Political Situation.**

1. The present war between German National Socialism and Russian Bolshevism is a typical imperialistic and aggressive war, waged for the mastery of the world, for a new distribution of the earth's wealth, for new sources of raw materials and new markets, and finally for manpower which entails the enslavement and exploitation of man.
2. Both warring imperialisms deny the right of a nation to political and cultural development within a national state, bringing political, social and cultural slavery to the conquered peoples in the form of the Nazi « New Europe » or the Bolshevik « Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ».
3. These anti-social and criminal aims are cloaked by false slogans of social equality, deliverance of workers from the capitalist yoke, etc.
4. Bolshevism, with complete bankruptcy of its ideas, seeks support by reviving reactionary catchwords of Slavophilism and traditional Russian patriotism.
5. This imperialistic war inevitably leads the two warring powers to economic and military ruin by increasing and bringing to the fore of internal contradictions inherent in the systems. This, naturally, favours the growth of revolutionary liberation movements amongst the enslaved nations. In recent times there has been a marked growth of this sort of activity. This is the guarantee of victory for the revolutions and of a new and brighter future. The enslaved nations will have to put a stop to the absurd mutual slaughter by their national revolutions and thus achieve peace and order in the world. The latter based on the recognition of political rights of each nation, will ensure cultural and economic development to all countries. The system of free national states will guarantee complete freedom to the individual, who, until now, has been oppressed and exploited by foreign imperialists.

To achieve victory for national revolutions, a single common front of the freedom-aspiring nations is necessary. The conference, therefore, resolves that a Central Committee, composed of representatives of nations in Eastern Europe and Soviet-dominated Asia, be organized immediately to co-ordinate the revolutionary activities of separate nations. Its task should be the adoption of a general plan and common tactics to be employed in the struggle for liberty against the common enemy. At a signal from this committee simultaneous uprisings should take place in all subjugated countries in accordance with the pre-arranged plan.

**Special Decisions.**

1. The First Conference of Enslaved Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia greets the heroic struggle of the nations of Western and Central Europe against the Nazi imperialist and proclaims its complete solidarity with them.
2. The conference deems it necessary to acquaint the nations of Western and Central Europe with the struggle, and aims for which it is waged, of the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet controlled Asia.

The conference appeals that everything possible be done to prevent the transportation of non-German formations in the German Army to Germany or to the fronts... (omitted for security reasons). Soldiers serving in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) of non-Ukrainian origin should be gathered into specially organized national formations... (omitted for security reasons). It calls for the strengthening of peoples' self-defence against the terror unleashed by the retreating German armies and civil administration.

Signed on behalf  
of the Resolutions Committee :

Signed on behalf  
of National Delegations

- |   |   |                                      |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| (1) GURIELLI - Georgian<br>(Professor)        | - | (1) Armenia - ANTRANT                |
| (2) GOGIA - Georgian<br>(Major)               | - | (2) Azerbeidjan - FISUL              |
| (3) FISUL - Azerbeidjanian<br>(Lieutenant)    | - | (3) Bashkiria - KAGARMAN             |
| (4) SHIMRAT - Uzbek<br>(Teacher)              | - | (4) Byelo-Rhutenia - DRUZHNYY        |
| (5) STECENKO - Ukrainian<br>(Professor)       | - | (5) Cherkesia - DZHIGIT              |
| (6) KHODZHAYEV - Ukrainian<br>(Agriculturist) | - | (6) Chuvasia - SKVORAZOW             |
| (7) OSERSKA - Ukrainian<br>(Engineer)         | - | (7) Georgia - GOGIA                  |
|   |   | (8) Kabardinia - BAKSAN              |
|   |   | (9) <del>Kazakhstan - DEZHKMAN</del> |
|   |   | (10) Ossetia - ARAM                  |
|   |   | (11) Tartaria - TUKAY                |
|   |   | (12) Ukraine - STECENKO              |
|   |   | (13) Uzbekistan - SHIMRAT            |

12 Turkistan - Derzhkman (Kazakh)  
13 Turkistan - Shimrat (Uzbek)  
Byelorussia

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