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INTERMARIUM

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In this "Intermarium" the following nations are living: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgars, Albanians and Greeks. All these nations, after the Versailles Treaty in general

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of 1919 (Anglo-Polish) also Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, who found themselves in great majority after the first world war under Soviet domination as Intermarium nations.

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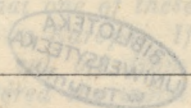
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THE FREE INTERMARIA CHARTER



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“ INTERMARIUM ”

“ Intermarium ”; the countries of the so-called middle-eastern Europe, situated between the Baltic, Black, Aegean, Ionic and Adriatic seas are named under this latin word.

In this “ Intermarium ” the following nations are living: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgars, Albanians and Greeks. All these nations, after the Versailles Treaty in general lived in freedom in their own country or else were united in a state organisation such as Czecho-Slovakia or the Kingdom of SHS (Jugoslavia); also Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, who found themselves in great majority after the first world war under Soviet domination are Intermarium nations.

The inhabitants of western Europe or North America, have not a very clear idea of this part of Europe. They are only conscious of the fact, that both world wars began on this area: the first in 1914, burst out from the smouldering fire of Sarajewo and the second one of 1939, the beginning was said to be Danzig.

But what was the true reason of both war conflicts? Perhaps the supposed difference of interests among the small quarrelsome countries of the Intermarium?

No.

Both, were caused by German Imperialism, which treated the seizure of the Intermarium as a first condition, to the subjugation of Europe and the whole world. Both were caused by the contradictory interests in the Intermarium—of the Russian and German imperialistic designs, which had not been satisfied either by the division of the Intermarium countries after the Vienna congress, or after the Ribbentrop—Molotow pact, on the contrary, it dragged them in a mutual war when the barrier of the Intermarium crumbled between the two imperialistic countries.

Now 160,000,000 Europeans living on the Intermarium are under the direct or indirect Soviet ruling. Those 160,000,000 are Europeans, they remained faithful to the western civilisation and this was her shield. They defended Europe before the invasions from the East. The history of the Balkan peoples is an unceasing struggle with the East, which was bringing about the enslavement of Europe, a struggle in which losses sometimes were so high as 50 % of the population of the peoples concerned. It is on the Vistula in 1920, that one of these nations, the Poles, arrested the bolshevik march on Europa. If one of these Intermarium countries, remained cut off from western european civilization, that country suffered the worst destruction.

It is sufficient to remember the fate of the Ukrainians or Whiteruthenians transferred, and million of their bones thrown about from the Arctic circle to the Amur, it is sufficient to remember the 1,500,000 polish citizens or 200,000 citizens of Baltic states deported during the 21 months of first soviet occupation of the eastern parts of the Polish state and Baltic republic, to understand what is the fate that awaits all the nations of the Intermarium under the soviet government.

Now, the Intermarium nations have not the possibility of defending themselves, being caught in the iron claws of the sovietic regime and obliged to be satisfied with the appearances of freedom, which Moscow leaves them to delude the world's public opinion.

Is the fate of 120,000,000 men that enjoyed liberty before the war, fought in the name of freedom, to be covered by dead silence?

The Intermarium nations have gone through great ordeals through the German occupation; Germany defended nobody before soviet exterminations. The Germans treated the Intermarium nations as their colonies and exterminated in masses all the conscious elements of the countries. The Intermarium nations have gone through a hell of sufferings, under the German occupation, which had the effect of binding them together, though the Germans did their utmost trying to neutralize the hatred against themselves and to oppose for instance the Ukrainians against the Poles, and the Serbs against the Croats. The Intermarium peoples now go through another period of sufferings caused by the soviet occupation, and these common sufferings will strenghten the bonds among the martyred nations.

From undescribed sufferings and experiences arises the only constructive idea which can assure in the future the existence of the Intermarium Nations and peace to Europe and the world — the idea of an aliance among all the free nations of the Intermarium united together.

Not long ago, a proclamation of the Federal Central Eastern European Club, in London, called to all men of good will asking for justice towards the Intermarium nations.

The present formulation expresses the deepest wishes of all selfconscious forces of the Intermarium nations.

The reader can perhaps ask himself why, the responsible politicians, the leaders of the Intermarium Nations have not signed this document, the only signature of which is an anonymous editorial committee.

Let the recent fate of 16 Polish leaders whose names were

disclosed through the Anglo-Saxon governments to the soviet government, and who began political talks, be a sufficient answer to the reader.

We believe that in the future not only separate politicians but whole nations will place their signatures under the idea of a Confederacy of the Intermarium nations.

The Editorial Committee

THE FREE INTERMARIUM CHARTER

1. — *The second World War not only does not bring freedom to nations which had not reached it at the end of the World War I, but even spoiled the independence of many already existing States and in this way handed over to slavery new more millions of people.*

Particularly, all the Intermarium nations that is to say those situated in the area which is among the Baltic, Black, Aegean and Adriatic Sea, exception made for Greece, find themselves facing the danger of changing the hitlerite slavery for the Bolshevik one.

The majority of these nations, after twenty years of European peace, became again the victims of two great continental imperialisms, which at the same time represent the totalitarian systems. After the tremendous sufferances under the occupation of the Axe's powers and after the Soviet one — the Intermarium nations are actually all menaced and facing a direct compulsory sovietization. Some of these lands are already under complete Soviet tyranny.

2. — The Soviet Union helping herself by bolshevism and by her terroristical organisations (as for instance Tito's forces) for the realisation of her imperialistic plans which go much farther than the tsarist imperialism did, aiming at the successive disintegration of western civilisation by imposing of the reign of its own totalitarian system, now threatens, particularly the Intermarium nations through a physical annihilation, preparing for them a destiny still more terrible than that imposed on the Ukrainian and Georgian nation as an example.

On the other hand, the whole Soviet Empire is an instrument in the power of a group of men aiming at world bolshevism and which is helping itself for that purpose not only with traditions of the tsarist Empire but also with a kind of a pseudo-panslavism and pseudo-patriotism.

The Intermarium nations, which lived just in the midst among the soviet bolshevistic, nazi-hitlerite and fascist-mussolinian worlds could not forget the historical succession and interdependence of these three forms of the same contemporary error: *the totalitarianism* which is based upon absolute dictatorship of a sole party, denies and destroys all natural and divine order, annihilating every liberty of each human being till the last vestiges of the democracy understood as a self-government of the society of free men.

The chronology of the social events in the last thirty years demonstrates with a clear evidence about the following historical verity: it was bolshevism which inaugurated the monster of the totalitarian state with all its own barbaric regime. It was bolshevism the first cause of the deviation from the democratic methods undertaken in many instances as a defence against the terroristical bolshevistic methods. It was just from Soviet bolshevism that Hitler's nazism and Mussolini's fascism had learned to perfect their scientific methods of a legalized terrorism and the technic of slavery built on a stately system which encircles all. Before the nazi and fascist totalitarianism it was the Soviet's totalitarianism, the most totalitarian of all the three, the cause of decadence of democracy on the continent.

To destroy the dangerous menace of totalitarian barbarism it is not enough to annihilate only Mussolini's fascism and Hitler's nazism but there must be also eliminated the prototype of totalitarianism-bolshevik totalitarianism. After so many superhuman sufferences Europe has now no need of negative ambiguous conception of the « antifascism » and the declamations about the « democracy » understood in two ways. Europe and all the world need today simply *liberty*: the real liberty, not menaced, but guaranteed by the really moral and truly democratic conditions.

The Russian bolshevik danger requires that all the possible forces get mobilized against the bolshevism. The Intermarium nations must for that reason consider the struggle against Soviet bolshevism as their principle duty, as a logical consequence of the defence of their moral, national, and social ideals. That is a duty towards those nations and all humanity. In this fight the Intermarium nations will find the allies in all the democratic, antitotalitarian, antibolshevik forces.

3. — The Soviet Union finding herself, contrary to her ideology and her own political plans amidst the Allies destroyed their idealistic structure and moral basis. The fact that the sublime ideas of the Atlantic Charter have not been carried out, but, even violated is a clear proof. The passiveness of the Allies in regard of the invasion and the annexation of the Baltic States made by the Soviet Union, the Crimea's dictate in regard to Poland and Jugoslavia, are not the only examples. The Soviet Union has made « fait accompli » of the « spheres of influence ». This fact which subdues in each case all the world and all the nations, until now free, not to the authority of a international community, based upon law, but to the domination of the single great Powers and in the particular cases made them the slaves of the Soviet Union is not only contrary to the principle of the nations self-determination but also represents the source of the future world conflicts yet more terrible than the present was. The clash between the imperialistic interests of the Great Powers should put the nations until now free, contrary to their will and their interests, in the danger of new massacres.

The conception of the « spheres of influence » and its practical consequences must be fought by all the nations devoted to the cause of liberty and peace and especially by the Intermarium nations menaced to be exterminated in the Soviet « sphere of influence ».

4. — If the actual war may end with a political compromise between the Western democracies and the Soviet Orient, a compromise which would give peoples of Intermarium in the hands of Sovietization, Europe will cease to exist as a bulwark of the western, civilisation and democracy. If the Soviet Union will become the master of the Intermarium, liberty and independence of Europe will be in the hands of the Soviet Union. The Soviet totalitarianism would become the master of all Europe which should be destroyed under the first blow made by the Soviet Empire, which would become, by the annexation of the Intermarium, from the demographical and military point of view the determinative factor of all Europe's fate.

5. — The conception of the « spheres of influence » and the organisation of the world's security on the type of Dumbarton Oaks or Yalta is opposed by the principle of the nations self-determination and the idea of the free association of their single national states in the greater confederations in the circle of the world's organisations based upon principles truly democratic.

The password which imposes itself, is the one of liberty for all nations in Europe and in all the world, the password of a free Europe.

6. — To guarantee, the once reconquered liberty of the martyred Intermarium nations and to strengthen the general system of peace in Europe and in the world it to be desired as a most practical solution the formation of an Intermarium Confederation, that is to say, an association of national independent States bound together by an alliance; an association in which in accordance with the sovereign will of the nations concerned, demonstrated in future under the conditions of the complete freedom and democracy, may take part the national states of the following Intermarium's nations: ALBANIANS, BULGARS, CZECHS, CROATS, ESTONIANS, GREEKS, HUNGARIANS, LATVIANS, LITHUANIANS, POLES, SERBS, SLOVAKS, SLOVENES, RUMANIANS, UKRAINIANS, and WHITE RUTHENIANS.

7. — All the Intermarium nations are united in a community of historical events. In the last centuries the Intermarium history is a history of an interminable struggle fought by these nations for the defence of their own existence against the neighbouring aggressors. The Russian, German and Austrian imperialisms sought always for a weakening of the centripetal tendencies in the Intermarium, and to create dissensions among the Intermarium nations reducing them to subjection one after another. The alliances between these nations formed in the past centuries gave them not only more security but also material and cultural advantages. These alliances however were too limited, and the internal national dissensions weakened them. In the historical moments when Russian and German imperialisms after having created the dissensions among the Intermarium nations and after the exploitation and sharing had succeeded in obtaining a common frontier in the Intermarium, it always became the source of world conflict; that happened first in 1914 and then also in 1939-41.

Remembering all the experiences which gave history in the relations among the Intermarium nations, these nations must consider their duty, to fight against all the manifestations of national chauvinism, to inspire themselves on reciprocal respect and on mutual knowledge of the cultural achievements of the single nations.

Therefore history teaches us that the Intermarium nations preserving their particular national sovereignty which is an indispensable condition for the development of all the national forces must cooperate as allies and act in front of the outside world as a political and defensive unity.

8. — All the Intermarium nations had the most ancient and most common of Europe's democratic traditions.

The example for this will be the case that 12% of citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian State were enjoying full political rights when in England only 1% of the population did, the fact of the Serbian Skupshchina, the unique fact of the pea-

sant royal dynasty (Serbia) in Europe; and the Slovenian nation had in her Caranthian State already in the VIIIth century an example of democracy symbolized in the famous rite of the inthronisation of the Caranthian dukes, the case about which was written to be the first democratic institution, which had no rival in the world.

Besides the religious, moral and democratic elements common to all the Intermarium nations, they are also connected by their civilisation which has a social-rural character. The country, which contains 50-80% of the whole population, is a source of social and cultural values, that until now had not been enough exploited towards a reciprocal approach. Reciprocal knowledge of this social and cultural community must later become one of the most important basis of the Confederation.

9. — The Intermarium nations had demonstrated, in the period of the liberty between the two world wars, a great capacity of economic development. One of the most evident proofs of this economic development was the perfect organisation of their sea-coast. These nations had demonstrated, for instance in the Baltic States, a perfect talent for the solution of social questions, and they can be proud of the results made in the field of agrarian reforms and social insurance. (For instance the International Labour Board considered before the war, Jugoslavia as one of the states with the most perfected social legislation).

Especially in Slovenia and in the whole of Jugoslavia, as also in Czecho-Slovakia, agriculture and artisanship could be developed in harmony with industrial progress, being organised in a wide network of cooperatives, which freely united small landowners and artisans.

10. — Meanwhile the Soviet Union whose regime is the most reactionary, the most unjust and exploiting of the world, incites the world's proletariat with the demagogical slogans — the following principles can be the only basis of the activity in the social field of all the Intermarium States, leaving of course to each nation the decision about the adoption of its own democratic social structure.

The principles are:

a) To aim at a liberation of man from slavery in as much of the capital as of the machine, by means of supporting of the small and medium-sized farms or industries of individual propriety.

b) To aim at guaranteeing for every citizen an employment.

c) To support agricultural economy based upon the small individual propriety as it was already developed in some Intermarium States as a logical consequence of the agrarian reforms realised to consolidate and to free the small peasant's propriety, to extend the agrarian reforms there, where it was not already in practice.

d) To aim at socialization of the most important industries the participation of the workers in the administration and profits. Then the government administration must take in to their own hands the management of such industries as monopolistic ones and must conduct all economic life towards its natural social aim.

However the State cannot have the power to take advantage of its authority, by changing a system of the social economy in a State capitalism, based upon an official bureaucracy (as in the case of the totalitarian bolshevik, nazi and fascist regimes). The economic structure should serve to the liberty of men; should serve to the single nations and not to the imperialistic aims of a totalitarian dictatorship.

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11. — The favoured Confederation of the Intermarium States should be based upon the following principles, which must be expressed in the international agreements, in the constitution of the single states of the Confederation and in the Statute of the same Confederation:

A) The Confederation should assure an effective collaboration of all the confederate states on the following basis:

a) the common foreign politics
b) the joint defence of the Confederation and any single confederate states

c) the joint direction of the common economic affairs

d) to promote a generalisation of public education and the care for an interchange of cultural values amongst the confederate nations.

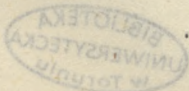
B) To fulfill these aims the Statute of the Confederation should provide, for instance, as one of the possible solutions, as a minimum, the following institutions:

a) for the coordination of the foreign politics — a *Confederation Council* composed by an equal number of the representatives for each confederate State.

b) for the coordination of the administration in matters of the internal activity of common interest — an *executive Confederation Committee* to direct the common institutions as, for instance, the institutions of cultural, economic, etc., cooperation.

c) for the coordination of the legislature's activity — an *Interparliamentary Union* composed of the delegations of the confederate Parliaments for legislative initiative and activities in the established field of collaboration. The projects of law adopted by the interparliamentary union should be subjected to the parliaments of the single confederate state in the way of a prescribed procedure.

C) The political regimes of the confederate states should guarantee the respect of human rights. The constitutions of the states should guarantee the freedom of opinion, freedom of religion, freedom of speech and freedom of association.



D) The common Confederation defence should be based upon the confederate obligation that the confederation, as a whole would immediately proclaim war, if one or more of the confederate states should be attacked. The joint Confederation defence should be assured by:

a) a permanent body formed by the delegations of the confederate states General Staffs.

b) a common Supreme Command formed for the eventualities of a war.

c) the single confederate states armies.

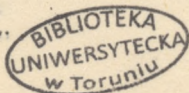
d) a common Confederation army composed of the single states armies: that common force should have a common Aviation and a common Navy based on a project of a common development and financed by all the confederate states. The common army should have not only a military aim but should serve as school of the confederate patriotism and better acquaintance and solidarity among the confederate nations.

E) The Confederation's organs should have as the official languages all the languages of the confederate states, and English or French as a subsidiary common language.

12. — All the questions of contention do not exclude the full cooperation in the fight for independence of the Intermarium nations and for the realisation of the Confederation idea. This cooperation should make easier the solution of these problems.

The territories of the Intermarium nations, which after the first world war were left outside of the borders of their national States, must be given back to their fatherlands.

To resolve the question of the statal belonging of the territories with mixed nationalities and to guarantee the right of the eventual minorities in the single confederate states where a territorial solution would not be possible, it will be necessary to accept the principle of the full national rights by means of a guarantee of the personal (national), cultural autonomy and a large autonomy of the mixed ter-



ritories, which could go so far as to create separate cantons in these territories.

13. — A large and strong Confederation created in the Intermarium, deprived, because of its same structure, of any aggressive and imperialistic aims, would represent an important force of regeneration and stabilisation on the European continent and it should bring assurance and advantage for the world peace.

The Intermarium Confederation being an association of the free nations, will endeavour to collaborate closely with all the other free European nations and especially with both the Anglo-Saxon Powers in the field of the political, economic and social activity.

The Intermarium Confederation will be a barrier which will eliminate the panteutonic imperialism towards the Eastern or Southern Europe and separating Germany and Russia will bring peace and the stabilisation of European relations.

In the same time being the majority of the Intermarium nations ethnically Slavs and Occidentals by their civilisation and political orientation, a free and strong Intermarium Confederation is indispensable also as a sole possible intermediary for a gradual approach of the Russian East to European Civilisation.

The Intermarium nations will try to have the correct and friendly relations with the Russian nation from the moment in which Russia will abandon its imperialistic aims.

In the event of creating an all-european federative organisation, the confederation of independent states of the Intermarium peoples will be a prepared and positive factor for the organisation of all Europe as one political, economical and cultural unity based upon the principles of good will collaboration of all european free nations.

The editorial committee of "Intermarium" a publication devoted to the idea of confederacy and cooperation of the nations living among the Baltic - Black - Aegean - Adriatic seas.

Arch. Emigracji
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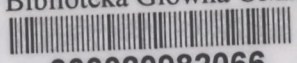
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