

1967 the Faith and Security Institute . . . and who served . . . thanks to the Escorial Encounter in 1972, attended by Gustavo Gutiérrez as the star of Peruvian theology, to launch the theology of liberation in America.”

Armed theology of liberation

The relation of the terrorists of ETA to the liberationist networks is only one indication of the symbiosis between the terrorist apparatus and liberation theology. This brotherhood was consecrated, especially starting in 1987, after the famous interview of Fray Betto with Fidel Castro published in the book *Fidel and Religion*. After that point, Fray Betto, another well-known liberationist priest in Brazil, was turned into the main interlocutor of the Cuban dictator with the theology of liberation, as well as one of the main “spiritual” advisers of the PT candidate for the presidency of Brazil, Luís Inácio “Lula” da Silva.

In that year, when the collapse of communism was on the horizon, Fidel Castro, together with Mexican Bishop Samuel Ruiz (the Zapatista commander) and the later bishop of Cuernavaca Sergio Méndez Arceo, forerunner of the union of theology with liberation, organized in Havana in late May the Third Continental Congress of the Christian Movement for Peace, Independence, and the Progress of Peoples. Among the more than 300 delegates and observers from 27 nations were liberation theologians Raul Vidales, Bishop Leonidas Proano, the Catalan-Brazilian Bishop Pedro Casaldaliga, Hugo Asmann, Ernesto and Fernando Cardenal, and the Guatemalan Marxist Julia Esquivel; but the star of the party was Fray Betto.

In this context, the Socialist and Communist Internationals were wedded to the theology of liberation, a marriage which three years later gave produced a Rosemary’s Baby called the São Paulo Forum, fruit of the incestuous affair that Fidel Castro had been carrying on ever since he struck up the Marxist-Christian Dialogue and Christians for Socialism, beginning in the early 1970s.

From that time on, this network has been in constant contact, through secretive conclaves around the fringes of the Vatican, in Ibero-America, the United States, and Spain. For example, Bishop Ruiz travels each year to São Paulo, Brazil for indoctrination and coordination meetings with Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns. According to press accounts, Ruiz makes another annual pilgrimage to coordinate the activities of the theology of liberation bands in the United States, in the diocese of Bishop Patrick Flores in San Antonio, Texas.

So it is clear that what the liberationists are trying to pull off in Ibero-America is not just a clash of ideas. With their actions, including armed uprisings, they are oriented to taking positions of power to shatter the Catholic Church’s structure in the continent, thereby hastening a collapse both of sovereign nation-states and of the inalienable rights of the human person, starting with the fundamental right to life.

Interview: Nikolai Tolstoy

‘We will demand the truth about the Bleiburg massacre’

The following interview with the British historian Nikolai Tolstoy originally appeared in the Croatian daily newspaper Slobodna Dalmacija. Both interviewer and interviewee have granted EIR permission to reproduce it here in full, along with the following introduction.

With his book about the huge public execution by Josip Broz Tito’s Partisans of Croatian soldiers and civilians in 1945, the British historian Nikolai Tolstoy has demonstrated that the tragedy in Bleiburg and along the *Kreuzweg* [the “Stations of the Cross,” a route leading northward through Slovenia into Austria—ed.] has struck an even stronger chord abroad than it did recently in Croatia. He published his book, *The Minister and the Massacre*, after having spent years studying the events which occurred at the close of World War II. The uproar that his work has created in Great Britain, can be measured by the fact that the legal suit which the “chief defendant,” Lord Aldington, has taken out against Tolstoy, is now described as one of the most controversial cases on the island. In his book, Nikolai Tolstoy claims that he possesses indisputable proof that the British Brigadier Toby Low—the name Lord Aldington went by before he became a titled nobleman—deliberately handed over to the Partisans anywhere from 40,000 to 45,000 militiamen who had gathered in Bleiburg as they were withdrawing. Tolstoy accused Aldington of having been an active participant in what happened at the Kocevski Field and the *Kreuzweg*, in which almost none survived. But despite the abundant proof, the court found the lord innocent, whereas the author of *The Minister and the Massacre* had to pay the unbelievable sum of almost £1.5 million pounds in damages. Over the past three years, Tolstoy has spoken with a great number of witnesses and has assembled their testimony. Armed with this, he plans to go before the European Human Rights Court this coming November. Although these are private documents, Mr. Tolstoy (a distant descendant of the Russian author Leo Tolstoy), during his brief stay in Zagreb, agreed to an exclusive interview with *Slobodna Dalmacija* concerning some heretofore unknown events surrounding the massacre of

Croats in Bleiburg along the Kreuzweg.

Q: Bleiburg was the scene of one of the biggest massacres of Croatian soldiers and civilians. For that very reason, it sounds odd that an English historian would take this subject up. How did you come across the idea of shedding light on these events?

Tolstoy: It all began over 20 years ago, when I described the fate of the Cossacks at the close of World War II in a book I published, *The Victims of Yalta*. This met with great interest in England and America. After that, many people from former Yugoslavia came to me and proposed that I do a similar study on the fate of their own people, since, they told me, it was no less tragic than that of the Cossacks. So they convinced me to do some research, and I quickly learned that I was largely dealing with virtually the identical complex of problems, since it was the English who were responsible for the fate not only of the Cossacks, but also of the Croats, the Slovenes, and even of a number of Serbs who were, for example, sent back by Tito.

Q: There's no doubt that in your book *The Minister and the Massacre*, you have proven that the British Army command, even though they shouldn't have done so according to the Hague Convention, handed over 200,000 people to the Partisans.

Tolstoy: It seems to me that a great number of people in Croatia do not fully comprehend what happened with the militia units and with the 200,000 civilians. After they had arrived in the vicinity of Bleiburg, they were ordered to hand themselves over to the Partisans, who were led by General Basta. And here, in my opinion, General Herencic made a big mistake, too, when he signed the surrender papers in the name of all Croatian military units. Since the British didn't have any large military units at that location, I think he should have ordered them to withdraw still more deeply into Austria, so that they could definitively distance themselves from the Yugoslavian forces. I was especially convinced of this on the basis of various documents in which the head of the British Army, in reply to a question from lower officers about what they should do in the event of a breakout, if a great number of them were women and children, said: "Don't shoot." I believe the Croatian command made a great error—much greater than if they had issued orders to attempt a breakout. And so, Basta and the Partisans sent them back to the other side of the Drava River, and from there, they began their journey to their deaths.

Q: In your book *The Minister and the Massacre*, did you explicitly accuse Brigadier Toby Low of having been responsible for the tragedy, and of having ordered that they return?

Tolstoy: Low was the person in charge of such cases; but I must say that he was not immediately involved in it. He is responsible for having said that between 35,000 and 40,000

Croatian soldiers would be transferred to camps in Italy, whereas in fact they ended up in Bleiburg. During the trial, Toby Low—who in the meantime has become a titled nobleman, so that he's now Lord Aldington—said he had never issued such an order, and that the order had been issued by officers lower down in the chain of command. Right after the trial's conclusion, which was during the final days of the collapse of Yugoslavia, I spoke in Belgrade with General Basta, and in Ljubljana with the political commissar of the Partisans, Colonel Hocevar. Both testified to me that they could remember Brig. Toby Low saying: "Don't worry, I'll tell them that they'll be going to Italy; and when we hand them over to you, do with them what you will."

Q: How many do you estimate were killed after they were handed over to the Partisans?

Tolstoy: It's difficult to talk about hard figures, since the Kreuzweg lasted one and a half years. Nevertheless, I believe that a figure of at least 100,000 persons liquidated is quite probable.

Q: But despite this, and without any consideration of the proofs in your possession, the court in London pronounced you guilty of slander. It is made to appear as though Lord Aldington were not guilty of this massacre.

Tolstoy: That's not all that amazing, once you know all the facts of the case. Both the judge and Lord Aldington are members of the same golf club. And that's only the icing on the cake: The entire case more resembled a farce than an actual legal proceeding. As you know, I was ordered to pay £1.5 million. That's one of the highest monetary fines in the history of the English legal system. It came as a surprise not only to me, but also to a large section of public opinion, which today is largely on my side. It was this attitude on the part of a great number of England's inhabitants, that further motivated me in my quest for justice, so that recently I accused Lord Aldington before the European Human Rights Court. There, I am firmly convinced, the real truth will come to light about the events in Bleiburg and on the Kreuzweg. Sometime in November, the real truth will be known.

Q: Let's take another look at the legal basis for the trial. You accused Brigadier Low of having handed over almost 45,000 Croatian soldiers to the Partisans, thus making him responsible for their deaths. Do you have proof that he was actually responsible?

Tolstoy: I have in my possession a whole slew of documents proving this. But I'm still keeping them sequestered, so that they do not somehow "disappear" before they reach the courtroom. In any case, it has been irrefutably proven that almost none of the handed-over Croatian soldiers survived the mass executions, most of which were carried out at Kocevski Field. The worst thing about it is that the English knew what was going to happen, but they did nothing to prevent the massacre.

Q: Have you discovered who among the Yugoslavian Partisans was responsible for all that happened afterwards?

Tolstoy: One of the persons most responsible is Gen. Kosta Nad. He commanded the army which the Croatian prisoners were handed over to. In Belgrade I met with Simon Dubajic, and he admitted that Tito had personally empowered him to issue orders to kill. Dubajic said he had been drunk for days at a time, while the killing of the prisoners was going on. And almost all the Partisans who participated ended up going insane.

Q: During the trial, you frequently saw Lord Aldington. Could you perceive from his attitude and answers that he was unaware of the massacre which was later carried out?

Tolstoy: First of all, it must be said that we're dealing with an extremely unsavory person. I would like to emphasize that the person most responsible for Bleiburg and the Kreuzweg was British Foreign Minister Harold Macmillan, who came to Klagenfurt on May 14 and issued the orders that the Croatian refugees had to be sent back into Yugoslavia. The close relationship between the two men is also shown by the fact that Toby Low very quickly became a member of the British Parliament and received his title of nobility. He received it from the prime minister of Great Britain, Harold Macmillan. So now you see how you become a lord in England.

Q: Have you been able to collect new evidence for the hearing before the European court?

Tolstoy: In the course of discussing with a number of witnesses, I have, of course, been able to smoke out new details, so that I have a much greater amount of evidence than I did four years ago. Besides that, my attorneys conducted the suit against Lord Aldington in such a way that he made false statements; and judging from the public mood, things will soon end up where they belong. Then, even the official English institutions will have to admit what happened in mid-1945. I'm convinced of that.

Q: Does that mean that the current government of Prime Minister John Major is also trying to cover up what happened?

Tolstoy: Absolutely. After the trial, we discovered that before the trial had started, the defense minister had ordered that all documents related to the events at the Bleiburg Field be set aside, so that they would not reach the public. And to make it all even more interesting, from that day onward, these documents were made available to Lord Aldington for his use. It was he who gave permission on what could be made public and what would continue to be embargoed. In effect, during the entire trial, the government was overseeing it, so that it seemed that this wasn't happening in England, but rather in communist Yugoslavia or in Russia. But now, in the meantime, we have been able to procure some of these documents, and they'll be published soon.

Q: It's interesting that you obtained some documents from a place one would have least expected—namely, from Russia.

Tolstoy: That's right. I was in Moscow last year, and the Russian government granted me access to all the documents relating to this tragedy. I got into the Defense Ministry, and later into the infamous Lyublyanka prison. A KGB boss was waiting for me there, Mr. Kandaurov. Besides this, I was received by General Volkogonov, who, after I had looked through the documents, asked me why the British know nothing about events which even the Russians are familiar with. Now, that's a question that must be answered by my government, which still remains silent 50 years after the massacre. It's quite simple: History is repeating itself, and it's no surprise that the current foreign minister, Douglas Hurd, concealed the documents which I mentioned before. By his behavior over the past three years, he has demonstrated that he is on the side of Serbia and Montenegro. Thanks to such people, everything is being repeated—especially the crimes against other populations; so that when people ask me why I want to live through the past all over again, I answer: "To the extent that we don't explain what happened back then, it will happen all over again in the future."

Q: You had to pay a high price for the truth about Bleiburg. How did you put that much money together?

Tolstoy: Thanks to assistance from a great many people, I managed to pay it. In this regard, I would like to specially recognize the members of the Croatian Club in the United States and Canada, who donated the funds to cover part of the fine. But I would like to stress that most of the money came from the English people; this likewise demonstrates that the public has understood who is telling the truth.

Q: But the book *The Minister and the Massacre* is banned in England.

Tolstoy: You can't even find it in university libraries. Only a few days after the trial, it was withdrawn from sale. But you can still purchase it in Croatia, Russia, Poland, and—most interesting—in Scotland.

Q: In conclusion, please tell us how it has been possible for you to grant this interview. The court forbade you from speaking anywhere in the world about what the British soldiers and Toby Low/Lord Aldington did. Are you aware that you could wind up in prison because of this interview?

Tolstoy: All the war criminals have disclaimed any guilt for what they have done—first the Germans a few decades ago, then the Japanese, and recently even the Russians, for the crime in Katyn Forest; only the British haven't done so. Therefore I cannot accept the court's decision, according to which I am not permitted to say anything bad anywhere in the world about Lord Aldington—not even that he is a war criminal.