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## CORRESPONDENCE

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*Freedom for Nations!      Freedom for Individuals!*

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Freedom for Nations!

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## STATEMENT ON UKRAINE'S ARMED FORCES

Following the unprecedented referendum in Ukraine on December 1, 1991, in which over 91% of the voting public of this former colony of Moscow voted in favour of Ukrainian independence, it has become clear that the USSR, i.e., the Soviet-Russian empire, has ceased to exist, both de jure and de facto. Ukraine had proclaimed its independence, on August 24 following the aborted coup of the last of the empire's caretakers. Subsequently, Ukraine's government had taken several concrete steps towards solidifying its newly-forged status as a democratic and sovereign nation-state that is ready to take its rightful place among the sovereign nation-states of the world.

One of the essential attributes of statehood is a military force that is completely loyal and fully subordinate to the government of that state. Without armed forces, full statehood and sovereignty can not be attained. This basic principle of international law was the primary consideration behind the legislation which was passed by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet also on August 24 that called for the creation of Ukrainian Armed Forces and according to which all Soviet military personnel stationed on sovereign Ukrainian soil was to become exclusively subordinate to the Ukrainian government and to its democratically-elected President, who in turn became the Commander-in-Chief of all military forces deployed in Ukraine.

Following the December 1 referendum, Ukraine together with Belarus and the Russian Federation entered into a hastily prepared arrangement calling for the creation of a "Commonwealth of Independent States." Under no circumstances was this new agreement to take the place of the defunct "union treaty" that was forced upon Ukraine and the other non-Russian "republics" of the former Soviet Union - a "treaty" that the Ukrainian referendum had rendered null and void. The Minsk and subsequent Alma-Ata agreements were designed to help the newly-independent states of the former USSR undergo a peaceful process of transition, as equal partners, from their former colonial status (in the case of the non-Russian "republics") to newly-forged statehood. The complex web of economic and political/administrative intra-relations, that was the legacy of many decades of Soviet-Russian totalitarian rule, needed to be disentangled. Paraphrasing Russian president Boris Yeltsin, the "Commonwealth" was not to be regarded as a state, or even a supranational entity.

The events that immediately followed the Alma-Ata conference, however, and particularly the unilateral actions of the Russian government, which had proclaimed itself the legal heir to the former USSR, cast serious doubts on the genuine sincerity of President Yeltsin's statement. With the Russian government taking over most of the "all-union" structures, as well as the assets of the dismembered empire, it became painfully clear to the leaders of Ukraine and some of the other independent states, that the Russian Federation - a euphemism for what essentially remains a "mini-empire", in which many smaller, non-Russian peoples continue to languish in colonial servitude - intended to establish for itself a predominant position within the "Commonwealth". Moreover, the overtly hostile policy utterances on the part of the Russian President and Vice-President Rutskoi regarding Ukraine's territory, its economy and military forces stationed there, were particularly alarming. On the one hand, Russia refused to share the assets of the former USSR, to which the non-Russian "republics" contributed, or more precisely - were forced to "contribute" in line with Moscow's policy of colonial exploita-

tion, while - on the other hand - demanding that the other former colonies of the Soviet Union "share" the huge debt that the USSR had incurred in building a vast military complex through which Moscow kept its colonies in check. No where was this condescending, and at times overtly chauvinistic Russian attitude more evident than in matters concerning the military.

Leading figures in the Russian government and the military establishment tried to discredit Ukraine in the eyes of the world by suggesting that Ukraine's plans to build an armed forces on its territory would be in violation of the Vienna Agreement that required significant cut-backs in conventional forces and, hence, constituted a grave threat to global peace and security. In fact, the Ukrainian government's plans to build an armed forces out of former Soviet military personnel, that would number no more than 450,000 soldiers, actually represents a reduction in conventional military strength of 64%, a figure that is much larger than what was projected in Vienna. Moreover, the Ukrainian government expressly stated that its projected plans to build an armed forces were strictly defensive in nature. The government also guaranteed that the salaries of all military personnel stationed in Ukraine would be maintained for some time on the proviso that the soldiers take an oath of loyalty to Ukraine and its people. Over 90% of the soldiers assigned to the military in Ukraine have already taken such an oath. Otherwise, Ukraine's government would have to deal with an armed military force that would, in effect, amount to an occupational army on its sovereign territory. Ukrainian Armed Forces would actually be a stabilizing force in this critical geopolitical region of the world, the very existence of which will preclude the emergence of a "Yugoslavia scenario". Ukrainian Armed Forces would act as an effective deterrent should the present or any future expansionist-minded Russian government decide to pursue an irredentist policy with regard to Ukrainian territory.

Recently, a major bone of contention between the Ukrainian and Russian governments has been the Black Sea fleet, which President Yeltsin has claimed on the dubious premise that the fleet "always was, is and will always continue to be a Russian fleet." Taking into account the fact that not one of the ships comprising the Black Sea fleet predate the establishment of the USSR, President Yeltsin's assertion can only be viewed as a reflection of the unapologetically imperialist "Big Brother" syndrome that has again reared its ugly head in Russia. At best, the Black Sea fleet, as well as all other ships, missiles, and weapons systems, which are deployed in what once was the Soviet Union, can be viewed as a remnant of the former USSR's military establishment and, as such, should be equitably partitioned among the newly-independent nation-states, the former Soviet "republics", in accordance with their "contributions" to the former Soviet Union's military budget. Until recently, Moscow's policy of colonial exploitation allowed it to build a huge military arsenal, which was partially utilized to maintain the subjugated nations in the USSR in a position of colonial servitude. The leadership of the Russian Federation, proclaiming itself the heir of the USSR, apparently wants to continue the imperialist policies of its immediate predecessor.

Clearly, the Russian government has no intention of entering into negotiations with Ukraine and other newly-independent states regarding an equitable division of the "spoils" of the now-defunct Soviet Union. Instead, it is now arguing that the Black Sea fleet should fall under the jurisdiction of the "joint command" of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Indeed it is somewhat bizarre for an entity that, according to



President Yeltsin, is neither a state, nor a supracommunity to have its own armed forces, subordinate to a "joint command" that itself does not answer to any one government. In view of this, it is only natural for the Ukrainian government to demand that the Black Sea fleet, which uses the Ukrainian port city of Sevastopol as its home base, fall under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. The Russian commanders of the Black Sea fleet, however, probably with the support of influential people in the Russian government, have refused to do so, instead opting to take a position that the Ukrainian government can only view as an act of sedition. It was for this reason that Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk recently demanded that the commander of the fleet, Admiral A. Kasatonov, be removed from his present position. If an analogous situation were to develop in any other state in the world, that government would certainly be well within its rights and jurisdiction to arrest such an insubordinate military officer. Admiral Kasatonov and key figures in the Russian government have argued that the military personnel and officer corps of the Black Sea fleet can only swear allegiance to the "Commonwealth of Independent States," which would, in effect, amount to swearing loyalty to the Russian government, since the "Commonwealth" is not a state-entity and has no one government to which the military can report.

The Ukrainian government clearly has no choice but to view these ominous developments, precipitated by the Russian government's saber-rattling, as a serious threat to its national security interests. Ukraine can ill-afford to have stationed on its territory an armed force that takes orders from no one or from a foreign, openly hostile government. President Yeltsin has apparently decided to share power with the Russian military establishment, since he himself announced that Marshal Shaposhnikov also has his trigger finger on one of the two "nuclear buttons" of the former USSR's nuclear arsenal. What the Russian President does not appreciate, however, is a principle that is firmly entrenched among Western Democracies: that the military should never be placed in a position to make what are essentially political decisions, particularly when this concerns such weapons of mass destruction, as nuclear missiles.

Moreover, Ukraine has clearly indicated its will not to become a member of any global and/or regional strategic military bloc. Russia has argued that it needs to maintain control over the Black Sea fleet for strategic reasons, as a counter-weight to the U.S. Sixth Fleet that is stationed in the Mediterranean. Not only does Ukraine not have any strategic interests that it wants to pursue at this juncture, it cannot allow for its territory be used as a springboard for the strategic designs of any other power, particularly Russia, which has yet to disavow its traditional expansionist ambitions, but on the contrary has been making threatening colonial and irredentist gestures toward Ukraine.

Finally, Ukraine is committed to pursuing a policy, according to which it will soon become the first nuclear power to have rid itself completely of all nuclear weapons. Having itself been victimised in the world's worst peace-time nuclear catastrophe, the Ukrainian people will not rest easy until Ukraine is a nuclear-free zone. Instead of demanding that Ukraine's government transfer its nuclear missiles to Russia, and instead of playing a diplomatic game, in which both sides put forth seemingly dramatic suggestions on nuclear arms reductions, while concurrently seeking to maintain a military advantage, all the nation-states of the world, nuclear and non-nuclear countries alike, should follow Ukraine's lead and work towards transforming the entire world, Mother Earth, into one harmonious and truly secure nuclear-free zone. A new world order will never emerge

through insane nuclear blackmail, known as “mutually assured destruction”. The weapons of ultimate mass annihilation must be removed from the face of the earth. Only then can a truly new world order emerge, based on the universal ideals of liberty and justice, and built upon the firm foundation of genuine global peace and security.

*Slava Stetsko, Chairman  
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, ABN President*

## **ABN Conference 17th February, 1992 USA**

On the 17th of February, representatives of ABN held a conference about the recent developments in former communist occupied countries.

Twenty one ABN members representing such countries as Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine and the Caucasus attended. The meeting was chaired by the President of American Friends of ABN, Roksolana Potter, who also reported on the recent World League for Freedom and Democracy Executive Board Meeting held in Taipei in January.

ABN President Slava Stetsko delivered opening remarks and presented subjects for discussion. Guest speaker Mr. Charles Parker, President of the Dexter Cooperation, discussed America’s interest in helping improve agricultural quality and production in the former republics of the USSR. Other speakers were: Mr. Zwarycz, Mr. Mierlack, Mr. Tibor Ostrowinskyj, Mr. Tsuang (China), Mr. Azuolas, Mr. Rusczyński and Mrs. Voitynas.

The danger of nuclear weapons and the threat that Russia poses to “non-nuclear” countries, the deteriorating conditions in Belarus as a result of the blockades from Moscow were among the many issues discussed. There was a motion put forth that ABN not change its name, but change its course and intensity of action, as communists are still dominant in higher posts of most governments of the former republics of the Soviet Union.



## **Nationalism and the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States**

Once again, the Western European agenda is dominated by events in the East. The departure, on Christmas Day, of Mikhail Gorbachev, and the final end of the USSR on New Year's Day, would have been thought unimaginable a year ago. Nonetheless, by the end of 1991, they had assumed a kind of inevitability, so that the actual events took place in an atmosphere which was low key, even flat.

The Foreign Ministers of the twelve have now resolved to recognise the independent states which have been established in Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, together with various lesser Republics.

Complicated negotiations have taken place at Minsk and in Alma Ata, to find ways to regulate the disintegration of one nuclear power into four separated nuclear weapon states. In Ukraine, there are presently sited sufficient intercontinental ballistic missiles to destroy Europe and the rest of the world more than once. Additionally, Ukraine houses a functioning warhead manufacturer, something which can barely be said of the United Kingdom. Certainly, the European Parliament will be preoccupied with these questions, even whilst it decides how to establish relations with all the ex-Soviet Republics. We may anticipate some difficult arguments.

But first, we should ask ourselves how this extraordinary development came about. The disintegration of the Soviet economy was the result of an incredible, absurd investment in the military industrial complex. There will be passionate discussions among the analysts for years to come, as the precise figuring comes under scrutiny: the trouble is that, with a price system which is artificially determined by Government decisions, it is almost impossible to work out the true levels of military spending. Labour costs were remarkably low: even lower were the costs of subsidised steel and raw materials. Land would be occupied free of any charge whatsoever. When the American CIA tried to calculate how much the Soviet war effort was costing, they simply estimated what it would cost to produce a similar quantity of military equipment in the United States. But the cost in Russia can be measured, not from blue books, but from neglect in social and many other forms of civilian investment.

Did this cause the fall of Gorbachev? Hardly. He was fully aware of this problem, which is why he made disarmament his overpowering priority. He knew that he had to over-rule the military industrial complex, in order to recuperate the Soviet economy, and enable it to meet a whole complex of human needs which were growing year by year.

Perestroika and glasnost were the chosen instruments to shrink the powers of this military monster. But it was resilient. Not only were there powerful managers and bureaucrats, with enormous influence: there were also millions of workers, and whole cities whose inhabitants depended completely on military industry. Together these people were a powerful influence for conservatism, even inertia. Their lobby forced Gorbachev to reef and tack, to veer to the left, and then to the right, and then to the left again. Their success in resistance would also cause the more fundamental changes which were to follow.

Since the central power of the USSR could not produce an orderly reform, in which



resources were switched from the military to the civilian sector relatively painlessly, something had to go. Shortages squeezed harder, and queues lengthened: while in those queues the discontent increased. This discontent joined with older grievances, to encourage everyone to think that they might be better off if they could escape the control of the central authority.

It was the inability to foresee the rise of nationalism which undoubtedly caused Mr. Gorbachev's downfall. First, the secession of the Baltic Republics, and then the rising discontent in the Caucasus, were to show the power of national sentiment. But it was not national sentiment which struck the biggest blow. The Ukrainian Declaration of Independence had the strong support of ethnic Russian populations, who were voting to escape from the economic whirlpool which was destroying the fabric of society next door, in the Russian territory itself. No doubt there will be a growth of Ukrainian national sentiment in the days to come: but the remarkable thing about December's referendum is that it showed unanimity. Not only the very large Russian population, but most of the other ethnic minorities in the Ukraine, had no doubt that independence was their way forward.

When President Kravchuk announced the result, he insisted that there would be no new "centre" in the future alliances formed by the Ukrainian Republic. At this point, the USSR was finished, and Mr. Gorbachev had lost his battle to preserve it.

However, it is unlikely that Mr. Yeltsin will fare any better and he may not be with us very much longer. Why? Because Russia shows exactly the same insensitivity to the national question as did the former Soviet Union. Of course, the economic problems of Russia are worse than they are in many of the surrounding republics. One "solution" has been seen as highly convenient. It would seek to suck scarce goods out of the surrounding republics in order to fill the shelves of Moscow shops. This is the reason for the breakneck haste in implementing the rather dubious price reforms which have come into force in the first days of 1992. The republics which were first to set prices free hope to be able to attract produce from their neighbours and to shorten the queues in their own cities. However, the neighbours know, and are not too keen to co-operate in such a strategy. That is why Ukraine and Belarus are rushing into the creation of their own separate currencies, and why they insist on separate armies in order to be able to mount efficient border patrols.

In Ukraine ration coupons are already necessary alongside rubles and until Ukrainian money is issued, the coupon will take on larger importance from day to day. Mr. Kravchuk's government is not going to watch its Russian colleagues Hoover up the produce of Ukraine even if this would ease the political climate in Moscow.

We may therefore anticipate some growth of friction between the two new states. Mr. Yeltsin already guaranteed himself bad press in Kyiv, when he laid claims to Russian sovereignty over the Crimea, which had been ceded to Ukraine by Mr. Krushchev. The Crimea turned out a majority of votes in favour of Ukrainian independence, in spite of this intervention. In the last days of 1991, Mr Yeltsin seized a very advanced carrier seen by the Ukrainians as the flagship of their newly independent fleet. It was silently transferred from the Black Sea to Murmansk. But the Ukrainian press was anything but silent once this manoeuvre became public knowledge.

Yet, if Mr. Yeltsin will have trouble in his relations with neighbouring republics, this is probably the least of his problems. As his deputy, Mr. Rutskoï never tires of

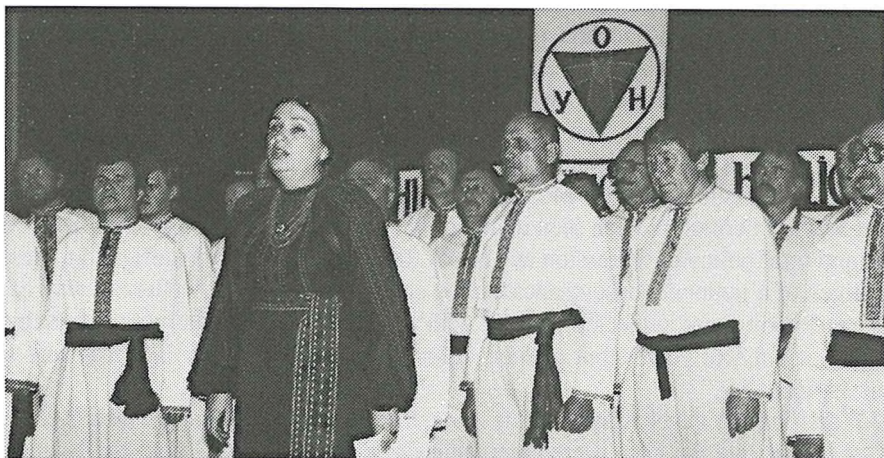
telling us, the Russian Republic itself is a federation of many nationalities. There has already been a fearsome confrontation with a tiny minority, the Chechen-Ingush. These unfortunate people were the victims of Stalin's deportations in the 1940's and their historical suffering has welded them into a formidable unity. They declared their independence and were immediately threatened by Mr. Rutskoi with fierce reprisals. Mr. Yeltsin then dispatched some planeloads of soldiers and issued an edict. The planes were arrested when they landed and the Russian parliament entered a fevered debate, which resulted in the rescission of the Yeltsin decrees. When I was in Moscow, I questioned the leaders of Mr. Rutskoi's party, Free Russia, about these events. Seven different explanations were given, all at variance one with another and all engendering considerable passion.

In an epoch of suffocating shortages, the minority populations can expect to fare ill. The great, isolated towns in the East and the North, often all too dependent on military production for their livelihoods, are the hungriest towns in the Russian territory, all of which lack food. There have been riots in Krasnoyarsk and Sverdlovsk (Ekaterinburg). Where the riots can draw support from national feeling, then there will be real trouble in store.

For several months now, there has been alot of talk of a second coup in Russia. There is material for such a coup, because many soldiers are being sent home to Russia from the Baltic States and Eastern Europe. There are no barracks to house them and they are invited to pitch their tents at seventeen degrees below zero. They may well have nothing to eat, but they are not badly armed. This is a classic scenario for a coup.

For all that, I think that the most likely evolution will run through the Russian parliament. I suspect that the price reforms will become all the more unpopular when the promised new supplies fail to materialise. There is not likely to be any short or even middle term economic improvement. As Russian Parliamentarians seek a scapegoat for the unholy mess in which they find themselves, Yeltsin is likely to fall.

We shall see. I wish we could do more to help. Certainly the food aid should be increased and urgent steps should be taken to direct it more rationally, to the areas which are suffering the most. But all the food aid taken together is greatly insufficient to meet the needs. We should be foolish to imagine that there are any easy solutions to these problems and very foolish indeed to think that such misery can be endured on the borders of our new Europe without affecting our own lives, perhaps considerably.



## *Ex oriente lux*

The 20th century — what a paradox! On the one hand, this is a century that has witnessed the final liberation of nations and the Individual; an epoch during which the empires of the world, including the last, albeit most sadistic, “prisonhouse of nations” — the Russian communist empire — have all been dismantled, thereby allowing the processes of building a new, free and just, world order to enter their final, decisive stage of historical evolution. On the other hand — this is also a century that has brought upon all of humankind the most terrifying of nightmares: the atom bomb, which has forced humankind to come to grips with the very real possibility of total, irreversible extinction; the irrevocable elimination of human and all other forms of life from the face of the earth.

What kind of evil joke is this? At a time when all of humanity can enjoy the fruits and graces of freedom and justice in genuinely free societies; in an era when we have learned how to talk to one another across the vast expanses of oceans, when we have acquired the ability to fly with impudence over those very same oceans, or even to the moon itself, at this very same time we have come to recognize the tangible reality of that which once was prophesied in the Bible: Armageddon . . . the finality of absolute Death. . .

The joyful optimism of unbounded expectations . . . has become intertwined with a foreboding pessimism of imminent doom.

How did we get into such a seemingly inescapable, frightening predicament? How can we together escape from the futureless future to which we, as a race, all seem to be unalterably predestined? Is there any chance for humankind to build a genuinely just and free world order, one that would be delivered from under that damned nuclear Sword of Damocles? Where are we to search for that force that can bring salvation for all of humankind . . . for our common home, that we all call — Earth?

In order to understand the menacing whirlpool in which we all seem to be caught, a short historical excursion into the past is in order — in search of the root causes of something that historians have already enshrined as — the Cold War. Soon after the cessation of hostilities following the Second World War, instead of a reduction in military “power projection,” the world witnessed one of the most remarkable arms races in all of history. The competition involved two, hostile global camps: between the so-called Free World and that anti-world that had arisen behind the “Iron Curtain.” The competition was, indeed, global, inasmuch as the world was artificially divided into bi-polar, neo-colonial clusters of “spheres of influence” with their two respective centers: one in Moscow, and the other — in Washington. The imperialism of one of these two military superpowers manifested itself along traditional avenues in the form of the colonial exploitation of the nations that were subjugated by Moscow; but it also had that inherently Russian character that had not heretofore been seen in any of the historically European empires: a determined and total policy of repression and brutal Russification that was designed to destroy all vestiges of a national consciousness in the subjugated nations. A Russian way of life was forced upon these subjected peoples with the intent of completely disenfranchising them of not only all power, but of their culture, their history, their language and their unique “spirituality.”

All this formed the backdrop for the more dramatic political struggle taking place, as both the USSR and the USA were competing for global influence. Both military super-



powers, however, had to agree on one point: that there had arisen one force, one concept, one idea, which stood in the way of their plans and, hence, it had to be destroyed in order for the global competition to continue unabated. This revolutionary force can be called the “national idea.” Despite all attempts to throttle it, to bury it under the immense weight of “great power politics,” this national idea stubbornly continued to acquire objective reality in the various national-liberation movements that emerged in the subjugated countries of the world. This idea carried within itself the nucleus of a new world order, built upon the universal ideals of freedom and justice; i.e., a commitment on the part of *all* the nation-states of the world to respect and recognize every other nation’s right to national independence, sovereignty and statehood.

This revolutionary idea, which continued to triumph despite the “globalist” plans of both military superpowers, was perceived to be a threat that was serious enough so as to precipitate a rapprochement in their at times hostile, at times cooperative inter-relations. Khrushchev was able, for instance, to speak of “peaceful coexistence,” while Nixon pursued something that was subsequently labeled — “detente.”

Having effectively divided the world into separate geopolitical “spheres of influence,” both sides continued to arm themselves at a frenetic pace, although this dangerous arms race undoubtedly cost Moscow much more dearly, since the USSR did not have a sufficiently stable economic base in order to effectively compete with the West over the long haul. For this reason, Moscow — although economically impoverished in many respects according to Western standards — decided that it was necessary to reap the immediate, short-term advantages of the military parity that it had with great effort established with the West, while using its nuclear capacity as a tool of blackmail that was used to preempt any Western counter-measures. The USSR embarked on a course of global expansionism that took on many different forms: either direct military intervention (e.g., Afghanistan), or, more often, by nurturing “client state” relationships and by fighting “proxy wars” through these “clients,” and by supporting “wars of national liberation,” particularly in areas where the USA’s interests and positions were not clearly defined and/or secured. In the meantime, Moscow’s agents of terror were also busy financing and directing the “revolutionary” activity in most Western countries of several terrorist/communist “Red Brigades.”

Much lip service was payed throughout this period to the need to effectuate global peace and security. And again another paradox emerges: the foundation upon which this world peace was to be built was none other than the atom bomb! As long as neither the USA nor the USSR were able to establish a “first strike” capability, argued the “globalists” in both Moscow and Washington, “peace” would be maintained. Ironically, such a worthy goal as world peace became the object of a policy of nuclear blackmail (“mutually assured destruction”—MAD).

A digression is now in order: *in retrospect, the only rational, morally responsible and politically tenable position throughout this entire period could only have been the argument that this nuclear instrument of death and total annihilation must itself be forever destroyed.*

“Peace and stability” — a phrase that was considered to be mandatory in the commercialized soundbites that substituted for real policy directives, had become the guiding criteria of all international relations — at least in terms of declared policy. The “globalist” crusaders from both sides argued that the slightest alteration in the *status quo* may

lead to unavertible global catastrophe. For the nations subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism in the USSR and its “satellites,” this policy was tantamount to their irreversible relegation to a position of eternal colonial servitude. In 1975 in Helsinki, for example, during the first Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the principles of the “inviolability of borders” and “territorial integrity” was firmly etched into the immutable granite of international politics. While the West continued to fight the Cold War with its arch-enemy from behind the Iron Curtain, the “Trilateral globalists” in Washington perceived a greater threat to Western interests in the possible dissolution of the Soviet Union under the pressure of evolving revolutionary processes there. Hence, the West decided that it must continuously bolster the Soviet-Russian empire, so as to be able to continue competing with it, since without such a competitor, the very basis of the West’s political agenda would have been severely undermined. The absurdity of the situation had reached its apex . . .

The dialectics of peace presented Moscow with the opportunity to improve its international position, while concurrently undermining the West’s position in various geopolitical areas of the world. Western technology, which was unilaterally transferred to the USSR almost as a gift, was soon turned into anti-Western weaponry. American grain was not used to feed the impoverished population of the Soviet Union, but was instead used by Moscow as a basis for acquiring much needed credits, or natural resources from various Third World countries, which in turn would be used to build ever-more sophisticated means of warfare.

In the meantime, continuing to cash in on its peace dividends, Moscow was also able to transform the subjugated nations, particularly Ukraine, into one vast nuclear/political laboratory. By deploying a considerable portion of its nuclear arsenal on Ukrainian territory, Moscow thereby maneuvered NATO into targeting Western nuclear missiles on Ukraine. Hence, the forces of liberation in the subjugated nations, which were the West’s natural allies, were neutralized to some extent. Moreover, the West, from its vantage point, could ill-afford to render support to the revolutionary, national-liberation processes that were unfolding in the subjugated nations and which potentially could have neutralized, if not completely dismantled, Moscow’s expansionist war machine from within. The Western Democracies were terrified of a specter that Moscow had raised before their eyes: that these nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of some extremist “fanatics.” Never throughout its history having had pursued an expansionist, or colonial policy, Ukraine, whose people never wanted these weapons of mass destruction in the first place, was now perceived — from the perspective of this convoluted dialectic — as a serious threat to global security.

By the 1980s Moscow had clearly over-extended itself, having nearly depleted those economic and financial resources that it had managed to accumulate in direct proportion to its policy of colonial exploitation of the subjugated nations and which it desperately needed if it was to keep pace with the USA in the arms race. Already under Andropov’s short-lived tenure in the Kremlin, the Soviet ruling elite had come to the conclusion that the centralized command economy and the hierarchical administrative infra-structure in the USSR had become completely bankrupt. A decision was then taken to begin the painful process of re-building the economic/administrative system on the basis of a limited free market, through which wider echelons of workers would be integrated into new socio-economic relations. In order to effectuate this plan of rebuilding and mass integra-

tion, however, the Kremlin leaders realized that they must first gain the trust of the heretofore severely repressed masses. This was to be accomplished by first raising a new set of political values, according to which this re-structuring would take place. With Gorbachev's ascendancy to power, this two-pronged policy and new thinking was given its new ideological justification under the somewhat deceiving labels of "glasnost" and "perestroika."

The Gorbachev "reformers," however, neglected to consider two factors in their projections for the future: a) that it would be difficult, if not impossible, as a matter of principle, to effectuate a speedy metamorphosis, a "democratization," of what were strictly totalitarian structures; b) that in the subjugated nations, whose national aspirations were frustrated and suppressed for so many long years, these newly released political processes would quickly take on the form of a wide-scale national-liberation struggle, whose ultimate goal was the dissolution of the USSR into national and democratic, independent and sovereign nation-states. Instead of burying, or at the very least — coopting, the "national idea," it now exploded with volcanic force, for the first time since the Second World War acquiring mass, or rather — all-national proportions.

At first, the West was caught of guard, initially not being able to devise inventive and creative means of responding to these new and unprecedented events rapidly unfolding in the Soviet Union. In time, however, most Western leaders became convinced that — in the words of former British Prime Minister Thatcher — they "can do business" with this new, "democratized" USSR, headed by the "liberal-minded" President Gorbachev. Hardly anyone in the West considered the possibility that this "last empire" may finally collapse, imploding under the weight of its own internal contradictions. President Bush, in his public policy utterances, began to speak of a "new world order" that was now emerging. In retrospect, what he apparently meant was that the old, neocolonial order was changing, but that the two major protagonists would still divide the world into their spheres of influence, albeit not on the basis of their conflicting interests, but rather on the basis of their newly-forged cooperative relations. The Cold War ended (with an apparent victory for the capitalist West), but the strategic thinking of the "globalist" forces in both Washington and Moscow continued along the same neocolonial lines. Only the ideological framework had changed for what remained the old, neocolonial, world order.

A key factor in this new strategy, however, was Gorbachev's "new union treaty." The caretakers of the Soviet-Russian empire in the Kremlin fully understood that the integrity of the USSR must be maintained at all costs, safeguarded from the increasingly revolutionary processes that were threatening to tear it asunder. Gorbachev argued that only by "democratically integrating" the non-Russian peoples and by coopting their national elites into "new, all-union" structures, a policy that required tempered patience on the part of the ruling elite, could this "new union" be built on a stable and rock-solid foundation.

On August 19, 1991, however, the worn-thin patience of the "hard-liner faction within the Kremlin" had finally broken. Now there can be no doubt that the aborted coup attempt was primarily precipitated by Ukraine's hesitation to enter into a "re-structured" union. The decisive death blow to what was already a quickly crumbling empire was dealt on August 24, when Ukraine declared its independence. This Declaration of Independence was then ratified on December 1 by over 90% of the Ukrainian people.

The vote was so overwhelming that it became clear to everyone, except the increasingly pathetic Soviet President, that the Soviet Union, i.e., the Soviet-Russian empire, had been *de facto* and *de jure* dissolved.

In fact, the historical and political significance of the December 1 referendum in Ukraine goes much deeper. On that day not only was the “last empire” finally dismantled, but the old world order, built on the “great power” interests of two military/nuclear superpowers, was also severely undermined, since one of its co-architects was now relegated into the dustbin of history.

Contrary to the prognoses of the “Trilateral globalists,” a new world order was, indeed, being constructed long before President Bush began speaking about it, since it was ideally projected in the national-liberation struggles of the nations subjugated by Soviet-Russian imperialism and communism. This revolutionary vision was deeply rooted in the universal ideals of freedom and justice, towards which all of peace-loving humankind has been striving since time immemorial. The cornerstone of this genuinely new world order will be the national ideal; i.e., contrary to the old, anachronistic, neo-colonial system of the *ancien regime* — this will be an order in which — instead of the privileged interests of a self-proclaimed and exclusive club of global powers — the interests of all peoples, of all of humankind, of the Individual as such, will always and everywhere be taken into account, since in this new world order the inter-relations between nations will be the result of a higher, more developed understanding of justice. Until now, such a global order of freedom and justice was beyond the realm of possibility, since the existence of an expansionist-minded, inhumane, anti-human Soviet-Russian empire required the maintenance of a set of “conflict relations” in all geopolitical areas of the globe between the two primary protagonists, which — in turn — precluded the peaceful resolution of most, if not all, regional conflicts. The absurdity and irrationality of the situation had reached its pinnacle when the atom bomb, that most terrifying means of total annihilation and human extinction, was made into the fulcrum of a system of global peace and security. In the new, free and just, world order of tomorrow, this weapon of mass destruction will simply become obsolete.

More importantly, this vision is founded in the only ethically acceptable, morally responsible position for the future: *that global peace and security can be secured only when ALL nuclear weapons are completely destroyed and forever removed from all corners of the world.*

Ukraine has now proclaimed to the world its unalterable desire to become a non-nuclear state within one contiguous, global nuclear-free zone. The other countries of the world, nuclear and non-nuclear states alike, would do well to find in this determined policy a blueprint for the future construction of a new, genuinely free and just, world order; one that would be delivered from the terrifying and dangerous politics of nuclear blackmail. This is today’s “categorical imperative” for all humankind: to follow the example not of those nuclear powers that until now have led us down the road towards a nuclear inferno, but to follow the lead of Ukraine and the other formerly subjugated nations — the world’s *moral* superpower.

The same holds true for the Western Democracies, particularly the USA, who are now desperately trying to force Ukraine to transfer its nuclear missiles and tactical nuclear weapons to the Russian Federation — a euphemism for what still remains a “mini-empire” in which many peoples continue to languish in colonial servitude. The West

needs to break away from the myopic intellectual matrix of “great power” politics and begin thinking along more progressive and morally responsible lines. Instead of forcing Ukraine to play by the rules of this insane game of blackmail, the West should try to understand that the only guarantee of a genuinely stable world order of peace is the necessity of eliminating all nuclear armaments. Ukraine is already thinking along these lines. Not the politics of nuclear blackmail, great power fear-mongering, or colonial exploitation, but the mutual respect, based on complete egalitarianism, of the rights of all the nations of the world, large and small, in the cognizance that all of humankind is enriched when every nation has the full opportunity to add its unique contribution in the development of a multifaceted mosaic of human culture and in the construction of a new, free and just, world order — these are the principles according to which future generations will learn to live with each other in genuine peace and harmony.

Some time ago, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, the Russian writer, wrote the following prophetic words: “*Ex oriente lux!*” (And the light will come from the East!) Dostoyevsky most certainly wanted to say that this Eastern light will come from Russia, which — in his mind — was to establish its hegemony over the world. On the cusp of a new century, a new era, however, it seems that this light from the East is already shining brightly, but not in Moscow, where a new imperialist power is ready to take over the reins of the old; but in Kyiv — the capital of the first nuclear country to begin the process of dismantling this terrifying instrument of death. This light presages the coming of a new world order, one that was already prophesied by Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine’s national poet, who once wrote:

*And there will be a son, and there will be a mother,  
And there will be Human Beings on this earth.*

*... Fiat lux! ...*



## **EVEN IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT ...**

Canada's small foreign policy establishment has historically been ignorant, indifferent and sometimes hostile toward Ukrainian independence and has so shaped Canadian government behaviour. Simultaneously, officials within Canada's Department of External Affairs and several other ministries, were often condescending, sarcastic, dismissive, indisposed or suspicious of proposals put forward by Canada's Ukrainian community on virtually all matters related to the so-called "Ukrainian Question". In part, these biases reflected the prejudices of the larger, Anglo-Celtic dominated host society, within which Ukrainian immigrants and many of their descendants have occasionally found themselves exposed to discriminatory, even racist sentiments and deeds. In times of domestic or international crisis state-sanctioned forms of repression have been taken against Canada's Ukrainians, the internment operations of the First World War period being the most traumatic, if still relatively unknown example of the latter. Sporadically, those belonging to the organised Ukrainian-Canadian community have been accused unjustly of harbouring "divided loyalties", a charge which exposed individuals and entire organisations to indignities ranging from censure to covert surveillance, disenfranchisement, arrest and deportation. Undeniable as the achievements and progress made by Canada's Ukrainians are, a fact being celebrated during nation-wide centennial commemoration in 1991-1992, the reality remains that Canadian policies have basically stayed in tune on "the Ukrainian Question" with those of the other Anglo-American powers. Neither the United States of America nor Great Britain ever wanted or felt they need a free Ukraine. Artful pronouncements about human rights in, or the cultural survival of Ukraine, although not entirely unhelpful, disguised the more fundamental and negative nature of Canadian government attitudes toward Ukrainian independence. As Canada's Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Jules Leger, decreed in July 1956, "even in the unlikely event that the communist regime in Russia should disappear," it was doubtful whether an independent Ukraine would be "a practical possibility," while Western advocacy of Ukrainian independence would only "seriously offend all Great Russians".

### **Re-Birth of a Nation:**

But the "unlikely" happened. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is no more, the Soviet Union is gone, even the communist regime of Russia has disappeared. And, on 1 December 1991, Ukraine again became a major European country, controlling 2.9% of the land area (603,700 sq km), 22.3% of the total agricultural and 18.2% of the total consumer goods production of the former Soviet Union. With a population of 51,704,000 (1989), Ukraine is now the fifth largest European state, after Germany, Italy, Britain and France, and 58,700 sq km larger than France in geographical area. Ukraine produces almost as much grain as Canada or France, has a sizeable industrial potential, a good network of roads and railways and above average Soviet educational levels. In terms of economic potential, Ukraine was recently characterised as the best of all the for-



mer Soviet republics, the Deutsche Bank giving it 83/100 points, as opposed to 77 for the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and 72 for Russia. Significantly, Ukraine's citizenry, including the country's Russian, Belarussian, Jewish, Crimean Tatar and Polish communities voted overwhelmingly (over 90% nationally) in favour of independence. And, in response to widely advertised concerns, the Ukrainian government, prior to, and since the referendum, has stated publicly that Ukraine will become a neutral, non-aligned and nuclear free state which will never acquire, build or store nuclear weapons of any kind on its territory. Kyiv has also confirmed that all citizens of the country will enjoy equal rights regardless of their ethnic, cultural, religious or racial origins. Ukraine will meet its share of former Union's international debts and has stated repeatedly that it has no territorial claims against any neighbouring state.

Even though Canada recognized Ukraine as an independent state on December 2, 1991, Western diplomatic recognition was, in general, tardily and almost begrudgingly granted. I am not convinced that basic attitudes toward the issue of Ukrainian independence have changed significantly within the Department of External Affairs, even if they were unable to deny the results of the referendum. In the months preceding and even the final few days before the December vote, news reports suggested that many countries, including Canada, were reconsidering whether or not to extend diplomatic recognition to Ukraine. Furthermore, several weeks passed before the USA (December 25) and Great Britain (along with the European Community, on December 26) recognised Ukraine. These facts suggest that a certain reluctance about recognising Ukrainian independence prevailed among decision-makers within the West's foreign policy community, even after the results of the independence referendum were announced. Whether this was because the foreign policy mandarins were unwilling to concede and accept the demise of the hypercentralized Soviet Union or, more probably, because they were unhappy about the marginalization of a leader they had come to esteem, the last Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, is uncertain. But their discomfort was translated into policy. They set conditions which they insisted Ukraine had to meet if it wanted Western recognition - with respect to nuclear disarmament, border issues, minority rights and debt repayment. Although these terms might seem reasonable enough from a Western perspective, they were perceived as insulting by many Ukrainians. They rightly wondered why the West was being so selective in singling out Ukraine for such treatment while Russia was not being told that it must guarantee the rights of the many minorities on its territory, scrap all its nuclear forces or give up territorial claims to neighbouring states.

After eleven former Soviet republics met in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan (December 21, 1991) and formally constituted themselves as the Commonwealth of Independent States, Western observers finally agreed the Soviet Union was no more, although many seemed implicitly to hope that the new Commonwealth would succeed the USSR, so that they would not have to deal with a dozen new states. Actually, the earlier accord reached between Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia in Minsk on December 8, involved the legal and formal dissolution of the December 30, 1922 treaty upon which the Soviet Union had originally been based. Since the emergence of this Commonwealth, Western concerns have concentrated primarily on how best to provide what are assumed to be necessary emergency relief supplies to various member states of this new Commonwealth and repeated expressions of concern have been voiced about the control of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons and human and minority rights in each of these new states. The

basic assumption seems to be that the Commonwealth of Independent States as a successor to the former USSR. Internal strains quickly appear in the Commonwealth, in my view predominantly as a result of Boris Yeltsin's "Russia First" policy. Associated with this apparent Russian eagerness for inheriting the mantle of the Soviet Union are a number of tendentious issues. For one, the lack of any definition of what precisely constitutes "Russia" has, by extension, left open how its borders are to be fixed and whether other territories (e.g. Crimea) might still be incorporated into it. Allied with this issue is the question of how what once were "All-Union" assets are to be sub-divided, if at all (e.g. the Black Sea Fleet) and whether Russia is to have any "right" of intervention in the affairs of neighbouring states, ostensibly to "protect" the Russian-speaking minorities found outside its borders. Certainly Mr. Yeltsin's willingness to use military force (unsuccessfully) to suppress separatist forces in the Islamic enclave of the Chechen-Ingush peoples, who declared their lands to an independent republic on November 2, 1991 (one of 20 such autonomous republics within the former Soviet Union, most of which were in Russia) is inauspicious. A more recent news story is even more alarming. Reportedly, the tactical nuclear weapons that Ukraine has been giving up since late December, were not being destroyed by Russia. Although President Yeltsin has said the defeat of the former "imperialist totalitarian regime" in the Soviet Union is only a first step in Russia's reform process, we should be far more measured and cautious in our response than Prime Minister Mulroney's unqualified endorsement ("We are committed to the success of President Yeltsin... His success is the success of us all...") even if Canada's national newspaper followed suit. There are compelling reasons for wondering whether a true "patron of democracy now occupies the most powerful position in Russia" and even whether Mr. Yeltsin truly represents Russia.

### **Implications for Canadian Foreign Policy:**

In a recent issue of *Behind the Headlines*, the journal of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Professor Michael Frolic posed the question, "What will Canada's role be in the 'orderly management' of the collapse of the Soviet Union?" He answered that it "would be marginal", although "close ties" between Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada could potentially give Canada "some influence in Ukrainian affairs." I agree with the latter statement, less so with its antecedent. Regrettably, the development of Canadian foreign policy toward the former Soviet Union was never much influenced, except perhaps in a negative way, by the lobbying efforts of Canada's Ukrainians. And, even though observers, much less interpreters, of the former Soviet scene, they have apparently remained indifferent to, or condescending about, utilizing the intellectual resources available within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. As in the early 1950s, so too now, there seems to be an unwillingness on Ottawa's part to take advice from the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, its affiliated organisations or individual Ukrainian Canadians working outside the government bureaucracy. In the past, identifying oneself as a Canadian of Ukrainian descent almost seems to have guaranteed that one's interpretations would not penetrate or play any role in the formulation of Canadian foreign policy. This is a pity given the admittedly modest yet useful contributions that Canadians of Ukrainian (and Baltic) descent could make in forming Canadian policy. Periodic consultations between Canada's Ukrainians and the federal government, I would argue, are clearly necessary and could be of benefit to both parties, if they were properly conducted.

## **Recommendations:**

Canada is not a major world power. But we do enjoy international prestige as a result of our laudable record of peacemaking and peacekeeping. We should develop that quality and reputation in this transitional period as the former Soviet Union dissolves and the potential for regional strife sometimes seems uncontrollable. The successor states of the Soviet Union and in particular the Russian government, recognise the existence of a century-long relationship between Canada and Ukraine, the result of the massive waves of Ukrainian immigration before and after the First World War and the development of an increasingly sophisticated Ukrainian-Canadian community. Canada's 1 million strong Ukrainian population, properly utilised, can serve our nation, Ukraine and the cause of regional peace by performing a moderating and bridging function between the West and the new states of eastern Europe. Helping to ensure regional stability through the peaceful transition of Ukraine and other countries from their former colonial subjugation within the Soviet empire to the status of democratic, pluralistic and independent nations, very much like our own, should be a deliberate and publicly stated component of Canada's foreign policy. How can Canada help accomplish these goals?

My first recommendation is that Canada move quickly on its January 27, 1992 commitment of elevating its consulate in Kyiv to the status of an embassy through the appointment of a Canadian ambassador to Ukraine. Such a step, following on the USA's recent elevation of its Kyiv consulate to an embassy (announced on 23 January 1992), will firmly fix Canada's diplomatic recognition of the independence of Ukraine and signal neighbouring states of Canada's commitment to the sovereign existence of this new European country. It is imperative, in my view, that the personnel selected for this important posting be individuals who have demonstrated an awareness and sympathy toward the Ukrainian nation's aspirations. Most assuredly, those appointed to Canada's Ukrainian Embassy should not be individuals who in the past promoted the idea that Canada adopt a "pro-Union" [or now, a pro-commonwealth] policy. Hlasnist [openness] about past attitudes and behaviour within the responsible sections of the Department of External Affairs should be a prelude to a thorough perebudova [restructuring] of the old "Soviet desk". Canada needs to draw upon the modest but talented pool of Ukrainian Canadian (and other East European) experts found in this country who should be allowed and encouraged to take an active role in the basic policy formulation process. That will help eliminate biases, political and otherwise, that led Canadian foreign policy toward Ukraine and the other "captive nations" of the old Soviet empire astray throughout the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s and probably right up until the very recent past.

My second recommendation is that Canada should formally express its concern about Russia's territorial claims to Ukrainian territory, in particular to Crimea, on the principle that the territorial integrity of each of the successor states of the former Soviet Union should remain inviolate unless both or all parties to a boundary dispute are agreeable to an uncoerced resolution of any such issue. This principle has been accepted by all member states of the Committee on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), to which, Russia, Ukraine and the other ex-Soviet republics were admitted on January 30, 1992. Canada should not recognise and instead should forcefully protest against any territorial changes that do not take place peacefully and be common consent. Furthermore, Canada should encourage and offer to help monitor the progressive nuclear disarmament

of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Russia. Tactical nuclear weapons transhipped from other countries into Russia should be dismantled under multinational supervision. If that does not happen the other three nuclear powers in the region may be forced to retain part of their tactical nuclear arsenals for legitimate self-defense purposes. And, finally, the government of Canada should urge Russia to guarantee the rights of national minorities on its territories, including the right of national self-determination in those cases where an indigenous population was brought into the Tsarist Russian Empire or the Soviet Union against the will of the people (e.g. Finno-Karelia; the Kalingrad oblast)

My third recommendation is that Canada target a significant portion of its annual foreign aid budget (in the form of grants and long-term loans under favourable terms) toward Ukraine. Ukraine has not, to the present day, received significant foreign aid from Canada or any other Western state. Instead, most of Canada's foreign aid and technical assistance has been distributed to countries in the developing world, many of whose human rights records have unfortunately been abysmal. Those nations seldom have cultural, historical or other ties to Canada of the sort represented by this country's 1 million strong Ukrainian-Canadian community. A selective policy of foreign aid allocation (I do not include humanitarian relief) will help ensure that the limited resources Canada does have are channeled properly, to develop democratic, pluralistic and free market societies in a region of the world that was, is and will remain of predominant geopolitical relevance to the First World. Canadian aid to other republics of the Soviet Union, including Russia, should also be contingent on their compliance with our stated concerns about nuclear disarmament, minority rights, debt repayment and the peaceful resolution of any outstanding territorial disputes, as provided for under the terms of the Helsinki Agreement and the CSCE.

My fourth recommendation concerns debt repayment. Although the government of Ukraine has expressed a willingness to meet its share of the international debt of the former Soviet Union, a legacy of communism estimated to amount to \$65 billion, it is apparent that Russia is attempting to assume control over most of the assets of the now defunct USSR. If Ukraine, whose natural resources were exploited in far greater measure by Moscow than the country was ever enriched by investments from the Centre, is denied a fair share of the estate of the old Union, it will be hard-pressed to repay its portion of the debt. Canada should take the position that it will hold each of the successor states (excluding the Baltic states whose forcible incorporation into the Soviet Union Canada never recognised *de jure*) responsible for debt repayment but only to the degree that they are allocated a "fair share" of assets of the former Soviet Union. If Russia insists on assuming control over most of those properties then it will be the principle beneficiary of decades of Soviet rule and development and, as such, it should be held responsible for most of the Soviet debt.

My fifth recommendation is that the Canadian government, in co-operation with Canada's universities, colleges, vocational and technical schools, offer a limited number of temporary student visas to qualified Ukrainians, giving them opportunities to study at Canadian educational institutions. The government should also underwrite financially, on an annual basis and for at least the next decade, suitable burst, accommodation and travel funds to make these opportunities a viable option for Ukrainian students. Helping Ukrainian students learn English and /or French will prepare members of the new post-Soviet generation for the development and management of a pluralistic society in

Ukraine and will help provide Canadian and other Western businessmen with suitably trained and linguistically capable personnel who can assist them in opening up the large market Ukraine represents for Canadian entrepreneurs. As an additional benefit, the exposure of these student to Canadian life will help sustain the democratic forces of Ukraine, who need our continuing moral, financial and political support. As for Canada's Ukrainian community, it should be required to help sustain this effort through the provision of counsel and other support services for these students once they arrive in Canada. Canada should also direct financial and educational resources to the support of the bilingual (Ukrainian / English) university being revived in Kyiv, the historic Mohyla Academy.

My sixth recommendation is that Canadians be encouraged to send humanitarian relief supplies directly to family members, relative and friends in Ukraine and the other successor states of the former Soviet Union. This would be facilitated considerably if Canada Post were instructed to cut its postage rates for parcels to the former USSR and East Central Europe by 50% for all packages containing humanitarian relief supplies, including non-perishable foodstuffs, clothing and educational materials.

My seventh recommendation concerns Canadian immigration policies which, historically, and especially so in the more recent years, have discriminated selectively against Ukrainian immigration. In consultation with the appropriate Ukrainian-Canadian agencies and in recognition of the major contribution Canada's Ukrainians have made to the development of this country over the past 100 years, the government of Canada should revise its immigration policies and provide for a more open flow of Ukrainians to Canada. A renewed immigration of Ukrainians will help strengthen our country's ties with the ancestral homeland of so many Canadians, reunite families that have been separated for several decades by the "Iron Curtain" and ensure that Canada continues to have particular influence in this region of the world.

### **Conclusion:**

However "absurd" the situation in contemporary Ukraine may seem to the outsider, the people there are hopeful about their future and are working toward the creation of a society much like the one we enjoy. Properly directed, Canada's foreign aid and diplomatic efforts can play a significant role in ensuring the stability and long-term prosperity of the new European nation-state known as Ukraine.

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## STORMCLOUDS OVER MEDJUGORJE

Medjugorje, Yugoslavia — Less than two hours after my Yugoslavian Air Transport plane landed in Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina, the airport was taken over by the Serb-dominated military and closed to civilian air traffic. The air field, only 30 miles from southern Croatia, was to be used by the air force for strikes against targets in that rebellious republic. One such attack had already occurred the previous Sunday, September 22, according to Croatian residents of the city. "Eight planes took off on a bombing mission," my Croatian taxi driver told in confidence. "I am opposed to violence, but I was glad when only one plane returned."

My destination was Medjugorje, where the Virgin Mary is said to have been appearing daily since 1981, bringing a message of prayer, fasting and conversion. I had to pass through a Serbian checkpoint to leave Mostar and a Croatian checkpoint to enter Medjugorje. Young men nervously fingered brand-new automatic weapons as they checked my driver's papers. "Pilgrim from America," my driver kept explaining until we were waved on though. The miles between the checkpoints were no man's land where people lived in ethnically pure hamlets of Croats, Muslims and occasionally Serbs and kept increasingly to themselves — if they had not already fled to safety elsewhere.

In Medjugorje itself, a Croatian stronghold, the atmosphere was tense and the streets deserted. The usual throngs of foreign pilgrims had vanished and the foreign language masses in English, Spanish, Italian, and German at St. James Cathedral had been cancelled. I was alone on the climb to the cross which crowns Mount Krizevac, and the only people on the Hill of Apparitions were several dozen local women praying the rosary. Local residents — and refugees from Serbian-occupied areas — also crowded St. James for the morning and evening masses in Croatian, raising their voices in prayers for peace. After the mass the lights in the cathedral were immediately turned off for fear of aerial bombardment and the people walked home in darkness.

Serbian army units were encamped only 15 miles to the south of Medjugorje and controlled the road to the port city of Dubrovnik. The two columns of Serbian reservists, numbering some 10,000 men in all, who marched into the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina last week have taken up positions to the northeast of the Medjugorje on the road to Mostar. "We are like a sandwich," said Josip, a man who manages a hostel not far from the cathedral. "The Serbs have invaded Bosnia-Herzegovina to provoke a conflict. Our president, Alija Izetbegovic, sent his representative to ask the Serbian troops to leave our republic, but they ignored his request."

A buffer state between Croatia to the West and Serbia to the east, Bosnia-Herzegovina contains an explosive mixture of Croats, Serbs and Slavic Muslims. In the opinion of the men of Medjugorje, who spend much of their time huddled in small groups in mostly deserted cafes, Serbia is deliberately trying to stage incidents which they can then use as a pretext for large-scale military action.

More than anything else, it is the destruction of their churches that has these men up in arms. To date, Serbian troops have gutted 76 parish churches in the border regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. "The Serbs know that we Croats are strong believers," a member of the local militia said to me, "They attack our churches first and then



force our people to flee.” There are now more than 500 refugees in and around Medjugorje and thousands more have fled to the relative safety of Croatia.

Reluctantly, the locals have formed a militia and armed themselves. Most families in Medjugorje have in recent months purchased an automatic weapon on the black market where prices range up to \$2000. They speak of these weapon with a mixture of regret and resolve. “I hate having a weapon in my house,” a young father of two said to me, shaking his head sadly. “But if I have to use it to defend my family, I will.”

As many as 8,000 Croatian militiamen stand ready to defend Medjugorje and the surrounding Croatian countryside if the Serbian troops continue their advance. But it is hard to believe that small arms would be very effective against the tanks, armoured personnel carriers and helicopter gunships that the Serbs inherited for the now defunct federal army.

I left Medjugorje sad that this parish of the Queen of Peace, as the Bless Mother prefers to known here, is ringed by hostile armies and has itself been transformed into an armed camp. For ten years she has been calling Medjugorje and the world to prayer, fasting and conversion. At no time has it seemed more urgent to heed her call than right now.

As Our Lady was reported to have told the people of Medjugorje on June 26, 1986, “God allowed me to bring about with Him this oasis of peace. I invite you to keep it intact. There are people who, by their indifference, destroy peace and prayer. I invite you to witness and to help by your life to keep this oasis intact.”

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## **Arms deliveries to Kabul, 1989-1991**

Since the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan completed its withdrawal on February 15, 1989 Soviet military involvement in the Afghan war has continued. One of the most significant military tools of Soviet policy in Afghanistan in 1989-91 has been the supply of arms and other aid to the Kabul regime.

One of the many paradoxes of the 1989-91 period in Soviet policy towards Afghanistan is that massive quantities of Soviet weapons and supplies have been, in part, made possible by the overall reduction in the Soviet Army, including the withdrawal of forces from central Europe and Mongolia. Older Soviet equipment has been made available for transfer to Afghanistan. The diminishing chances for conflict in Europe may have also made the Russians more ready to transfer expendable items from their stockpiles to be used in Afghanistan.

Soviet sources had explicitly justified this policy by saying that sending weapons to Afghanistan was cheaper than scrapping them, and that much of the equipment supplied was at the end of its service life. For example, the Soviets had claimed that some of the MiG-21, Su-17, and Su-22M fighter-bombers supplied were over 150% of their service life, and were thus, due to be retired from Soviet service.

The provision not only of military hardware, but of petroleum, oil, and lubricants by the Soviets — products which could otherwise have been sold on the world market — had enabled the Kabul regime to continue combat operations. For example, the intense Afghan air force strikes that may well have turned the tide of battle at Jalalabad in 1989 would not have been possible without Soviet resupply. A single fighter-bomber can consume over 20 tons of expendables (bombs and fuel) in a single day, which increases its need for rapid resupply.

### **ARMS SUPPLIES 1989-91**

The supply of Soviet weapons had been vital in maintaining the Kabul regime. In the words of General Norman Schwarzkopf of the United States Central Command stated on February 8, 1990: "Just an unbelievable amount of modern Soviet equipment is flowing into Afghanistan. Ever since they (the Soviets) left, they have been putting a lot in, but recently we have been seeing just an unbelievable amount of modern equipment".

In the period from early March to mid-July 1989, the Soviet delivered 160T-55 and T-62 tanks and 615 armoured personnel carriers; in 1988, they had supplied 275 tanks, 300 BMP combat vehicles and 350 armoured personnel carriers and other armoured vehicles. In the first three months of 1990, 165 T-54, T-55, and T-62 tanks, 240 armoured personnel carriers and 150 artillery pieces were among the weapons supplied. Reportedly enough MiG-21 Fishbeds and Su-17 Fitters were supplied to allow Kabul to retire most of its war-weary pre-1989 force.

As significant as the quantity of Soviet-supplied weapons has been the quality, including weapons systems never before exported, or sent only to choice clients: BM-22 220 mm multiple rocket launchers, BMP-2 30 mm armoured infantry fighting vehicles, BTR-80 armoured personnel carriers, 2S9 120 mm SP mortars, SA-13 SP surface-to-air missiles and Su-22M-4 Fitter-G fighter bombers. There were reports of MiG-29

Fulcrums being supplied, although this had neither been confirmed nor supported by open-source photographs. One former pilot, however, who joined the resistance after the abortive 1990 coup attempt in Kabul, reported seeing three MiG-29s there.

In many cases, these were not export models, but weapons systems used by the Soviets themselves. Many of them had been used by the Soviet in Afghanistan: faded Soviet insignia were still visible on some BMP-2s in Kabul in December, 1990. Along with the extensive Soviet logistics, communications, and support networks and their contents, these weapons were handed over in 1988-89.

Putting a dollar value on any Soviet military activity is an imprecise art. However, total Soviet support to Kabul had been estimated by United States and Pakistani sources as about 4 to 4.5 billion dollars in 1989 alone, of which 3 to 3.6 billion were spent on military aid. In 1990, it appears that the same level of effort was sustained, despite reports of cutbacks.

### Deliveries of FROG and SCUD missiles

The R-17 and R-300 SS-1 SCUD SSM and the Luna-M FROG-7 rocket were the most notable weapons systems supplied by the Soviets to the Kabul regime since the withdrawal. The SCUDs, which first went into action in October, 1988, were made available for shipment by the reduction in Soviet forces in Central Europe.

By April 1990, 1,700 SCUD missiles had been delivered to Afghanistan, and 1,400 had been fired. Between January, 1989 and the end of April 1991, a total of 1,554 SCUDs had been fired in Afghanistan: more than twenty times the 68 fired in the Gulf War.

Most of the SCUDs were fired soon after they arrived, minimizing the vulnerability of stored missiles to resistance attack. It is obvious that the bulky missiles, support equipment, and liquid fuel have made up a large part of the Soviet airlift effort. Because it is believed that there are only about 12 SCUD Transporter Erector Launchers in Afghanistan — eight near Kabul and four near Mazar-i-Sharif — it is likely that these had to be replaced or overhauled repeatedly.

### OTHER SOVIET AID

Soviet sources, while admitting that the aid totals were difficult to track, tally Soviet assistance to Afghanistan in 1990 at almost two billion rubles. An additional \$300 million in hard currency grants was also announced in 1990. The Soviets and the Kabul regime report that economic aid declined from an annual level of 500 million rubles in 1988, then 50 million rubles in 1990-1, though this was supplemented by both US-dollar and soft currency loans. As Najibullah himself had pointed out, 88% of his regime's budget was spent on the war. Even this civil sector government-to-government aid will contribute to Kabul's war-fighting potential. While the official ruble total for 1991 aid was 400 million, with 40 million of that allocated for the defense of the Kabul airport and the Salang Pass highway, some Soviet sources believe the aid total for 1991 will be about two billion rubles, including for the first time aid to the private sector.

In-kind deliveries supposedly were divided equally between food, fuel, and other commodities. In 1990, 100,000 tonnes of sugar were supplied and 280,000 tonnes of wheat were to be supplied, but this was increased to 400,000 tonnes in August. Fuel was 450,000 tonnes, including 110,000 tonnes of jet fuel. Kabul requested that the total jet



fuel be increased to 160,000 tonnes for 1990. Other non-military in-kind aid ranged from airliners to agricultural machinery. As with Kalashnikovs, a percentage of in-kind aid (up to one third on some frequently interdicted convoy routes) is turned over to both militia and resistance commanders.

Perhaps the most significant weapon in the Kabul regime's arsenal had been bags of Soviet-provided money. Before the 1989 withdrawal, the Soviets found that a million dollars could temporarily buy off many more Afghans than a million dollars worth of bombs could kill. High salaries contribute to the loyalty of many of Kabul's combat units. The Kabul regime appeared to have used this weapon with great skill in 1989-91. Soviet sources have stressed that containers of printed Afghan banknotes were airlifted in, but the supply of hard currency vital for bribery and securing loyalty, was also vital.

By mid-1990, there were reports that the Soviets were cutting back on the most expensive elements of the aid program to Afghanistan: hard currency and oil. Because of the military importance of the currency, it was also reported that Kabul had tried to fill the gap by printing additional Afghan currency, risking increased inflation, reportedly 100% annually on the open market in Kabul.

### **THE RESUPPLY EFFORT**

The Soviets had not only provided aid and equipment, but delivered it as well. During 1989-91, Soviet transport aircraft, flying primarily from Tashkent but also from Dushnabe, Fergana, Chimkent and Mary, had sustained an airlift estimated in the West at 20 to 40 sorties a day into Kabul and Bagram at an estimated cost of about 190 million dollars a year. According to a U.S. State Department source, there were over 8,000 resupply flights between February 1989 and July 1990.

Keeping the costs high, the volunteer crews – Aeroflot and military received not only increased ruble salaries but also a bonus of \$200-400 in U.S. currency per flight. This led to some considerable fortunes being amassed. One Western journalist in Kabul in December, 1990 waited in a bank as a Soviet pilot withdrew \$75,000 to take home. The aircrew are widely reported to enhance their income by smuggling, in both directions.

The airlift was supplemented by convoys of Soviet-manned trucks, which continued to move supplies from Kushk, Termez and other Soviet supply points to Kabul, Mazar and elsewhere in Afghanistan. While these were "civilian" trucks, as with all Soviet motor transport assets, they were earmarked for the Army on mobilisation, in many cases along with their reservist drivers. In the spring of 1990, Soviet sources reported plans to build new ammunition dumps at Hairatan to support the war in Afghanistan. In June, 1990, Engineer Mohammad Ayub, chairman of the military committee of the resistance party Jami'at Islami, reported that 700 - 1,200 trucks a week were crossing the border as part of the resupply effort. In the winter of 1990-91, large convoys left Hairatan for Kabul. Peter Jouvenal, a British cameraman, reported large parks of tanks, armoured vehicles, and artillery being held for delivery there and at Mazar-i-Sharif. Soviet sources reported "dozens of trucks cross the border at Kushk and Termez every day". This flow of economic aid including food contrasted with the empty shelves in Termez and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union.

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## UZBEKHISTAN AS IT ENTERS 1992

The leaders of the Baltic states, Moldavia, Russia and Ukraine encouraged pluralistic political thought and opinion, and as a result, these nations have realised political freedom, independence and democracy. In Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov protected only the interests of the Communist Party in Uzbekistan and promoted unwavering loyalty to its ideology. It is not surprising then, that Uzbekistan has proven to be politically passive, and is set on remaining that way with the exception of a few thousand people?

The Communist Party under the leadership of Karimov did not refuse the plundered wealth for the benefit of the nation, but on the contrary. Proclaiming itself as the true successor, the Communist Party has renamed itself "national democratic", the party has managed to continue to occupy the palaces of power while only paying lip service to such reforms as the multi-party system, democracy, glasnost, and a free market system. For the first time, Uzbekistan's citizens had the right to elect a president on December 29, 1991 and vote in a referendum on the independence of Uzbekistan.

At the same time, the activities of the Soviet Communist structure were geared at blocking the presidential candidate from the party "Byrlik", who had gathered 63,000 signatures for the support of his candidacy. Karimov's supporters also began to collect signatures supporting their presidential candidate. This was handled by the leaders of businesses and institutions. There were daily meetings rallying support for Karimov and these meetings received extensive media coverage. This is in a country which has very strict laws forbidding demonstrations and meetings. But this restriction only applies to the opposition, since for the Communists, the rules are unwritten.

The deep, socio-political sleep, and the traditional subservience towards those occupying positions of authority, electoral committees and organs of power which served the government and a monopoly over the media and means of communication have assured



the victory of the current president.

One of the most important facets of life in Uzbekistan is Islam. In this regard, the official religious leadership has not become a viable political power and has given over issues of Islam to the state. The Islamic party, established a year ago, has failed to acquire any significant influence among the Muslims, and therefore has limited political power.

The Russian-speaking minority which constitutes 20% of the Uzbek population, is even less active politically in the sense that it has not managed to form any influential, independent organisations. Among the Russian-speaking population there is a negative attitude toward the national independence movement within the country. The attitudes of the other national minorities (Kasakhs, Tatars, and others) do not differ much from the Russians and their ability to exert any influence is limited.

With regard to the artistic and the academic intelligentsia, there is a characteristic yearning to serve the system. It is, in fact, quite obvious. It can be explained, however, by the fact that Karimov has created many "prestigious" placements solely for poets, authors, journalists, in his own government "apparat", as in other organs of government. One must not forget to mention the real influence of the main political power in Uzbekistan - the nomenklatura. The preservation of the totalitarian socio-political order in Uzbekistan and as a result, its own power seems to be the main purpose of the nomenklatura. Unfortunately, the nomenklatura is nonetheless powerful, since the opposition has practically disintegrated. But can this situation continue? It depends on whether the leadership of Uzbekistan can avert the economic crisis, which is drawing nearer. At this point, there does not appear to be an assured transition to a free market economy - only administrative methods are used to solve economic problems.

A sign of what is to be expected of Karimov in the future is the way the international Tashkent conference of leaders with the goal of acquiring foreign investment for Uzbekistan was handled last May . This meeting was unsuccessful. International business people realised that the Uzbeks were not ready for serious negotiations, since there is not an infrastructure in place for a free market economy.

It was understood that without a complete transition to private ownership, commercial business, and eventually to a free market economy, the government's insistence on total economic control would be disastrous. Many leaders were, however, aware of these potential consequences. Even the president's comprehension of these needs resulted in the initiation of some laws governing privatisation. Nonetheless, the "complete economic freedom" proclaimed by the president seemed to be rooted more in declarations rather than actual deeds which would instigate economic reforms.

Karimov is now calling for economic development. However, it is not clear what is meant by this new directive. The majority of leaders have realised the immediate need for drastic economic reforms, but one must note that a 70% majority of parliamentarians still belong to the old "party", or Soviet nomenklatura. Further comments on this fact would be unnecessary.

I would like to believe that such a rich region as Uzbekistan, which has historically been the trade centre of Asia and has a very hard-working, productive population, will undoubtedly find the right road towards development and prosperity. For this to happen, the leadership of Uzbekistan must replace its petty political ambitions with the desire to work for the benefit of my beloved Uzbek people.



## FINAL COMMUNIQUE of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists

A Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists was held in the capital of Ukraine on March 28-29. The Conference, which was attended by over 600 participants from throughout Ukraine and the world, was held in the historic hall that in 1918 was used by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic for its proceedings. The sponsors of the conference were the All-Ukrainian Brotherhood of the OUN-UPA [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army].

The Chairman of the Brotherhood — Mykhajlo Zelenchuk — opened the Conference by commemorating all those who died in the struggle for Ukraine's independence. The Chairman of the Conference Presidium — Petro Duzhiy, a former political prisoner, then asked Slava Stetsko — the Chairman of the OUN — to deliver the keynote address. Mrs. Stetsko underscored the primary objectives of Ukrainian nationalists at the present time. She stated that the OUN Presidium decided to call this conference in order to help consolidate all the nationalist forces in Ukraine. The goal of the conference was two-fold: "first, to present an historical survey of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in an objective light, accentuating its progressive, liberationist, state-building and inherently democratic roots, and secondly, to elaborate a program for the future, with a view towards consolidating Ukrainian statehood and ensuring its further development."

The conference participants were greeted by representatives of Ukraine's churches, various political, civic, social, military and youth organizations, as well as several noteworthy individuals both from Ukraine and the diaspora.

The Conference was itself divided into three plenary sessions, in accordance with the general theme of the conference — "Ukrainian Nationalism — the past, the present, and the future." The theme for the first, essentially historical session was — "The liberation struggle for Ukraine's independence." Basing themselves on historical evidence, the speakers at this session explained that the Ukrainian nationalist movement very effectively organized the struggle for Ukraine's freedom and during the Second World War led a two-front war of independence against both Nazi and Bolshevik forces. The second session, which was moderated by People's Deputy Les' Taniuk, was entitled — "Ukraine today". In their presentations, the speakers at this session presented an analysis of the present state of affairs in Ukraine, in which they paid particular attention to the myriad of problems of state-building now facing Ukraine. The point was repeatedly made that many of these problems stem from the fact that the old, anachronistic colonial structures have yet to be dismantled in Ukraine. Among those who spoke in this session was People's Deputy Laryssa Skoryk. In the final, and probably most significant session — "Towards a resolution of the problems of state-building"—a series of speakers gave programmatic presentations, in which they outlined the present-day nationalist platform in all areas of contemporary Ukrainian civil society. The need to create truly national, inherently Ukrainian structures of authority was repeatedly underscored. Some of the other significant points that emerged from the presentations were: the need to erect a social market economy, which would guarantee a socially just order in Ukraine, and which will eliminate all forms of exploitation; the need to construct representational,

democratic institutions, which would ensure that the will of the Ukrainian people is constitutionally incorporated into all the structures of authority, particularly in the legislative branch of government; the need to create a genuinely lawful society, in which the rights and liberties of all citizens are guaranteed, regardless of race, creed, political persuasion or ethnic origin. People's Deputy Stepan Khmara also emphasized the need to establish a Ukrainian Armed Forces, which is a prerequisite for consolidating statehood and national sovereignty. After the presentations were delivered in each session, some participants commented on the material that was addressed by the speakers.

On March 29 the participants of the conference were divided into ten working groups: the political group (which was headed by Yaroslav Dashkevych — a renowned Ukrainian historian), the economic group, the military group, the group on foreign affairs, the social group, the group on questions regarding culture and education (before which Yevhen Sverstiuk — a well-known Ukrainian writer and literary critic—delivered the introductory remarks), the legal group, the group on information, the youth group, the the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) group. Following the meetings of the various working groups, the participants marched to the near-by site where a monument to Taras Shevchenko (Ukraine's national poet) stands, before which a wreath was laid.

In the reports of the working groups, which taken together form the platform of the general Ukrainian nationalist movement today, the following points merit special attention: a demand that Ukraine disassociate itself from the so-called "Commonwealth of Independent States", which has only stunted the processes of state-building in Ukraine; a demand for the resignation of the entire Ukrainian government, headed by Prime Minister V. Fokin; a demand for new elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine, so that the Ukrainian people can have the opportunity to elect those deputies who will truly represent their will and would have Ukraine's national interests in mind; a halt to any further transfers of nuclear weapons from sovereign Ukrainian territory to Russia, the government of which has taken an increasingly hostile and belligerent position towards Ukraine, and which may subsequently use these weapons of mass destruction to blackmail not only Ukraine, but all of freedom-loving humankind; a demand that the present government of Ukraine introduce a national currency — the "hryvnya", which is an essential precondition for the consolidation of an independent (but not autarchic) economic system in Ukraine; an appeal to all the nations of the world to sign a Charter of a New World Order, based on the national principle, and liberated from all forms of nuclear blackmail, in which Ukraine can become a non-nuclear state within one contiguous, global nuclear-free zone.

Near the end of the conference, Mrs. Stetsko informed the participants of the creation of a Permanent Secretariat of the Conference, whose primary responsibility will be to coordinate the activity of the nationalist movement in Ukraine in the spirit of the Conference Resolutions until a Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists can be held.

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*Freedom for Nations!*

*Freedom for the Individual!*

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# MANIFESTO of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists

*Ukrainian people!*

Through your will and your centuries-long struggle an Independent Ukrainian State was established. Your best sons and daughters fought and died in this struggle so that the dreams of many generations of Ukrainians could be fulfilled. They fought in the armies of the Ukrainian National Republic, of the Carpathian Ukrainian Republic, in the resistance movement of the League of Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), in the ranks of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), as well as in the military formations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during the Second World War. As a result of this heroic struggle and historical circumstances which led to the dissolution of the last colonial empire in the world —the USSR, the Independent Ukrainian State that was proclaimed on August 24, 1991 became a concrete reality near the end of the XXth century.

From under the rubble of many centuries of ruin, brought upon the glorious past of Ukraine, upon her ancient culture and spirituality, by foreign colonial forces, a new and mighty entity is beginning to take shape. Our historical memory is again reemerging and Ukraine's voice, repressed for so long, is again being heard among the free nations of the world. Ukraine has embarked upon an irreversible and self-assured journey into a brighter future.

Just as the present has its roots in the past, so the future will emerge from the present. Ukraine has reawakened in a critical juncture of her physical and spiritual existence, but she emerges as one great wound, which was dealt to her by the enemies of her unique individuality and by the immediate exploiters of her spiritual and material resources. This physical and spiritual Chornobyl, which continues to cause Ukraine untold grief, is the result of many centuries of subjugation, that was particularly harsh in the past few decades. It is, therefore, imperative that we strengthen our resolve so as to breathe new life into the life-sustaining organs of immunity of our national organism, so as to heal the wounds and resuscitate the life-generating forces of our nation for its unimpeded growth and prosperity.

*Ukrainian people!*

Your future is in your hands. No one will come to your assistance, unless you yourself will create the necessary structures of self-salvation and unless you will bring down the walls that separate you from the free world, emerging as an equal among equals.

The participants of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists, who have gathered in the very heart of Ukraine — in Kyiv on March 28-29, 1992, your sons and daughters, who see a glorious future for Ukraine in the vision of Ukrainian nationalism, are committed to uniting all the creative energies and forces of Ukraine with a view towards the effectuation of the pressing obligations facing us on the path towards full independence and the consolidation of the bases of Ukrainian statehood.

Such a clear program of Ukraine's self-salvation can only be found in the vision of Ukrainian nationalism, which has always fostered a deep and abiding sense of patriotism and has always acted only with the national interests of the Ukrainian State and its citizens as its first priority. The Ukrainian nationalists movement has proven its heroic com-

mitment and determination in the struggle against all of Ukraine's colonial enemies. This movement has also clearly manifested its true democratic spirit, when the national and state structures of the Ukrainian State were being formed in 1941, as well as in the structures of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was established by the OUN, was structured on an all-Ukrainian basis, without any party affiliations. The OUN was also instrumental in the creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which united the leading representatives of 17 nations, subjugated by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. This is a guarantee that our relations with these nations and their ethnic minorities that presently live in Ukraine will be founded on mutual friendship and cooperation. Fundamentally, Ukrainian nationalism, in its simplest form, is nothing other than a deeply abiding patriotism, which respects all other nations who have no chauvinist or imperialist intentions towards Ukraine. As a manifestation of the Ukrainian nation's will to sovereignty and statehood, Ukrainian nationalism will defend the equal rights of all of Ukraine's citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin, race, or philosophical and religious convictions, excluding any diversionary or amoral tendencies, prohibited by law.

Basing itself on these positions, the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists will strive to achieve the following in the near future:

1. To unite all the positive national forces of Ukraine into one nationalist bloc on the basis of a common platform, which will secure all the fundamental interests of the Ukrainian State and of its citizens. Insofar as the national interest can only be one, although the paths by which it is pursued can be many, the existence of a given number of political parties will resolve this question.
2. The platform of the Ukrainian nationalist bloc includes the following common factors and national postulates:
  - a. Ukraine must be a national-unitary state, which does not exclude self-administrative governmental bodies;
  - b. a democratic, multi-party system must be the basis of the Ukrainian State's political order;
  - c. the rule of law and a division of powers are to be the primary characteristics of the governmental system;
  - d. taking into account Ukraine's geo-political position, she must be capable of defending herself and militarily completely protected;
  - e. the prosperity and health of the population of Ukraine must take priority and for this purpose Ukraine must have at its disposal the best technology, both in the fields of economic production and medicine, and a social market system must foster the development of the productive and commercial potential of Ukraine;
  - f. the privatization of farming, industry and commerce must create a new socioeconomic situation regarding property rights and the formation of social strata, the interests of which will be regulated by legislation and agreement among the various partners with a view towards the maintenance of stability and harmony in society;
  - g. the spiritual cement in the formation of a highly civilized nation-state and its population will be Ukraine's culture in the widest sense of the term, from our national customs and traditional crafts, starting with the creative arts of



all types: literature, education, higher learning, religion, and ending with the arts and sciences.

In the struggle to realize these postulates, the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists calls into being a Secretariat of Ukrainian Nationalists, which will be based in Kyiv, and the primary responsibility of which will be to coordinate the activity of the Ukrainian Nationalist Bloc.

One of the first obligations of the Secretariat will be to work out a program of action, reaching a consensus with other parties and organizations of the bloc and to disseminate this platform throughout all of Ukraine and throughout all of her civic-political structures, and, finally, to create such structures where none exist.

*Dear fellow Ukrainians!*

Ukrainian nationalism always depended on the inherent strength of the Ukrainian people, insofar as it is an emanation of the will of the people and its vanguard. Our movement once had as its goal the liberation of the Ukrainian nation not only from under foreign colonial tyranny, but also to liberate it from the harmful monopoly of those exploitative structures that are remnants of the occupational regime. These structures are incompatible with a social market system and, hence, they must self-liquidate. They can no longer stand in the way of Ukraine's economic development, by continuing to be a means of pillaging and impoverishment of the population of Ukraine.

For this reason the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists calls upon all the citizens of Ukraine to support our all-Ukrainian campaign for the strengthening of Ukrainian statehood, based on the postulates presented above. We will always support the government of Ukraine, as long as that government will act in the interests of Ukraine, and we will subject the government to criticism for its inactivity or for any actions that it may take that will be harmful to Ukraine's interests.

*Ukrainian people!*

Ukraine is now entering into "the circle of free nations." The entire world is interested in cooperating with Ukraine. We have precious historical and traditional treasures in our culture, which the world has not yet seen, or it has seen them as the provincial artifacts of the former empire. The protection of the unique individuality of our culture must be a priority, because this is the calling card that we will present to the world. We can achieve this aim with the assistance of our diaspora throughout the world, which has always been concerned with Ukraine's fate and which knows the world outside of Ukraine and is prepared to work in the interests of Ukraine.

Let us begin forming structures for the effective functioning of our institutions of higher learning, the various branches of our national economy and our civic associations, because our strength is in our organization and our unity. Ukraine needs to find new strength — so let us forge this strength.!

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Glory to her Heroes!*

**Kyiv, March 31, 1992  
Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists**

## 1992 WLFD Executive Meeting and Freedom Day

From January 20 through 23, 1992, leaders from all over the world convened in Taiwan to commemorate World Freedom Day and to hold meetings of the Executive Boards of the World League for Freedom and Democracy and the Asian-Pacific League for Freedom and Democracy. As guests of the Republic of China, these leaders chose this opportunity to share their expertise about their work in monitoring the activities of the anti-totalitarian movements throughout the globe.

ABN President Slava Stetsko and Roxolana Potter from the American Friends of ABN comprised the ABN delegation. In Mrs. Stetsko's statement to the delegates, she expressed her continued concern for the political evolution taking place in Ukraine and cautioned about the present Russian leadership's attempts to reassert the dominant position of the Russian Federation, especially through the newly-formed Commonwealth of Independent States. She spoke about Ukraine's huge industrial and agricultural potential and its attempts to erect a free-market economic infrastructure. Mrs. Stetsko also reported on the activities of ABN for the second half of 1991 (*see page 34*).

Some of the other speakers who presented reports and speeches for the delegates were: Andrew V.R. Smith, World Youth Freedom League (London, UK), the Hon. Bruce Goodluck, Member of Federal Parliament (Australia), Dr. Steven W. Mosher, The Claremont Institute (Los Angeles, USA), the Honourable Chang Song, Minister of Information (Cambodia), Dr. Woo Jae-seung, World Freedom Centre (Seoul, Korea), and the Honourable P. J. Ego, Chairman of the European Council for World Freedom (Netherlands).

Also in attendance were the Honourable Genevieve Aubry, Member of the Swiss Parliament; retired NATO General Robert Close representing Belgium; the Honourable Bruce Skeggs, Member of the Australian Parliament; General G. Kritikorn, Thailand; Dr. Inamullah Khan, World Moslem Congress, Pakistan; the Honourable Robert Wenman and the Honourable Robert Thompson, Members of Canadian Parliament; and the Honourable Stewart Rundle, Member of the New Zealand Parliament, APLFD Chairman.

The organised activities left little free time. Participants accompanied WLFD President Dr. Tze-chi Chao for a wreath-laying ceremony at the National Martyr's Shrine. There was a tour of the Pan-Asian Museum while the Executive Board members held their first meeting to discuss the business of the organisation. A seminar entitled, "The New World Order in a Changing Situation" which dealt primarily with the dissolution of the Soviet empire, provoked a stimulating discussion. Foreign Affairs Minister Frederick F. Chien hosted a reception at the Ministry, at which Mrs. Stetsko privately discussed Taiwan's diplomatic recognition of Ukraine with Minister Chien. During the reception he publicly acknowledged the long friendship he has had with both the late Premier Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Stetsko and paid tribute to their dedicated work as well as their continued fight for Ukrainian independence.

Participants visited the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the World Trade Centre. All delegates attended a reception hosted by His Excellency Hau Pei-tsun, R.O.C. Premier where Mrs. Stetsko spoke with Premier Hau about future relations between Ukraine and the Republic of China. It was decided that these discussions will continue

on an on-going basis. Mrs. Stetsko presented a book on the history of Ukraine for the Premier's library.

Participants were given a tour of the new headquarters of the WLFDF organisation in Taiwan. Dr. Chao hosted a Parliamentary lunch to which the ABN delegation was invited. During this time, Mrs. Stetsko gave Taiwan television an interview, which was broadcast to mainland China. The afternoon was devoted to the World Freedom Day Rally, a day dedicated to the 14,000 Chinese who refused to be repatriated to mainland China after the Korean War. In addition to the main speaker R.O.C. Premier Hau, other speakers included: the Honourable Elana Dimitrova, Member of the Bulgarian Parliament, Lic. Gustavo Diaz de Vivar, Senate President of Paraguay and United States Senator Christopher Bond. At the farewell banquet hosted by Dr. Tze-chi, Chao, Mrs. Stetsko presented him and Dr. Woo Jae-Seung with an ABN Award of Merit for their leadership in the fight for freedom and democracy.

During the Executive Board Meeting, several actions were initiated. On the recommendation of Dr. Chao, Hungary was given chapter status in the WLFDF organisation. It was decided that Budapest would serve as the 1992 venue for the World Conference. The United States chapter, long inactive, was reconstituted under the leadership of General John Singlaub and Dr. Walter Chopiowsky. In addition, the chapter from Seychelles made an urgent appeal for help and its fight for independence was supported. The Board also accepted the recommendation of Dr. Woo, WLFDF Secretary-General to form a working committee to look into ways in which the organisation can generate income for the continued activities of the League.

All in all the four days in Taiwan served to continue the work of the World League. These international leaders left Taiwan with fresh resolve to continue their common goals of freedom and democracy in a changing political world.



WLFDF President Dr. Tze-Chi Chao (centre) with ABN President Slava Stetsko (left) and EFC President, the Honourable Genevieve Aubry (right) from Swiss Parliament



## ABN REPORT

The latter half of 1991 was marked by intense activity focused on the changes resulting in the fall of the Soviet Russian empire after the aborted coup attempt of August 19th, 1991. Most of the former republics of the Soviet Union declared independence in the weeks following. ABN actively lobbied all governments of the democratic world to officially recognise and initiate diplomatic relations with the newly-formed states. Hundreds of letters were sent to heads of governments, foreign ministers and to members of the European Parliament.

After the December 1st referendum which ratified the independence of Ukraine with an overwhelming majority, letters were sent to all heads of government requesting the formal recognition of Ukraine with the initiation of diplomatic relations.

ABN also initiated a campaign for the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, with the intention that formal recognition of these nations would halt further Serbian Communist aggression on Croatian soil. Responses from some governments indicated that they would pursue the course of initiating further talks in order that compromises could be reached. Our letter to Chancellor Helmut Kohl resulted in a positive response and in the subsequent recognition of Croatia.

ABN Central Committee meetings were held on September 11th and December 6th in Munich and provided a forum for all national group representatives to report on the political situation in their homeland and to establish ABN directives for the main focus of activity: an appeal to all governments to recognise Croatia and Slovenia, a letter-writing campaign to all governments to officially recognise the formerly subjugated nations of the Soviet Union, and a campaign for all governments to initiate diplomatic relations with Ukraine following the December 1st referendum and letters to the permanent missions of the United Nations concerning a UN peace initiative in Afghanistan.

Several ABN members were directly involved in influencing events in Eastern Europe. ABN member Ivan Docheff - Honorary Chairman of the Bulgarian National Front in the United States defied a death sentence and traveled to his homeland with several leading members of the Front to successfully campaign for the democratic, non-communist faction during the October elections in Bulgaria. Many Ukrainian ABN members traveled to Ukraine in order to assist with and to observe the December 1st referendum. ABN General Secretary Nino Alscebaja visited Georgia to gain a better perspective on the current situation in Georgia, and she reported on her observations and meetings at the ABN Central Committee meeting. ABN member Dildora Damisch visited distant Uzbekistan to initiate contacts there. Other missions were carried out by ABN members Dr. Philip Paunescu to Rumania, W. Rukawina and Dr. S. Psenicnik to Croatia, and Valentino Berko to Slovakia.

ABN has provided a focal point and information centre for the ABN national member groups. ABN President Slava Stetsko also gave numerous interviews to various Western press agencies as well as newspapers from Ukraine, Russia, Poland, etc. A major highlight of this half year was Mrs. Stetsko's participation in a panel discussion on BBC's current affairs programme "Assignment" on the subject of the reemergence of nationalism as a potent force in Europe. The program titled "New Nations, Old Hatreds" which aired on October 29th also featured Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, Croatia's Minister of Information Branko Salaj, former Irish Premier Dr. Garret



Fitzgerald, Sir Ralf Dahrendorf from Oxford, American academic Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the Right Honourable Enoch Powell, Political Director of the Council of Europe Hans Peter Furrer and Dr. Galina Starovoitova - the Nationalities advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The ever-increasing demand for information has resulted in an escalation of publishing activity in the ABN headquarters. In addition to the bimonthly magazine ABN Correspondence, ABN has published several brochures and leaflets which were sent to the former republics of the Soviet Union covering such subjects as the establishment of fair minorities policies, strategies for the disarmament of former Soviet nuclear missiles by an international body of experts, and a message to the national units of the Black Sea fleet. An offset printing machine was purchased to meet the increased demand for printed material to the former republics.

Along with the increased demand for information output, there has also been an increase in the role of ABN as an advisor to political groups. Following the declaration of independence of Ukraine on August 24th, 1991 the ABN headquarters were visited by most of the leaders of the new political parties in Ukraine. ABN President Slava Stetsko was in contact with some of the presidential candidates and leading figures in Ukraine, who frequently sought advice.

The ABN offices were also visited by several dignitaries from Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and the Baltic states and embassy representatives as well as other dignitaries during the past half year. Among them was a delegation representing the Coalition of Political Parties in Vietnam. Heading the delegation which visited ABN headquarters on October 22nd, was the President of the Coalition, Mr. Hoang Viet Cuong. The present political situation and future plans were discussed.

ABN has also served as a clearing ground for companies seeking contacts in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Over the past year, ABN had connected several companies with organisations which have promised to provide assistance. Although the heightened activity in the headquarters did not leave time for visiting many conferences during this past year, a Turkestani and Ukrainian delegation attended a conference organised by the Christian Democrats in Wildbad Kreuth, Germany, on the current situation in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

As reported at the WLFD conference in Costa Rica, there has been a new branch of ABN established in Hungary. ABN member Prof. Tibor Rusvay has just informed us that new ABN offices are now located in the City Hall of Vác, Hungary. The Director is Dr. Gabor Somorjai, and the General Secretary is Mr. Csaba Moys.

Some attention was also focused on researching the possibility of holding a WLFD conference in the capital city of Ukraine, Kyiv. This involved speaking with several key people in the government and also interest groups, which would be able to provide assistance in conference co-ordination.

The ABN Central Committee is grateful for the continued assistance of many of its supporters, such as EFC Chairman Madame Geneviève Aubry, the Honourable John Wilkinson - MP from Great Britain, and the Honourable Bruce Skeggs from Australia, Bertil Häggman from Sweden, Otto von Habsburg, and Heimo Rantala from Finland. The ABN Central Committee extends special thanks to Dr. Tze-Chi Chao, Dr. Woo Jae-Seung and Lic. Bernal Urbina Pinto from the World League for Freedom and Democracy for their valuable support.

## **Report of a Technical Mission to the Baltic Republics**

The National Democratic Institute sponsored the visit by a technical team to Estonia (October 16-18), Latvia (October 18-22) and Lithuania (October 22 -25). The purposes of the mission were (1) to assess the state of democratic political development now that the independence of these countries has been acknowledged by all the world, (2) to expand contacts with democratic activists and leading political figures and (3) base on these consultations, to begin to implement the NDI Baltic program funded by the Agency for International Development (AID).

### **Baltic Regional Overview**

On September 17, 1991, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were admitted to the United Nations, the culmination of a decades-long struggle by these three nations to regain the political independence that had been lost in June 1940 when the Soviet Union invaded them. The process of democratic development that has been underway since 1988, has begun to accelerate in September and October. This complex and difficult process complicated by the simultaneous challenge of reestablishing National State structures and effecting the withdrawal of a massive Soviet infrastructure – most prominently the military and security apparatus.

Despite similar histories of unhappy encounters with the Russian and German empires — culminating in occupation since 1940 by the Soviets, then the Nazis, then (since 1945) by the Soviets – the three Baltic states represent quite distinct cultures and political societies. Even the nature of the Soviet occupation has been different in each place, and this variety of experience plays a large role in the current state of democratization and political developments generally. Perhaps the most common feature is their rather small native/ethnic populations and the general anxieties this produces regarding immigration (especially in Latvia and Estonia, where Soviet policy deliberately introduced large numbers of Russian and other Soviet nationals in order to accelerate the integration of these ever-rebellious republics into the Soviet-Russian community). These numbers convey the essence of the issue and the anxiety:

- In Estonia, 500,000 of the 1,600,000 persons residing in the country are Russians. Fewer than a million are Estonians.

- In Latvia, just 1,300,000 of the 2,600,000 residents are Latvians. More than two-thirds of the remaining half are Russian, although the other immigrant peoples – from Lithuania, Ukraine, Byelorussia and elsewhere – are usually thrown together, in the minds of Latvians, as “Russian-speaking people”.

- Lithuania is very different in many ways from the other two: it is predominantly Roman Catholic, it has a medieval history as a major state in its own right, it is bigger in absolute terms, it is more central European in character. Moreover, the Lithuanians do not feel culturally threatened in the same way as do Estonians and Latvians. Eighty percent of the population of 3,600,000 is ethnic Lithuanian; only 9 percent are Russian and about 7 percent are Polish.

At different moments in the past five years, each of the three states has been at the forefront of events leading toward either democratization or independence, so there is mutual pride in their shared accomplishment and no major issues divide them. However,

the two ideas – democracy and independence – have until now frequently been used interchangeably. Now that independence has been secured, the different ideas about how to organise their respective societies are becoming apparent, leading to conflicts among people who have hitherto been allies in the struggle against Moscow.

## ESTONIA

1. *Supreme Council* Elections to Estonia's Supreme Soviet took place on March 18, 1990 under the Soviet system. In response to growing sentiment for autonomy and independence stimulated by nationalists in the Estonian Heritage Society since 1988, Estonian communists and others in the establishment launched the Popular Front of Estonia on April 14, 1988. As probably intended, this established a common umbrella for Estonians of diverse political views and a unified vehicle for contesting the election. In the 105 person legislature, elected from single member constituencies on a majority basis, the Popular Front and its allies won 49 seats. The bloc composed of 'Free Estonia' and the independent Estonian Communist Party won 29 seats. The Committee for the Defense of Soviet Power and Civil Rights, a coalition uniting the largely Russian political organisations in Estonia that arose in opposition to the Estonian national movement, won 27 seats, including four that were reserved for the Soviet military.

The Popular Front formed the then-Republic government and provided its leaders, all of whom were previously long-serving communist officials. Edgar Savisaar serves as Prime Minister and Arnold Ruutel as President. (Ruutel is formally chair of the legislature, elected from its ranks.) The dissident-nationalists whose activity prompted the creation of the Popular Front and occasioned the expressions of nationalism by previously uninterested CPSU officials, did not receive positions in the government, although many of them are members of the Supreme Soviet. (While the name of the institution remains the same in Russian and Estonian, the English translation of the body has been changed to Supreme Council.)

2. *Congress of Estonia.* From February 24 to March 1, 1990 more than half a million registered Estonian citizens (of pre-war Estonia and their descendants) participated in elections to the Congress of Estonia. It was organised by the Estonian Citizens Committee, a widely-supported movement dedicated to the preservation and restoration of Estonian society. From May 1989 to January 1990, the Citizens Committee had coordinated a citizen's census that formed the registry for this 'private' election. (It had not accepted any Soviet institutions as being legitimate, including the Supreme Soviet.) The 499-member Congress convened for the first time on March 11-12, 1990 and is considered an alternative parliament. It has a Board consisting of 10 members and a "Council of Estonia", a standing executive body that meets weekly that includes 50 members. Sixty persons are members of both the Congress and the Supreme Soviet and 35 members (of the Congress) are Estonian emigres living abroad.

Prime Minister Savisaar is a member of the Congress but no longer attends its sessions. This is a growing source of aggravation and frustration for the Congress leaders, as they feel that their influence on the government is slipping. This may reflect the fact that Savisaar is now setting up his own political party, based, according to his chief political lieutenant, Mr. Rein Koov, on the organisational structure of the Popular Front. It is not difficult to understand why he would not want to continue to accord prestige and authority to one of his principal rival organisations; he wants to campaign as the man

who brought Estonia to independence and is competently managing the government. His critics in the Congress of Estonia maintain that Savisaar is not a sincere economic or political reformer, and they point to several examples of opportunities for meaningful reform that Savisaar has overlooked. Moreover, they attribute to Savisaar authoritarian methods, akin to those of Georgian President Gamsakhurdia and say Savisaar is a neo-communist pretending to be a nationalist. These critics claim that Savisaar issues secret decrees rather than propose policies to the parliament and predict that he is establishing his own secret police in a "Bureau of Investigation". While some of these charges may be exaggerated, it is clear that the broadcast media is still firmly in his control and is likely to stay that way through the elections, and presumably beyond.

Some observers say that the Congress of Estonia either lost or never achieved the power and influence it might have had. Nevertheless, it does wield significant influence. Its enactments take the form of resolutions calling on the Supreme Council to do things. Its importance may be noted in the following areas:

a) *historical* – it has driven the Popular Front and Supreme Council to adopt many of its positions, – including, significantly, independence.

b) *forum* – the weekly meetings of the 50-person Council of Estonia are widely reported in the press, including on TV (though not as fully as the Congress leaders would like) and ministers of the government attend sessions of the Congress to explain policy decisions, to lobby or to undermine rivals in the government.

c) *constitution* – in the week of August 18, when Estonians seized the opportunity to declare unconditional independence, the leaders of both the Supreme Council and Congress of Estonia established a joint commission, with 30 members from each body, which drafted a new Estonian constitution.

### Political Formations

The political community can be divided into three major camps, each containing some variation within. On the Right, more or less, are the Estonian "national radicals" who were organized initially around the Estonian Heritage Society, then in the Estonian National Independence Party, and now also in two Christian Democratic parties. Tunne Kelam, president of the Congress and of the Independence Party, prefers to describe himself as a "conservative democrat". They may present a united "Pro Patria" slate in the elections (along with a Republican and a Conservative Party), and they work closely together in the Congress of Estonia and in the Supreme Council.

This part of the spectrum includes formerly imprisoned political dissidents who often talk of the days (1945 to 1956) when the armed resistance to Soviet occupation continued. They are estranged from the government they helped to create, critical of its policies as insufficiently forceful in creating a culturally Estonian state, and suspicious of its motives. They are pessimistic about their chances to win elections, predicting 20-40 percent of the vote depending on their access to media and the degree to which the government party uses the "state apparatus" to bolster its campaign.

In the Center (positionally, more than politically) is the Popular Front. This consists primarily of ethnic Estonians who played some role in the communist period and are now largely in control of the government. The largest part of the Front is now reorganising itself as the Popular Center Party under Prime Minister Savisaar. The prime minister's aide, Rein Koov told the NDI team that Savisaar is taking over the Front's organisa-

tional and physical infrastructure (previously handed over by the state) for the party's purposes.

President Ruutel is apparently increasingly distant from Prime Minister Savisaar (Ruutel is supposedly much more popular, capturing wide popularity as the "father" of independent Estonia). It is expected that Ruutel will try to form a party to support his bid to be elected president, depending on what system for elections emerges.

Another lesser but potentially significant party emerging from the Popular Front is the Social Democratic Party, headed by Marju Lauristin. She is a university professor who is now deputy chair of parliament. Along with Savisaar, she was a key organiser of the Popular Front and seems to have strong ties to Sweden's Social Democrats. Lauristin said that only two organisations have national structures that will enable them to compete seriously in early elections: the Popular Center Party, relying on Popular Front structures, and Kelam's Independence Party, which will be supported by its allies on the Right. She also said that she envisions the Popular Center Party winning 30 percent of the vote, her Social Democrats governing 10 percent and that these two could form a coalition with the Rural Center Party (with another 10 percent). She pointed out that the nationalist coalition contains some rather unusual partners, in that the Republican party is made up of managers of state enterprises and only agrees with the nationalists on the citizenship question. She said her "social liberal" party is closer to the Independence Party on social policy, but is more accommodating to Russians on citizenship, and that this is the significant break in the current context.

There is also a Liberal Democratic Party emerging from the Popular Front. Finally there is a "Coalition Party" of eight ministers that has broken with Savisaar.

To the left of the Popular Front is the movement "Free Estonia", formed by members of the former Estonian Communist Party (which included both Estonians and Russians). It was organised in January 1990 as a new election coalition representing primarily the reformist Communist Party establishment, although not exclusively. It never expressed a clear position on the issue of Estonian independence, although its platform did call for realising the goal of an Estonian republic.

On the far left are the remnants of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union known as "Intermovement". This group consists entirely of ethnic Russians who are not sure whether they will be citizens in new Estonia, or in what circumstance. Until independence was secured they almost universally opposed (or at least failed to support) independence. They largely want to remain in Estonia now, however, and probably will do so even if they are not permitted to vote – if their economic livelihood and rights to certain property are somehow protected. They usually do not speak Estonian and they came in the last decade or two as either party functionaries or military personnel, or as workers in factories built to be populated by Russians as part of the program of colonisation. They are concentrated in two regions of the country along the Russian border away from Tallinn. Russians say that 70 percent of Estonia's GNP is produced in these two areas.

In a meeting organised by Sergei Sovetnikov, who had been described by Estonians as among the "most enlightened" of the Russian communists (he is the chair of the Supreme Council's ethnic rights committee), the team heard very frank admission by several deputies that they are looking for a political home now that the CPSU has disappeared. However, they were uncertain whether they will be permitted to participate in Estonia's politics. One of the apparently "less enlightened" Russian legislators remarked

ominously, with a sincere smile, that United States history demonstrated how an immigrant people could come to live side-by-side peacefully with the native Indians and hoped that in Estonia “two white peoples” could come to do as well.

Among Estonians, only the Social Democratic leader, Marju Lauristin, told us unequivocally that her party was counting on the support of Russians as well as Estonians.

### Citizenship

The question of who is now a citizen of independent Estonia figured prominently in all discussions. The staunch nationalists in the Congress of Estonia believe that only those who were resident citizens of Estonia at the time the Soviet occupation began in 1940, and their descendants (regardless of current residence), should be considered citizens. There seems to be little question that non-Estonians in the territory for reason of employment by the military of KGB shall not be eligible for citizenship and will be obliged to depart as part of the decolonisation. The gray area – which could cover two to four hundred thousand persons – is the non-Estonian immigrants who have come to work in the Soviet civil administration and in two industrial zones set up close to the Russian border. Marju Lauristin proposed in October on behalf of the Popular Front, that all current residents be accorded citizenship, but this was withdrawn amidst a storm of criticism. Another proposal by the Popular Front is to accord citizenship to those who were residents on November 16, 1988, when the Supreme Soviet first declared independence of Estonia. But it seems likely that some form of the 1940 Rule will be adopted, and standards set for others to apply for citizenship. The requirements will include language ability (virtually no Russians speak Estonian) and residency (which could be three to 10 years). The key factor for the longer term resolution of this question will be who is eligible to vote in the 1992 elections.

### Political culture

The language barrier seems to be significant in more ways than the obvious. For instance, the Russian language press is not imbued with a democratic sensibility and reinforces the isolation heightens the nervousness of the Russian community who cannot read the Estonian press, which is more diverse.

The five rightist “nationalist” parties (Christian Democratic Party, Christian Democratic Union, Estonian National Independence Party, Republican Coalition and National Conservative Party) are jointly forming a political development institute, called the Tunnison Institute. They suggested that the Institute could be a somewhat nonpartisan partner for certain political training programs. On the other hand, there was also being formed an Institute for Eastern Politics that would launch civic education programs with a perspective closer to that of the government and the new Popular Center Party.



## **ESTONIAN FOOD RATIONING BEGINS: UNLIMITED EXPORT OF FOOD ITEMS REVEALED**

The Estonian Government started the rationing of essential food items on January 11. Ration coupons are needed to buy one half liter of milk per day, 1.5 kilograms of bread per week, 400 grams of butter per month and 500 grams of cheese per quarter.

Severe food shortages have developed in Estonia, despite the fact that Estonia produces 15 times as much food as it needs for domestic consumption. Shelves are bare in the food stores and people have been able to obtain bread and milk only by standing in long lines. Eggs, sugar and similar items simply are not available in stores. A small independent weekly newspaper (Eesti Aeg, 12/24/91) revealed that the government's Committee for Regulating Trade had freed 64 products from export restrictions on October 31, 1991. Among these items are margarine, pasta, barley type grains, flour eggs, livestock, and sugar. Also freed from export restrictions, although all in short supply, were some textiles, clothing items and shoes.

Prime Minister Edgar Savissar has said that elections should be postponed until fall, and he had threatened to resign unless he was given emergency powers to deal with the economic crisis. After heated debate, the Estonian Supreme Council bowed to heavy political pressure from Edgar Savisaar and passed the measure by one vote. (A majority vote of 52 was needed and 53 voted for.) The measure was pushed through by a coalition of the Popular Front, Russians, and former Communists, including four officers of the former Soviet military.

By agreeing to form a "joint emergency commission", parliament has sacrificed much of its authority. In a January 13 press release from the Estonian American National Council Inc., fear was expressed that granting emergency powers to the transition government "will set Estonia on a slippery slope in the direction of dictatorship". The Council also wrote that: "The dismal effectiveness of central economic planning has been firmly established by the Soviet example. Many doubt that Mr. Savisaar, a former Soviet economic planner, can make any meaningful contribution to the economic crisis. It is feared that this declaration will lead to authoritarian government, and not to democracy and prosperity."

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*"... Free at last ...*

*Free at last ...*

*Thank God Almighty,*

*I'm free at last!"*

**Dr. Martin Luther King**

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## **Congress of Estonia tells Supreme Council to begin election preparations or get out of the way**

At the beginning of January, former head of the Estonian government, Edgar Savisaar claimed that he needed extraordinary powers in order to solve the country's economic crisis, Estonia's political crisis also escalated. The seventh session of the Congress of Estonia in Tallinn showed that a potential bout with authoritarianism seems to now have been overcome. Prospects for the replacement of interim structures (including a partially independence-minded, but nonetheless Soviet-style Supreme Soviet of questionable legitimacy) by a freely elected parliament and government have apparently also improved.

The Congress of Estonia is a representative body elected in early 1990 by the citizens of the pre-WWII Republic of Estonia and their descendants. Since that time, the Congress has been Estonia's leading advocate of democracy, human and nation rights, as well as market reforms. This alternative parliamentary body has enjoyed a fair amount of success in holding in check and correcting the tendency of the Soviet-era Supreme Council (Soviet) lapse into the old centralistic style of trying to solve problems. The Supreme Council (Soviet) is an artifice, created in Estonia by Stalinist occupation forces during WWII. During the Soviet era, Soviets resettled from other parts of the USSR participated in elections of the Supreme Council - a practice which the Congress considers abnormal and out of step with the reattainment of Estonian independence.

Estonia's new Chairman of the Council of Ministers (often called the Prime Minister) Tiit Vaehi addressed the 500-member Congress of Estonia on Sunday. In a speech characterised by good will and guarded optimism, Mr Vaehi spoke of the need for the introduction of an Estonian currency in place of the ruble and of plans to tighten Estonia's border and visa procedures. "We cannot postpone parliamentary elections for long", said Estonia's head of government, who emphasized the need for dialogue with the Congress. The presence of Mr. Vaehi at the seventh session of the Congress was in marked contrast to the behaviour of Edgar Savisaar, whose attitude towards the Congress went beyond the negative.

The Congress of Estonia adopted a resolution praising the work of the country's Constitutional Assembly, in which its own members alongside an equal number of Supreme Council members have been writing the draft of a new Constitution. The Congress of Estonia declared that it expected the Supreme Council to replace with Estonian citizens those of its members of the Constitutional Assembly who did not hold Estonian citizenship. Additionally - the Congress would not consent to changes in the wording of the draft constitution after the completion of the work of the Constitutional Assembly. (There have been signs that the Supreme Council may be tempted to try to alter the text.)

The Congress declared that the Supreme Council has shown itself to be incapable of bringing Estonia out of the current state and demanded that the voting rights of Supreme Council representatives who are not citizens of Estonia be rescinded by no later than February 24 of this year. The Congress urged that parliamentary elections be held without delay in Estonia.

The Congress of Estonia decided to reserve for itself the right and duty to take cor-

rective action, should the Supreme Council remain incapable of moving Estonia out of the current impasse. Necessary steps could include the submitting of the new draft constitution to the citizens of Estonia through a referendum and thereafter the carrying out of elections.

Although the Congress of Estonia fundamentalists made a concerted stand at the seventh session, claiming that a breakdown in legal continuity would take place if a new constitution was adopted (in place of the last constitution of the Interwar Republic of Estonia), they could not muster the votes to carry a motion to that effect. The fundamentalist fraction also took the stand that parliamentary elections must not be held as long as troops of the former USSR continue to occupy Estonia. Although most Estonians would not contest the view that their country is indeed only nominally independent, advocates of realpolitik won on this score as well, endorsing the need for elections, without which changes would apparently continue to lag.

During its seventh session, the Congress of Estonia adopted a decision regarding the specifics of how to bring back into force the citizenship laws (with some amendments) of the prewar Republic of Estonia. The Congress took the stand that the status of the thousands of illegal immigrants in Estonia must be determined by future legislation.

A package of economic proposals was also submitted to the Congress. The executive organ of the Congress of Estonia - The Council of Estonia - was assigned the responsibility of forming a task force that will continue to work on the package, which was compiled with the objective of bringing Estonia out of an economic crisis and returning to prosperity.

It is expected that the fates of both the Congress of Estonia and the Supreme Council will be sealed by the future freely elected parliament, which will supersede the two parallel parliamentary bodies that have often been at fierce odds and on other occasions complimented one another .

## **NORWEGIAN SUPERSPY ARNE TREHOLT: A LEGEND OF KGB**

A KGB defector, Major Michail Butkov, has revealed that Arne Treholt, the highly-placed Norwegian government official who worked for the KGB, is regarded as a legend by the KGB officers in Moscow. Butkov claims that in 1990 there were 40 GRI and KGB agents in Norway, a NATO country.

Treholt was one of the KGB's most important agents in the West. Therefore, it came as a shock that Treholt also worked for Iraq. General Gennadiy Titov, who handled Treholt for the KGB, was hoping to advance his own career but he blew the operation. He put Treholt in great danger when he insisted that they meet personally in Vienna. Treholt was actually photographed during the meeting by NATO agents.

One of the main targets of the KGB in Norway was Lithuanian President Vitautaus Landsbergis. He was described as an extremist by KGB disinformation agents in the Norwegian press.

## Ukraine — Sprinter or Stayer?

The Ukrainian prime minister, Vitold Fokin, recently made a proposition to the world financial circles concerning the repayment of the former Soviet Union's debts. He asked the G7 countries to recognise for Ukraine its 16.7 per cent of the total debt and to permit Ukraine to participate in international currency transactions. This, in Fokin's opinion, will guarantee that Ukraine will meet its international financial obligations so that it be treated accordingly by the world.

Thus, all that would remain, according to this plan, would be to reach an agreement with Rothschild. But Rothschild is in no hurry to give Ukraine new credits. For if Russia promises to pay its 50.1 billion dollars (61.1 per cent of the overall debt of 82 billion dollars), and Ukraine its 13.41 billion dollars, who will repay the remaining 18.48 billion dollars, or 22.5 per cent of the overall debt? This is the share of the other republics.

Today Russia has, to a certain degree, won a moral victory. Having declared itself the successor of the USSR and demanding centralised repayment of debts, it has a better image in the financial world than Ukraine. Therefore, new voluntary actions of the Russian leadership, which in a unilateral fashion is appropriating foreign and internal gold-currency assets, foreign assets and fixed assets, although the world community has yet to come forth with a critical reexamination of these policies. Thus these unlawful actions are supposedly directed towards repaying foreign debts.

Russia, having violated on December 4, 1991, the treaty on the succession of the assets of the Union and the state debt (the Statutes of the Interstate Council were ratified without Ukraine, the current transactions of the foreign economic bank were abruptly halted), placed its international partners in a delicate position, who cannot conceal their agitation. We should avoid such a delicate situation.

In putting forward his plan, Fokin is acting as a sprinter. This is a short-term victory. With regards to the long-term, to accuse Russia in the international court in the Hague of attempting to appropriate common assets is almost unfeasible today. The financial world is aware that Russia is unable to repay its debts today, or even tomorrow.

In this situation Ukraine is facing a total financial blockade. We cannot even make use of the already allocated credits (the 50 million dollars which Canada has promised). The printing of Ukrainian money also depends on this.

In my opinion, it would be more convenient for Ukraine to act not as a sprinter, but as a stayer, a long-distance marathon runner. To have the opportunity to receive new credits in the resolution of the debt conflict, we need to accommodate the G7 countries. To receive more we must make a small concession — our own ambition. Perhaps even personal comfort. (For, having halted the Ukrainian hryvnia, can place into non movement our roubles. It is no secret who controls all those millions of roubles).

I propose a different approach to the problem. We should immediately begin negotiations to point out that Ukraine is ready to take on the responsibility of other republics (if they agree), together with Russia, in proportion to its own part. In the new situation Russia would be responsible for 78.87 per cent of the debt (64.68 billion dollars, that is an additional 14.58 per cent), and Ukraine — 21.13 per cent, or 17.32 billion dollars. Thus, Ukraine will guarantee to repay an additional 3.9 billion dollars. Of course,



increased percentages will be harder to repay, but the door to new credits will be opened.

Ukraine must continually reinforce its reputation as a credible partner interested in stabilising relations with Europe, America and Asia. We should not play on Russia's chessboard. This game will be lost in advance. We should instead set up our own pieces and make the first move.

The above figures were from a report by O. Savchenko, the deputy chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine. He belongs to those who supports the expounded idea.

The financial war should from the start be won psychologically. The winner will be the one who is sure of his strength and able to force others to believe that and not the one who asks, but the one who proposes convenient options.

Then it is not important who runs how, but who will run to the goal faster.

*Les Taniuk is the Chairman of the Narodna Rada (Parliamentary opposition group)*



*Les Taniuk (centre) with Prof. O. Kushpeta from Holland (left) and Prof. H. Waskowycz from Germany (right) at the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists in Kyiv*



## HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE NEW GEORGIA

Major human rights violations go far to explain the ouster of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Helsinki Watch hopes that the new rulers of Georgia are mindful of these violations as they consolidate power and establish a new government. There are reports of several disturbing incidents which suggest that this may not be the case:

- The new Military Council twice used unjustified lethal force against pro-Gamsakhurdia demonstrators:

- On January 4, gunmen shot at a crowd, killing four and injuring 23. Paramilitary leader Dzhaba Ioseliani, member of the Military Council, stated he intends to continue the use of such methods in the future.

- On January 7, gunmen attacked a crowd with automatic rifles and smoke bombs, injuring two. Under gunpoint, photographers were forced to surrender their film. Military Council spokesmen apologised and returned a CNN cameraman's film.

- The new Georgian Prime Minister, Tengiz Sigua, stated he thinks Zviad Gamsakhurdia is mentally unstable. To support this view, Sigua referred to a 1977 finding by Moscow's Serbsky Institute – notorious for its political abuse of psychiatry. By relying on this "authority", Sigua gives scant grounds for hope that Gamsakhurdia will receive a fair hearing.

- A reliable source has informed Helsinki Watch that three leading supporters of Gamsakhurdia have been imprisoned by the Georgian opposition:

- Nemo Buchuladze, former Deputy Chairman of Parliament;
- Tariel Gelantia, Head, Parliamentary Budget Commission;
- Merab Kiknadze, Member of Parliament

Helsinki Watch condemned these acts of violence in the strongest terms, stating that there is no justification for violence against unarmed demonstrators, a clear violation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They are demanding that the new rulers of Georgia comply with international human rights obligations if they wish to distinguish themselves from their predecessor and gain international recognition.

## MILITARY JUNTA VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS IN GEORGIA

Reports indicate that faithful supporters of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia are suffering from mass terror and that there is a lack of freedom of opinion in Georgia now. People supporting the president are losing their jobs. Every person brave enough to express his/her opinion is in danger.

About 500 persons were arrested. Among those arrested were 3 professors of Tbilisi University: Mr. Morris Museridze, Mr. Zauri Metreveli and Mrs. Tatia Ebralidze. All well-known supporters of the president of Georgia. The Vice Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper "Sakartvelos Respublika" was also arrested. The son of Mr. B. Gotsiridze, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper Gruzia Spektr (a newspaper in the Russian language), was also arrested.

Two members of Parliament: Mr. Gelantia and Mr. Absandze were arrested and the

new rulers of Georgia are torturing them.

All demonstrations were forbidden by the Military Council, and yet people were brave enough to go out and demonstrate. At the beginning of February, there were large demonstrations in Tbilisi. About 65,000 people took part. Some of the gunmen were among the demonstrators pretending to belong to them. They opened fire from the crowd. This provocation was intended to provide an excuse for the gunmen to open fire on the demonstrators. As a result about 100 persons were wounded and some were killed.

Helsinki, 5.2. 1992  
Reno Siradze

## IN CELEBRATING THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE

*by Victor T. H. Tsuan, Ph.D.*

*Ukrainians love their land  
So let them stand  
United, strong and free.  
They praise the Lord  
Who gave them word  
And life and liberty.  
In thanks to God they work and play  
The Golden Rule obey.  
They will defend  
Their law and land.  
World freedom is their goal.*

*In God they trust  
His love is just.  
Inspires their quest for peace.  
In faith they will  
Promote good will  
Till all injustice cease,  
Guard human rights and dignity,  
Keep clean earth, air, and sea.  
Lord, help them gain  
And then maintain  
World peace and liberty.*

# TATARSTAN

## A Nation Struggling for Independence

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, all of the captive republics have proclaimed independence and the face of the former empire has changed. But more changes are on the horizon once again. Other long-oppressed nations such as Tatarstan and Chechen-Ingushetia still trapped in the boundaries of Russia are now also staking their claim to sovereignty.

Tatar consciousness has heightened since the Tatar republic first declared its sovereignty in March 1990. Today, 49 percent of the population is Tatar, and the Tatars want to redress the past. The Tatar land was conquered in 1552 during Ivan the Terrible's eastward expansion, and Tatar nationalists still solemnize the tragic day when the khanate of Kazan fell under the Russian boot. The Tatars were deprived of their language and Muslim religion, forcibly resettled and made second-class citizens in their own land.

Now, the changes are quite apparent. In the capital of Kazan, more people are speaking in the Tatar language – something they would not have dreamed of doing before for fear of ridicule from Russians. Children study the Koran at Muslim schools and prayer houses – also something that was not possible under Russian Communist rule.

The difficulty facing Tatarstan today is how to put its right to sovereignty into practice. Russia is presenting obstacles along the way, since it claims that Tatarstan does not meet Russia's "requirements" for full independence, because the region is ethnically mixed. The ethnic mix is not surprising considering that the Soviet empire's plans for national subjugation included the resettlement of Tatars into other regions and the settlement of Russians into areas heavily-populated by other national groups. The Yeltsin government still hopes to forge a loose relationship that will keep the nation within the Russian federation. The Russian government says its polling shows that only 20 percent of Tatarstan's population favors outright secession. But nationalist politicians unanimously agree that a majority favours independence.

The nationalists differ only over the pace of change and concessions to the Russians who comprise 43 percent of Tatarstan's population. The Tatar Party of Independence, known as Ittifaq, convened a Tatar congress in February and elected a "national parliament" called the Milli-Mejlis. The Ittifaq believes that the Milli-Mejlis is the vehicle an independent Tatarstan needs to realise its nationhood.

Although leaders of centrist nationalist groups say that Ittifaq is "too emotional", Ittifaq commands a strong following in Tatar cities and villages. The group's leader, Fauzia Bairamova, is a poet-turned politician who grew up poor in a Tatar village but managed to get a university education. She recently wrote: "A real Tatar is a Muslim who sacredly believes in the rebirth of the Kazan khanate, and in the struggle for this will not besmirch the honor of the descendants of the warriors of Genghis Khan". She has also stated, "I'd like to say that Russia brought more to Tatar civilisation than prostitution and drunkenness, but I can't".

In the meantime, Moscow fears the national resurgence of the Tatars. Tatarstan and Chechen-Ingushetia present new challenges to the Yeltsin government. Will Russia allow the self-determination and independence of these two long-oppressed nations within its own borders, or will Russia once again show its true colours?

## LAOTIAN STUDENTS DEMAND RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN HOMELAND

Since 1975, Laos has been governed by the Laos People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP). The LPRP overthrew a coalition government that had been formed in 1973, after a peace agreement that ended almost 15 years of civil and international war in the country.

The Organization of Laotian Students Fighting for Independence and Democracy stated that the LPRP has introduced a Stalinist regime which is supported by the occupational forces of communist Vietnam. The students wrote that this government has destroyed democracy, and persistently violates human rights. Many intellectuals have been detained in "re-education" camps for criticising the government.

In October, 1990, Thongsouk Saisangkhi - former assistant to the Minister of Science and Technology, and Latsami Khamphoui - a former official in the State Planning Commission were recently detained for advocating a multi-party system.

On August 26, 1990, Thongsouk Saisangkhi submitted a letter of resignation to the Chairman of the Laos Council of Ministers in which he described the political system as a "communist monarchy" and a "dynasty of the Politburo" and stated that he believed that Laos should change to a multi-party system in order to bring democracy, freedom and prosperity to the people. He wrote that he had faithfully served the one party system since its establishment in 1975, with the hope that it would bring progress, but now he realised that the system had been "cheating the people".

Latsami Khamphoui wrote letters to the government criticising governmental agricultural projects. Both men have been detained. The Organization of Laotian Students Fighting for Independence and Democracy has organised a petition demanding the release of these political prisoners. For more information, please contact:

Biuro KPN (Laos)  
00-920 Warszawa  
ul. Nowy Swiat 18/20  
Poland

### ***The ABN's vision of a "new world order":***

"... a free and equal partnership of independent and sovereign nation-states, living harmoniously in one global nuclear-free zone; a world order based on the universal ideals of freedom and justice, free from all forms of nuclear blackmail, economic and political threats, in which every nation's unique cultural contributions to the human treasurehouse of civilization is both respected and encouraged by all."



**CONFERENCE OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS**  
**KYIV, UKRAINE**  
**MARCH 27 - 29, 1992**



# ABN

MAY — JUNE  
1992  
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## CORRESPONDENCE

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*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

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*Myron Shkuratiuk*

## **On the fiftieth Anniversary of the UPA**

This year, Ukrainians throughout the world commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) – one of the most courageous episodes in the long history of the Ukrainian national liberation struggle. We pay singular homage and respect to the great military leaders, the many unknown heroes of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who lost their lives in the fight for Ukrainian independence.

In order to properly understand the role of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the Ukrainian liberation struggle, a brief look at events leading up to its inception is necessary. In 1941, the Germans invaded the Soviet Union and occupied the whole of Ukraine. Undeterred, Ukrainian nationalists restored Ukrainian statehood and sovereignty on June 30, 1941. A National Government was established in Lviv with Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister. By this act of independence, Ukraine declared war on Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. When the Germans promptly arrested the leading Ukrainian nationalists and deported them to concentration camps, Ukrainian nationalism now stood directly in opposition to Nazi Germany policy. The Ukrainian people, under the leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), now had to fight against two of the largest and most evil imperialist powers of all time – Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

In response to the Nazi persecution of the Ukrainian people, a variety of local insurgent groups arose in rural Ukraine. In 1942-1943, these groups were consolidated by the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera into a single fighting force – the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. To coordinate the actions of all Ukrainian political groups committed to the independence of their homeland, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) was established in 1944. The Commander-in-Chief of the UPA and the Secretary-General of the UHVR was General Roman Shukhevych, also known as Taras Chuprynka. Shukhevych's intense patriotism, organisational genius and imaginative grasp of military strategy enabled the UPA to combat massive enemy forces with outstanding success.

Before we can understand the basic aims of the UPA and the scope of its achievements in the Ukrainian fight for independence, we must look more closely at the nature of the UPA as an organised military force. According to propagandist Soviet literature, the UPA was “a band of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who fiercely opposed Soviet authority”. In reality, the UPA was an insurgent army, using guerrilla tactics in its battle against Nazi German and Soviet Russian military forces. It drew its strength mainly from Ukrainian village youth, although its leadership comprised highly-experienced veterans who had participated in the underground conspiratorial activities of the OUN.

The UPA was, in essence, a truly revolutionary army of national liberation, and, being the army of the subjugated Ukrainian people, it naturally sympathised with the national liberation struggles of the other peoples oppressed by Russian communist imperialism. Because of this, the UPA gladly welcomed and recruited into its ranks

members of other oppressed nationalities, establishing special detachments of Georgian, Uzbek, Tatar, and other soldiers, composed of former German war prisoners and deserters from the Red Army. Mass desertions and even the casual attitude of some Red Army commanders towards the Ukrainian insurgents enabled the UPA to rapidly grow in strength.

Although it is very difficult to determine the numerical strength of the UPA, estimates made by leading authorities on the subject show it to be a considerable fighting force. Estimates range from 20,000 to 100,000 for the total strength of the UPA at the peak of its operational effectiveness around 1944. The sheer power of the UPA can be appreciated from the fact that it took a special tripartite pact between three hostile communist countries – Poland, Czechoslovakia and Russia – to finally defeat the forces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Despite having no armament facilities of its own and sorely lacking military resources, even enemy commanders conceded that the UPA was a disciplined, highly-organised and formidable fighting machine. Its system of military training was said to be among the best available and its tightly-organised underground network covered practically the whole of Ukraine, providing efficient logistical support and medical care for the fighting detachments. The UPA used abandoned, lost or seized weapons captured from Russian, German and Polish units. With the chaotic collapse of the German front in Ukraine and the hectic retreat of German occupational forces, the UPA successfully captured the military supply stores of the retreating German army. However, these stores furnished only light arms: rifles, sub-machine guns, pistols, and so on, so that the UPA suffered from a serious lack of heavy munitions, profoundly impairing its range of possible tactics.

The medical care of sick and wounded soldiers was a prime concern of the UPA, and a well-organised Ukrainian Red Cross was established for this purpose. The UPA drafted into its service many Jewish doctors who were thus saved from the racist genocidal policy of the Nazis. Wounded soldiers were cared for in secret underground bunkers by the Red Cross' female nurses whose selfless dedication in the face of hardship and uncertainty can only be remembered with deep gratitude and praise. Between the years 1946-1948, many of these bunkers were overrun by Soviet troops and the Ukrainian medical personnel were savagely slaughtered.

The primary political goal of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army can be summarised in one sentence: "You will achieve a Ukrainian state, or you will die in the struggle for it". It was this basic ideal which inflamed the heart of every Ukrainian patriot and enabled the UPA to continue fighting against seemingly overwhelming odds. The key concept in the political philosophy of the UPA and the OUN was the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state, organised on the basic principle of parliamentary democracy, guaranteeing private as well as cooperative ownership of the nation's resources, a just social order free of class exploitation, freedom of speech and religious belief, and the judicial assurance of civil rights for all citizens of Ukraine, irrespective of ethnic, racial, or social affiliation and origin. This was the political platform of the UPA. The vast and unanimous support the UPA enjoyed among the Ukrainian working masses in their opposition to the Soviet system and Russian imperialism is testimony to the wholehearted acceptance of the political principles of the UPA-OUN by the Ukrainian people.





In the early stages of the war, Ukrainians believed that Germany and Russia would exhaust themselves in a drawn-out conflict and thus give the Ukrainians, under the command of the UPA, an opportunity to restore independence. With the collapse of the German front in Ukraine in 1943, the worst nightmare became horrible reality – the reoccupation of Ukraine in 1944 by the Soviet Russian forces. The UPA, as the sole defender of the Ukrainian people, was now left standing against the mighty armies of Soviet Russia. The leaders of the UPA realised that mass resistance as practised before was now no longer possible. A fundamental strategic reorganisation was necessary. Exposed flat areas, unsuitable for guerrilla operations, were evacuated and the main units of the UPA were broken up into smaller, stronger underground cells. Thus, the UPA began its transformation from a mass guerrilla army into a strong underground organisation, which was to continue fighting until well after the Second World War.

What did the UPA accomplish in these post-war years? Firstly, it defended the Ukrainian people from Soviet Russian persecution and mass deportation. In the Ukrainian lands occupied by communist Poland, the UPA fought against the forced and bloody deportation of Ukrainians from their ancient native lands, a successful operation that was only defeated in 1948 by much stronger communist forces. Inside the Soviet Union, the UPA prevented a deliberate mass deportation of the Ukrainian population planned by the Russian communist government under Khrushchev. Some of the UPA detachments managed to struggle through Central Europe to reach the Western Allies,

thus making known to the free world the truth about the Ukrainian liberation struggle and its importance for the peace and security of the Western democracies in the face of the growing Russian communist imperialist menace.

Secondly, the Ukrainian insurgents, inspired by a deep Christian faith, rallied to the defense of the persecuted Ukrainian Church, protecting its priests and faithful from the vicious anti-Ukrainian and anti-Christian policy of the Russian communists. The UPA actively fought against the shameless collaborators who, used by their Russian masters, tried to destroy the Ukrainian Church.

Thirdly, the UPA actively opposed the forced implementation of the collective farm system in Ukraine – something intensely hated by freedom-loving Ukrainian farmers. Reliable underground sources reveal that, because of this concerted UPA activity, supported wholeheartedly by the Ukrainian rural populace, the Russian government could not set up a single collective farm in the Ivano-Frankivsk province of western Ukraine before 1950.

From our present vantage point, we can look back and try to assess the achievements of the UPA in the long history of the Ukrainian independence movement. We can also try to understand the effect of the UPA on the future development of the Ukrainian nation and its struggle for political liberation.

While the rest of the world settled down to rebuild its normal, peaceful life after the destruction and carnage of the Second World War, Ukraine was still caught in the ravages of war and death. The human cost of the UPA's heroic struggle was very high. Thousands of the UPA's most courageous and ablest fighters were killed. Vigorous UPA leaders lost their lives in active conflict, such as General Shukhevych, killed by Russian MVD troops in 1950, Osyp Diakiv-Hornovyj, killed in the same year, and the great UPA commander and leading member of the OUN Major Petro Poltava, killed in 1952. In their merciless search for UPA fighters, the Russian troops used all means at their disposal. The population of areas suspected of UPA activity was deported; villages, forests and farmland were destroyed in hunting raids seeking out UPA detachments.

But the UPA also inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. In 1944, it ambushed and killed the Red Army Marshal Vatutin. Altogether, the UPA inflicted losses amounting to 3,567 killed, wounded or captured on the Red Army units stationed in western Ukraine.

In a very real way, the UPA shattered the image of the invincibility of the Soviet Russian army and the Soviet Russian empire. Of course, the Russian imperialist forces won a physical victory and became the masters of Ukraine. But the UPA, battling successfully for many years, largely unknown to the free world, had scored and ineradicable moral and psychological victory for the Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union. The sustained armed resistance of the UPA showed Ukrainians and all oppressed peoples that there is a very real alternative, other than submission to imperialist power, no matter how brutal or mighty.

The Ukrainian independence movement has always been much more than just armed military conflict. It has included a struggle for the very soul, the very national essence of the Ukrainian people. The success of the UPA, its undoubted spiritual victory, lay in the great, unanimous support it enjoyed from ordinary Ukrainian people, who, frequently at great personal cost, hid and protected UPA fighters, supplied them with valuable information regarding enemy forces, and carefully guarded arms caches required for the

independence struggle. Even today, many of these weapons are still buried underground, silent and poignant testimony to the scale and intensity of the Ukrainian people's fight for liberation. Like the UPA fighters, these countless Ukrainian men, women, and children who supported the UPA played an important role in the success of the independence movement and sincerely deserve our unreserved praise.

We live during a period of momentous historic change. The Soviet Russian empire has crumbled to extinction before our very eyes. The peoples of this former prison-house of nations – the last great empire in world history – have destroyed the shackles of oppression, exploitation and servitude, and have taken the first steps towards national statehood, freedom and democracy. On the ruins of the former Soviet Russian colonial empire, independent, sovereign, national states have arisen, among them Ukraine. On December 1, 1991, the Ukrainian people declared to the whole world that they wish to live in an independent state of their own, free of all foreign domination. The restoration of Ukrainian national statehood, affirmed on this great historic day, is the culmination of the centuries-long struggle of the Ukrainian people to take their rightful place in the world community of free and equal nations.

Today, when our dreams have been fulfilled and Ukraine, like the proverbial phoenix, has arisen from the ashes of colonial ruination to the splendor of independent statehood, we owe a profound debt of gratitude to all those countless generations of Ukrainian freedom-fighters who sacrificed their lives for the ideal of a free Ukraine.

On this special fiftieth anniversary, we pay homage to the valiant and heroic fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Animated by the same heroic courage, fortified by the same Christian faith, like their legendary Kozak forefathers, the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army did not flinch from paying the ultimate price in the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state.

From their blood, spilled on the field of battle, a new, free independent Ukraine has arisen – a Ukraine destined to become the joyous everlasting common possession of Ukrainians living and yet to be born, a true and bounteous mother to her beloved sons and daughters everywhere.

*Ukrainian Insurgents celebrating Easter in Drohobychyna forests, 1946*



## **Poland Needs a Strong and Independent Ukraine**

*Warsaw* - Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Polish President Lech Walesa have signed a treaty on good-neighborliness, friendly relations, and cooperation between the two countries.

The treaty confirms the inviolability of the borders now and in the future and the absence of territorial claims against each other. Both states renounce the use of force in relations and will not allow aggression against another country to proceed from their territory. Ukraine and Poland pledge to cooperate in European structures and mechanisms and to cooperate in the matter of disarmament. The treaty provides for political, economic, cultural, scientific, and ecological cooperation and annual meetings of foreign ministers. Poland and Ukraine will regularly hold consultations on questions of security.

“Poland was the first to recognise free Ukraine,” said Lech Walesa during the talks. “We must create a new order in this part of the world. An order based not on supremacy but on the principles of equality, partnership and dialogue. Poland needs a rich, strong and independent Ukraine. We hope that Ukraine also needs a rich, strong, and independent Poland”.

Also signed on the first day of the Ukrainian president’s official visit to Poland was a Polish-Ukrainian agreement on border crossings, transport, and cooperation in the sphere of agriculture; and also a protocol recognising the equal validity of documents on graduation from secondary schools and higher educational institutions; and a declaration on cultural and scientific cooperation.

President Kravchuk called the day of the signing of the Polish Ukrainian treaty historic and emphasized that a single basis has now been created for the broadest contacts in all spheres. In conversation with Polish journalists, Kravchuk had defined relations with Poland as the priority for Ukraine and declared: “After my visit to Warsaw the degree of cooperation between Ukraine and Poland will be greater than with any other CIS country including Russia”.

*(Moscow, IZVESTIA, 20 May 1992, Morning Edition)*

## THE JOHN DEMJANJUK CASE – A TIME FOR RE-EXAMINATION

John Demjanjuk, a seventy-two year old retired Cleveland auto worker, has spent the last six years in jail in Israel. He was extradited to Israel after being ordered deported from the United States. The United States government accused the Ukrainian-born Demjanjuk of being Ivan the Terrible, a guard at the Nazi death camp Treblinka. In that hell of brutality and murder, Ivan the Terrible stood out as a particularly sadistic murderer. Demjanjuk denied that he was Ivan the Terrible or had even been at Treblinka.

The strongest piece of evidence against Demjanjuk was an identification card indicating that he had attended the training school for guards run by the Nazis. That card was provided by the KGB to the prosecution. More will be said about that later. Now, documents have been found in KGB files by the new democratically-elected government of Ukraine showing that another man, not Demjanjuk, had been Ivan the Terrible. The KGB concealed that evidence from the U.S. and Israeli governments.

At his trial in Israel, Demjanjuk was convicted and sentenced to death. At this time, the Israeli court is looking at the new evidence. The case raised significant moral issues: What does a democratic government, such as Israel or the United States, do in a politically charged case when new evidence exonerating the accused appears? Also, how should a democratic government deal with cases of accusations of crimes against humanity?

Hitler had publicly threatened the annihilation of the Jews in a speech in the Reichstag on January 30, 1939. He said, "If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!" Of course, it was not the Jews that started the war but Hitler and his ally Stalin, when they invaded Poland. As Stalin's Foreign Minister Molotov described it to the Supreme Soviet on October 31, 1939, "One swift blow to Poland, first by the German army and then by the Red army and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty."

Millions of additional Jews fell into Nazi hands in the Soviet Union. The Nazis attempted to use the occupied people in the campaign to annihilate the Jews. They found some criminal and violence prone elements that were willing to carry out atrocities. Others did so in the hope of saving their own lives. Some of the collaborators were Jews, who hoped that collaboration would allow them to survive. In most cases, even that didn't work. It is possible that John Demjanjuk took part in some atrocities. If he did, the credible evidence has yet to be produced.

Allan A. Ryan, Jr. was head of the Justice Department, Office of Special Investigations (OSI) which prosecuted Demjanjuk. In his book *Quiet Neighbours*, published in 1984, Ryan said "on February 10, 1981, the United States Department of



Justice went to federal court in Cleveland to prove that Ivan the Terrible from Treblinka was living in Seven Hills, Ohio and that his name was John Demjanjuk.” Actually, that was not the charge against Demjanjuk. The government went to court to revoke his citizenship on the basis that he had lied on his application for a visa to the United States. In his original statement, Demjanjuk had claimed that he was a farmer during the Nazi occupation. He later admitted, in a pre-trial examination, that he had in fact been a prisoner of war during that time.

According to the government, he had told the lie to conceal the fact that he was Ivan the Terrible, who had committed crimes against humanity at Treblinka. Demjanjuk’s explanation of the lie was that he feared being forcibly returned to the Soviet Union where he faced slave labor camp or death for having been captured in combat. This was not an unjustified fear. As part of the U.S. agreement with the Soviet Union, all persons who were citizens of the Soviet Union as of September 1, 1939 (Demjanjuk was) and who were members of the Soviet Armed Forces after June 22, 1941 (Demjanjuk was) would be sent back to the Soviets. Documents in United Nations files include an order issued by the United States Army on January 22, 1946 on the forced repatriation of prisoners to the Soviet Union calling the prisoners “desperate characters” and saying that “every effort will be exerted to insure that adequate anti-suicide and escape measures are taken.”

Demjanjuk was later to say that after eighteen months in a POW camp, he served in the Vlasov Army. This term had two meanings. One was the specific military unit consisting of Soviet POWs that served in German uniforms. Some of these units were Ukrainian and for a short period of time in 1944 were part of the Vlasov Army. They were later made independent units. If Demjanjuk served in any unit in German uniform, that was another ground for forced repatriation to the Soviet Union.

While the fact that Demjanjuk lied on his application to come to the United States might be enough to lose him his citizenship and have him deported from the United States, in practice, the government has granted amnesty to a large number of illegal aliens. A lie to save his life would not be enough to punish Demjanjuk by deportation. If he were Ivan the Terrible, on the other hand, and had lied for that reason, he should, of course, have been deported. That was the basis for the U.S. government charge.

The question of Nazi war criminals had troubled the United States for many years. These are difficult cases to prove. Many of the witnesses had been murdered by the Nazis. Other evidence was in Soviet hands and possible to obtain only when it served a KGB purpose. However, there was strong political pressure to do something about the allegations of Nazi war criminals finding refuge in the United States.

Demjanjuk got into this mess when his name was given to the United States Immigration Service in 1975 by Michael Hanusiak as one of the Ukrainian Nazi war criminals now living in the United States. Hanusiak had gotten the list during one of his visits to Soviet Ukraine. OSI Chief Allen mentions this in his book but gives Hanusiak the code name Wasyl Yachenko. According to Allen, “his name is changed here to protect his privacy.” Allen disingenuously said, “Unlike the great majority of Ukrainian-Americans, Yachenko is not a staunch anti-Communist and some who know him consider him a Soviet sympathizer. Soviet archives on World War II are generally closed to outsiders and if Yachenko had access to them, he was granted a highly prized privilege unavailable to most Western journalists and historians.”

Indeed Hanusiak "is not a staunch anti-Communist." He was a high ranking communist. On February 21, 1950, Matthew Cvetic, an FBI undercover agent in the Communist Party, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Cvetic had been a member of the Nationality Commission of the Western Pennsylvania Communist Party. He identified Michael Hanusiak as the representative of the Ukrainian section of the Communist Party to the Nationality Commission. In later testimony, on June 22, 1950, he testified that Hanusiak was one of the Communist Party organizers employed by the International Workers Order,(IWO) a Communist front.

At its 1944 convention the IWO listed Michael Hanusiak as a vice president of its Ukrainian section. At the OWI's 1947 convention Hanusiak served on the Committee on Officers Reports and was elected to the General Council of the entire IWO.

The International Workers Order was dissolved in 1951 by order of the New York State Supreme Court Justice Henry Clay Greenberg, who found that money obtained by the IWO for insurance purposes had been siphoned off for Communist Party operations. The Ukrainian section of the IWO continued to function as the Ukrainian-American League. It sponsors the *Ukrainian Daily News*. Hanusiak is an editor of that paper.

Hanusiak's motive for providing a list of alleged Ukrainian Nazi war criminals to the U.S. government was revealed in the Canadian edition of his 1976 book *Lest we forget*. The book was based on material provided Hanusiak in the Soviet Union. It accused the Ukrainian nationalists of crimes against the Jews.

There were two introductory essays in the book. One signed Joshua Gersham complained that Jewish leaders were collaborating with Ukrainian nationalists. He wrote, "It is no secret that leaders of the capitalist political parties in Canada - including Jews - are often honoured guests at the celebration of the Ukrainian nationalist and other chauvinist ethnic community organizations, particularly at the time of elections. They express solidarity with them in slogans calling for the 'liberation' of Ukraine and other Soviet Republics. . . . Thus we witnessed in Canada, in 1971, during the official friendship visit of Soviet Premier Kosygin, the ugly collaboration of cold warriors among the Jewish, Ukrainian, Hungarian and other ethnic groups, demonstrating against the Soviet Union."

In the other introduction, Peter Krawchuk wrote of Hanusiak's book, "The appearance of this book is very timely and necessary. Especially now, when the Ukrainian nationalists, avid anti-Semites, have become so-called 'defenders' of the Zionists. As a result, they permit the use of the pages of their newspapers and periodicals for continued anti-Soviet slander. The Ukrainian nationalists are trying to present their alliance with the Zionists as a defense of the Jewish people. But this is a great lie! Ukrainian nationalism, historically and by its nature, has been an ardent enemy of the Jewish people. The Zionists, through their ideology and practice, are not only enemies of the Jewish people, but other peoples including the Ukrainian people. As it is impossible to identify Ukrainian nationalism with the Ukrainian people, it is impossible to identify Zionism with the Jewish people. They have nothing in common with each other. Even though Ukrainian nationalism and Zionism are antipodes, in their hatred of the Soviet Union, they have become partners. Here their interests have found common ground."

This exposed the true nature of Hanusiak's activities. The Soviets were unhappy that Jews and Ukrainians were working together. They needed to split them. Hanusiak and

others were provided with information that the Soviets hoped would cause friction between Jews and Ukrainians. As with other Soviet-provided information and documents, authenticity was not needed.

The Soviets have conducted a disinformation campaign against the Ukrainian nationalists since World War II. The story of this movement is a complicated one. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, Ukrainian nationalists volunteered to serve in two divisions with the German forces. On arrival in Lviv, the Ukrainian nationalist leaders declared an independent republic with Jaroslav Stetsko as prime minister. He was supported by the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera. The Nazis would not permit that and Stetsko, Bandera and other nationalist leaders were arrested and spent most of the war as prisoners in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. Bandera was murdered by a Soviet agent in Munich in 1959.

The Ukrainian Nationalists organized resistance against the Nazis and even a Soviet propaganda book published in 1986 admitted that "Before long Bandera's henchmen went into action. At the German print shop in Lutsk they started printing - of all things! - anti-German leaflets, at the same time arming their so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army with brand-new German submachine guns."

The Ukrainian Insurgent army (UPA) went into combat against both the Nazis and the Red Army. It was led by General Shukhevych, who continued to fight against the Red Army for more than six years after the end of World War II. He died in combat. His son, who spent most of his life in Soviet slave labor camps because he had the wrong father, is now a leader of one of the democratic parties in free Ukraine. Many democratic activists in today's Ukraine come from families that served in the UPA.

A 1983 Soviet propaganda book *Anatomy of Treason* made an interesting admission. Despite the odd Soviet rhetoric, it was clear that the UPA included Jewish combatants against the Communists and Nazis. The Soviet book said, "During the Great Patriotic War 1939-1945, many Zionists were members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian People's Revolutionary Army (UPRA). For example the Zionist Haim Sigal, alias Sigalenko, was a chieftain and 'Bulba's' right-hand man. He was a participant of many bloody massacres of the Ukrainian, the Polish and Jewish population. A number of Zionists such as - Margosh, Maximovich, 'Kun' and others were the 'Ukrainian Insurgent Army' officers. According to a report by a Nazi Einsatz-commando, Zionists closely cooperated with the Bandera ringleaders. The latter provided them with the forged German documents. The contacts with Zionists were also maintained through Metropolitan Andrei Sheptitski." To the Soviets, providing Jews with forged documents to save them from murder by the Nazis was somehow a bad thing to do.

Metropolitan Sheptitski was a strong supporter of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. An ardent nationalist, he played a major role in the spiritual life of the Ukrainian people under Nazi occupation. But, he did more. He was actively involved in saving Jewish lives. Rabbi David Kahane was hiding from the Nazis in Lviv. He described in his book *Lvov Ghetto Diary* how Metropolitan Sheptitski had hidden him and other Jews. He wrote, "the Metropolitan had made a name for himself as a righteous man among the nations. . . It was clear that the current Jewish tragedy moved him to the bottom of his soul. He told us of his attempts to plead the Jewish case with the German government. He had even lodged a strong protest with Himmler against employing Ukrainian youth as

executioners of the Jews and inciting one people against another. He received a stiff and coarse response. The Metropolitan continued to warn the Ukrainian people against evil and in his pastoral letters he endeavoured to keep them away from hatred in general and from racial hatred in particular. He told us he was issuing a pastoral letter to the Ukrainian people and the clergy on the subject of mercy, in which he stated emphatically that in these times of trial one must pity not only the Ukrainians and the Christians, but everyone, regardless of his religion." Rabbi Kahane survived to become the chief Rabbi of the Israeli Air Force.

As was the case during World War II people of all nationalities participated in crimes against humanity, including the peoples of the Soviet Union. But this wasn't what interested the Soviets. They wanted to break the alliance between the Jews and the Ukrainian nationalists who were working together in defense of their oppressed peoples in the Soviet Union. Hanusiak's list, which included Demjanjuk, was provided by the Soviets for that purpose.

OSI requested that the Soviets provide evidence against Demjanjuk. It took six months for the KGB to provide a photostat copy of an identity card that supposedly placed Demjanjuk at the training camp at Trawniki in 1942. Since they provided the name to Hanusiak, why did it take them so long to find the document. Some suspect that they created the card rather than found it.

Over zealous bureaucrats pressured from some members of Congress needed a case. The Soviets were glad to provide one. This was the identity card. During the proceedings in the United States against Demjanjuk, only a photostat of this card was produced. During the Israeli proceedings, the Soviets provided the original card to the court. They sent it through the "friend of the Soviet Union", Armand Hammer.

The card was a problem. The photograph had staple holes in it, where it had apparently been attached to a different document. The ink of the rubber stamp that covered part of the photograph and extended over to the card, had bled into the staple holes. The glue on the back indicated that it had been peeled off once and repasted, not necessarily on the same document. Demjanjuk claimed that the picture may have come from his Red Army identification.

It is interesting that those who were trained as guards at Trawniki filled out a variety of papers. The Soviets had provided Hanusiak with documents against another Ukrainian who they said was trained at Trawniki. These included a questionnaire, which contained not only the man's picture but his fingerprints, as well as other documents with his signature. No such additional documents were provided against Demjanjuk.

In the Israeli court a number of elderly Jewish witnesses, survivors of the Nazi horror testified that Demjanjuk was Ivan the Terrible. They were identifying a man who had changed much in forty-five years. One witness, Eliahu Rosenberg had testified years earlier that Ivan the Terrible had died in a Jewish uprising against the brutal Nazi guards. But in the Israeli court, Rosenberg said that Demjanjuk was Ivan the Terrible.

Demjanjuk was convicted and sentenced to death. During the appeal process, officials in Ukraine seized KGB files and found evidence that Ivan the terrible was actually a person named Ivan Marchenko. Physical descriptions of him provided by other Treblinka guards to the Soviet authorities shortly after the war, did not fit Demjanjuk in any way.

The Israeli prosecutor has argued that even if Demjanjuk was not Ivan the Terrible,

he must have been a guard in some other concentration camp and therefore deserved to be executed. The *Washington Post* of January 18, 1992, condemned this argument as “post-conviction bait-and-switch”. Even if it could be shown that he was a guard, in a democratic society, you must also prove that he committed some specific atrocity.

The late Congressman John Ashbrook in the *Congressional Record* of May 28, 1981, said that, “We cannot condemn anyone based on Soviet evidence but we must make sure that no Nazi or communist criminals should receive sanctuary here. We can be sure of this by using our basic American laws of evidence. Soviet evidence is tainted and should not be utilized in American courts.”

The Demjanjuk case proves Congressman Ashbrook’s point. The KGB sent the OSI a photostat of an identity card. What they concealed was the evidence that another person, not Demjanjuk, was Ivan the Terrible. That information only became available when Ukraine was freed of communism and the KGB files were examined. Even then, when the Ukrainian government turned these documents over to the American and Israeli officials, they failed to pass them on to the Demjanjuk defense. His lawyers only discovered them when they made their own contact with officials in Ukraine.

At his trial in the United States, Demjanjuk was not judged by the criminal standard of guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. Since this was a civil case, he was judged on the basis of the much lower standard, the preponderance of evidence. Of course, the preponderance of evidence was against him, the KGB was hiding evidence that would help him.

The Israeli court must free Demjanjuk and send him back to the United States. The American courts must overturn the denaturalization and deportation orders against him. They were based on the false charge that he had lied when he entered the United States because he was concealing the fact that he was Ivan the Terrible. If the United States or Israel would like to try him on new charges, in all fairness, they must start from square one. After six years in jail, he deserves the right to return to his family in Cleveland.

At the same time, the new found freedom in the former Soviet Union provides a responsibility to prosecute those communists who committed crimes against humanity. Some of those who murdered over eleven thousand Polish officers at Katyn forest in 1940 and almost twelve thousand Ukrainian civilians at Vynnytsia during 1937 and 1938 may still be alive.

Even in very recent years, KGB crimes against the peoples of the Soviet Union continued to occur. The slave labor camps, the psychiatric hospitals, the murders of dissidents and the aggression against the Soviet Union’s neighbours continued until recently. Some perpetrators of those crimes are still alive. A recent trial in Berlin convicted two guards who murdered a man at the Berlin Wall in 1989.

The free people of Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, other parts of the former Soviet Union and the East European satellites have the responsibility to prosecute the communists who committed such crimes. Careful investigations must be conducted to insure that, just as with the Nazi criminals, none should be allowed to escape justice. But no innocent man should be falsely convicted.



*ED: A United States federal appeals court in Ohio, Cleveland on June 5 ordered the reopening of the extradition case involving John Demjanjuk, who is now making the final appeal of his conviction and death sentence for Nazi war crimes to Israel's Supreme Court.*

*Acting on its own initiative, a three judge panel for the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth District in Cincinnati said the extradition warrant issued in 1986 – which allowed Mr. Demjanjuk to be taken to Israel to stand trial for the crimes “may have been improvidently issued because it was based on erroneous information.” The basis for extradition is finally under scrutiny since new evidence points to another man, Ivan Marchenko, as the real “Ivan the Terrible”. It is not known whether the U.S. Court order will have any effect on the court decision in Israel.*

*According to Ukrainian Weekly, recent news reports in the United States have noted that it appears the U.S. Justice Department knew of the existence of Ivan Marchenko as early as 14 years ago. Mr. Demjanjuk's Israeli lawyer, Yoram Sheftel, argued that the U.S., the USSR and possibly Israel had known full well that his client was not “Ivan the Terrible” and that the U.S. had possessed exonerating evidence but withheld that information from the defense.*



*John Demjanjuk as he was carried out of the Israeli courtroom after being told that he will hang.*

## KGB in Estonia

During the struggle for national liberation in the Baltic countries at the end of the 1980's, the KGB began creating new structures in Estonia directly subordinate to Moscow and devising new tactics. The following are excerpts from the Estonian newspaper *Eesti Aeg* of a group who carried out activities directed from Moscow beginning in 1988.

### *Recruiting*

One of the members of this KGB squad in Estonia relayed the following: "While serving time in a correctional work camp, I was summoned to the centre of operations in May 1988. In addition to the director, there were two men in civilian clothing. They introduced themselves as KGB collaborators from Moscow. They proposed that I begin working for them. I still had over half a year's time to serve, but they promised that if I would agree to work with them, they would arrange to have me freed immediately. After I agreed, I was transferred, on paper, from camp number 2 to number 4. In reality, I was freed."

This same kind of proposal was made to three other criminals. All three were freed from the camp before their sentences were up. At the time, they had no idea about the kinds of assignments they would be forced to carry out.

### *Training and preparation*

In June of 1988, the three recently-freed young men were sent to a location close to Moscow, where they received two months of KGB training. During this training they were extensively familiarized with the KGB's subversive methods. They were given all necessary addresses and contacts and trained in maintaining contact. They were also taught how to carry out terrorist activities in Estonia by using the newest types of arms and self-defense techniques. During their training at the KGB center, they saw similar groups from Latvia and Lithuania.

After the two months of preparation, the three-member squad was sent back to Estonia. They had all been provided with phony documents. They were given the addresses of secret apartments in Estonia, the ones for this square were in Tallinn, two in Lasnamäe, one which was in the center of town. They were forbidden to contact their families, old friends and acquaintances. As far as anyone knew, the three were still in correctional camps. In case of emergency, they were also provided with fake foreign passports and visas.

### *Acts of Terror*

The squad did not receive any assignments during their first month in Tallinn. Then they were approached by a KGB contact. Their first assignment was to fake an assassination attempt against Mr. Kuuskmäe on Toompea in Tallinn. "About two weeks before the action, we received all the information about his movements. We were to fake an attempt to run him down with a car. We got a car which had phony license plates

which were supposed to match those registered for another car. Normally, such a car was also selected to match the color of the other one. Everything we needed for the operation we got from our contact. These contacts are still present in Estonia and apparently they still get their directives from Moscow. All three of us took part in the operation. We hired the fourth one, who drove. On the day of the action, I followed Kuuskmäe from the centre of town to Toompea to the Pika Jalg Cafe. There my companion took over, he followed Kuuskmäe to the Russian Orthodox Church. The time had been agreed upon and he gave the signal to the driver". *[If the three were recruited in May of 1988, some of their alleged activities do not match the actual events. According to what they told Eesti Aeg, their first assignment should have taken place in August 1988. However, Jevgeni Kuuskmäe, a journalist from Pärnu working with the Council of Estonia's Committee to Fight Corruption reported that three attempts were made to run him down on Toompea on August 26, 1990. The day before that three young activists, Tiina Hallik, Alge Sülla and Ilmar Palia, were killed by a hit and run drive while walking home from an ERSP convention. On September 11, 1990, former political prisoner Enn Tarto reported a hit and run attempt aimed at him.]*

The next operation was an attack on the border guard post. These actions were coordinated with the infamous OMON in Riga. That group was given a specific assignment to prepare to attack the Ikla border post. The squad did not take part in that action, but served as observers, finding out how many people are at the post, when the shifts change. They went to Ikla three or four times to gather information. They they went to Riga and coordinated the operation with the local OMON leader. *[Attacks on border posts in all three Baltic States took place in late 1990 and 1991.]*

After that came the bomb explosions in Tallinn (in the Home Guard headquarters on Toompea, in the Tallinn Kalinin rajoon Communist Party headquarters). *[The bomb blast at the headquarters took place on April 26, 1991.]* The contact put the squad in touch with the so-called Narva pyromaniacs (as they called themselves). The squad was supposed to check out the target and to notify what the best time would be to set the explosives. The bombs were produced locally. In Narva, there is an entire laboratory where they are made. For these explosions, the directive said to avoid any human casualties. Therefore, the explosions had to take place at night. The Narva pyromaniacs were paid 15 thousand rubles for that operation.

### *Provocations and Murders*

In addition to these operations, the KGB carried out many provocations and also murders in Estonia. The squad being described here did not participate, but they have information on this.

One of these provocations was the theft of the Council of Estonia computers. *[The break-in and theft of borrowed computers took place just before the Congress of Estonia convened for the first time in March 1990. Fortunately, most of the disks had been kept elsewhere. Those arrested and found guilty of the crime later said they had been coerced into confessing.]* Stored in the computers was information about the registered citizens of the Republic of Estonia. One member of the squad: "We didn't take part in that action, but I have learned from very well informed individuals that those who served time for that crime were not the ones who actually stole the computers. The set-up court

process with the 'computer thieves' was a joke. It is clear, however, that the KGB later bitterly regretted that in the beginning it underestimated the importance of the Congress of Estonia and the Council of Estonia."

One of the most ruthless actions which the KGB organised in Estonia was, of course, the murder of the Pastor Harald Meri in Türi. [*The torture-murder of Lutheran pastor Harald Meri and his housekeeper probably took place April 6, 1990, the same day his house was burned down. However, the mutilated bodies were not discovered until April 15. They may have been buried alive. The case has still not been solved.*] One member of the squad: "One person from our squad went to Russia to recruit the two people who killed Pastor Meri. The price was 50 thousand rubles. Everything else was organised by other contacts, including the payment of the money and the organisation of the action. I know that most of the material which Pastor Meri had collected was seized". [*Meri was also a historian and an independence activist who had collected a great deal of material about those who collaborated in the Soviet mass deportation of men, women and children from Estonia in 1941 and 1949.*]

The Interfront demonstration on Toompea May 15, 1990 was also an event set up by the KGB. The squad was informed a few days earlier that something would soon take place on Toompea. They were given an assignment to arrange for two bomb blasts to take place in Tallinn simultaneously. These explosions were supposed to take place one to two hours after the end of the Toompea event, at about 1600 to 1700 hours. One bomb was supposed to be placed at the city government building, the other at the services building. These explosives were again the product of the Narva pyromaniacs. Again they were supposed to avoid killing anyone. But something went wrong and at the last minute, they were given an order not to carry out the action.

#### *KGB Archives*

The liquidating of KGB archives in Estonia began in the summer of 1989. At first the archives and documents from the regional KGB departments were brought to Tallinn, where they were carefully sorted through at KGB headquarters. Necessary information was saved on computer disks, the documents themselves were burned. The squad also took part in removing documents from Estonia. The assignment was to take a "load" into a passenger car from KGB headquarters at night and to take it almost to Pihkva. There, they would be met by a car from Moscow.

If the squad needed money or documents, the contact would name the day and the time and a courier would bring everything needed at the appointed time in Tallinn. The centre keeps contact with the squad via telephones, which are located in three secret apartments. Earlier the secret apartments were empty, but recently people have begun to live there. When the squad needs to use the secret apartments, the residents are notified of this a few days earlier. These apartments are operating even today. The squad was permitted to contact the Estonian KGB only in exceptional cases. The squad had Estonian KGB deputy director Vladimir Pool's work and home telephone. They were supposed to call him only if they could not get contact with Moscow for some reason.

The KGB has a complete overview of all the criminal groups in Estonia. Also the squad in question used the help of criminals. There are other similar KGB-directed

squads in Estonia, for instance, on in Tartu. However, the squads do not have any contact with each other.

The squads always have the ability to get weapons quickly. There are three military units in Estonia (Amari air force base, Paldiski and the air force base outside Tartu) from which they can get weapons as needed. All of this is also done via the contact.

Even though the KGB's special equipment went into the hands of the Protections Service (Security Police), the members of the squad know very well that even now Russian intelligence still listens to telephone calls there. A listening centre still exists which was not turned over to Estonia. It is possible that it is now used by Russian military intelligence.

### *KGB Agents in Estonia Are Waiting*

During the August 1991 putsch, the squad called Moscow. Moscow promised to call back the next day and to give new orders, but no call was received. After about a month, the squad called Moscow again. The same KGB contacts were all transferred into the Russian secret service. Since then the squad has not received any specific assignments from Moscow. They were told to put into order and to preserve their existing structures and to be in a state of readiness. Since the Estonian kroon has been put into circulation, they have not been sent any more money. The members of the squad know that in the new Russian secret service and Estonian department was formed. Working in this department is also the former Estonian KGB deputy director Vladimir Pool, who spends a lot of time in Estonia. Thus, the Russian resident spy moves among Estonians freely.

The foregoing shows that Russian intelligence continues to be active and is attaching and strengthening its position in Estonia.

*Freedom for Nations!*

*Freedom for the Individual!*



## The Spider Web: "KLUGER"

*The following is a translation of KGB documents which recently became available in Lithuania:*

**Strictly confidential**

**Copy No. 1**

**To the Chairman of the KGB of the  
USSR Army General V. Kriuckov  
on conferring Soviet citizenship to the  
foreign agent Kluger**

In 1988 the KGB of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic entered into secret service relations with the foreign source Kluger, born in 1948 in Hamburg, a person without citizenship, settled in Hamburg, joint owner and director of a German-Lithuanian mediation firm /.../ (operational working case No. 2302 at the USSR KGB PGU "K" board division).

Within the cooperational period Kluger supplied information of great operational importance on the situation in the European Parliament, the position of this organisation concerning events in the Baltic States, on his contacts with government officials, journalists, representatives of some West European secret agencies, on some people from "Sajudis" and the Parliament of Lithuania. He informed about attempts to organise a legal opposition to the regime of Landsbergis. Making use of his contacts in the European Parliament and among foreign and Lithuanian journalists, the agent has possibilities to effectuate actions beneficial to our side.

Lately, Kluger has been insisting on acquiring Soviet citizenship without letting this fact be known in the USSR or abroad. In his opinion, there would not be any difficulties from the legal point of view as his parents were Lithuanian emigrants who left the republic in 1944 and according to the provision of that time (1940), they have been citizens of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, i.e. Soviet citizens.

After he acquires citizenship Kluger asks the Soviet KGB leadership officials to allow and assist him in purchasing a farm in one of the districts of Byelorussia, to the west of Minsk, paying for it either in rubles or hard currency or agricultural equipment from the West, depending on the choice of the property owners.

After three years of close cooperation with the KGB, numerous attacks and unproved accusations "of his cooperation with Moscow" were made by reactionary Lithuanian emigration. Suspecting that an "independent" Lithuania's special service may focus its attention on him, Kluger wants citizenship and possession of property in the Byelorussian Soviet Republic as a guarantee for his and his family's welfare in case of disclosure of his work as a Soviet agent in the West or in Lithuania. After his request is granted, Kluger intends to go on cooperating with the KGB organisation in Western Europe and in Lithuania.

*signed by*

*The KGB Chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,  
General Major S. A. Caplin*

**Secret**

**Copy No. 1**

**To: Head of the 4th department of K board,**

**USSR-KGB PGU Colonel Comrade V. A. Enger, MOSCOW**

**re: cooperation with Kluger**

The league of Lithuanian journalists invited our foreign source Kluger to Vilnius from April 12 to May 15. Meetings with him were held in Minsk and on the territory of Lithuania in locations which satisfied all requirements for conspiracy.

Several reports of operational relevance were received from Kluger. They were on the situation in Lithuania, K. Prunskiene, on the agent's plans in taking part in the opposition, on the situation in the Baltic States, on the evaluation of the USSR in the West European political arena. *(In conformity with orders of the leadership of the KGB of Lithuanian SSR, it is sent to the chief of PGU, to "RI" board No. 1161, 1165, 1166, and 1156 respectively).*

Having coordinated it with us, the foreign source made a speech at the conference of the Lithuania Future Forum. *(A movement in opposition to Landsbergis' group in power)*. He set forth the principal views of West European countries on the Baltic States. His speech (shown on TV and published in the Lithuanian press) caused a positive reaction of that part of Lithuanian Society that is in the opposition and also provoked critical remarks from a commentator of *Radio Free Europe's* Lithuanian section. The text of his speech is sent to PGU A service to be included into the insertion as an active operational measure.

In order to inform the West about the establishment of political opposition in Lithuania, the video recording of the speeches made at the conference of the Lithuania Future Forum were handed to Kluger. The recording was made by the TV of Lithuanian SSR. Making use of his contacts with journalists, Kluger intends to organise a demonstration of the Forum during the telecast by a prominent West German television company.

From Kazimiera Prunskiene, Kluger learned that the secret service of Lithuania is interested in him as a possible agent of the KGB. In future, it is decided to arrange meetings with the agent in Minsk and contact him by telefax, using the facilities of the KGB of the Byelorussian SSR.

Being uncertain about his future, Kluger asks the chief Committee to confer Soviet citizenship upon him while not declaring it officially. He sees it as a guarantee for him in case of possible disclosure, and scandals in the West or Lithuania linked with his name.

Information about the exaggerated attention paid to Kluger by the USSR General-Consul in Hamburg and the attempts to use him as a source of political information was sent to the K board Chief of Staff.

The foreign source was given a single payment of 3000 DM approved by the Centre. The next visit of the foreign source to the republic is planned for the end of July of this year.

*signed by*

*The KGB Lithuanian SSR, 1st department,*

*Deputy Chairman Colonel G. G. Tchernikov*

*May (...), 1991*

## The Referendum on Independence in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnia-Herzegovina, one of six constituent republics of the former Yugoslav federation, held a referendum on its sovereignty and independence on February 29 - March 1, 1992. The referendum was scheduled in accordance with the European Community's response to Bosnia-Herzegovina's request for international recognition. Bosnia-Herzegovina seeks recognition in light of the de facto break up of Yugoslavia, caused primarily by the political chaos which resulted in civil conflict in Slovenia and Croatia beginning in 1991.

The republic's move toward independence has been enormously complicated by its ethnically diverse population, comprised mainly of Croatian Muslims (43.7 percent), Serbs (31.3 percent) and Catholic Croats (17.3 percent), Bosnia-Herzegovina's central location in the former federation and its importance to Yugoslavia's military establishment have added to the difficulties in achieving independence.

The referendum was conducted in a manner which permitted the citizens of the republic to vote, freely and in secret, whether they were for or against a sovereign and independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. Eligible voters in Bosnia-Herzegovina were asked to declare themselves – “for” or “against” – the following question:

*Are you for a sovereign and independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state of equal citizens, the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Muslims, Serbs, Croats, and members of other nations – living in it?*

The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), led by Radovan Karadzic, opposed the referendum and declared it illegal since it was not approved by the full Assembly and did not have the support of all three main nationalities. The SDS called upon the republic's Serbian population to boycott the referendum. This call led to problems particularly in the Serb-inhabited areas where local administration and election officials charged with various responsibilities in carrying out the referendum refused to cooperate. Karadzic, at the same time, had asked that SDS members do not disrupt referendum proceedings. In a few locations, however, efforts were taken to prohibit the referendum from being held, and in Banja Luka, groups took to the streets on the eve of the referendum singing Serbian nationalist songs and tearing down posters which supported the referendum and signs that indicated directions to polling stations.

Two reasons have been given for the SDS boycott, both of them stemming from opposition by Serbian leaders in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as in Belgrade to Bosnia-Herzegovina breaking away from Serbia. Some alleged that the boycott resulted from concern that Serbs residing in Bosnia-Herzegovina might actually disagree with their leaders and support the republic's move toward independence. Once in a voting booth, this argument contends, there would be no control over the ethnic Serbian voter, but by boycotting the referendum the SDS could observe who went to polling stations and could therefore intimidate or punish any Serbs who did.

The SDS denial of intent to intimidate voters must be questioned in light of the selective circulation of inflammatory leaflets against the referendum and the placement

of adds in newspapers such as *Glas* in Banja Luka calling Serbs who would participate “traitors”. In addition, even if the intent was not to intimidate voters, the call for a boycott nevertheless would obviously have that effect in such a tense environment. Indeed, in some localities it could have discouraged many non-Serbs from going to polling stations to vote and in many instances made it more difficult for them to do so. In cases where polling stations were not opened in a certain village, not only ethnic Serbs but Croats as well would have to travel elsewhere to cast their ballot. Thus, if the European Community’s decision to call for a referendum in Bosnia-Herzegovina is viewed as correct in the first place, then it follows that the SDS boycott under such circumstances as existed in Bosnia-Herzegovina must be considered a serious, negative development and an obstacle to the democratic expression of the will of the people.

In line with the EC Arbitration Commission recommendation, foreign delegations were invited by Premier Pelivan or, in the case of some parliaments, the foreign relations commission of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to observe the conduct of the referendum. Included among those formally invited was the Helsinki Commission, which sent two members of its staff as observers. Two officers from the American Embassy in Belgrade added to the U. S. contingent. Diplomats and parliamentarians from Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, the European Parliament, France, Germany, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Switzerland and Turkey also participated in the foreign observation.

Many foreign observer teams traveled together with security escort to ensure their safety. While this was considered a prudent course in light of the tensions in the republic, it did limit somewhat the mobility of the observers and the surprise element in checking the work of specific polling stations.

### **The Pre-Referendum Political Landscape**

Prior to the referendum, a tense situation existed which led to isolated incidents of violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The neighboring republics of Serbia and Croatia indicated interest in dividing the republic, and ethnic Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina have supported either joining these other republics or dividing their own into three distinct, nationality-based territories. From the beginning of the fighting in Croatia, many felt that it was only a matter of time until it spread into Bosnia-Herzegovina, where it would be virtually impossible to stop, despite the declared neutrality of the government in Sarajevo.

The political landscape in Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, has been significantly different from that in both Croatia and Serbia in ways important to the maintenance of peace in the republic. For example, while there is the perception that Croatian Muslims, have the most influence on the republic’s affairs, no one group dominates the republic and the other groups. To the extent this takes place at all in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is regionalised, such as predominately Serbian control of the Baja Luka area with a 55 percent Serbian majority, or Croatian control of western Herzegovinian districts, some of which have 90 percent or higher Croatian majorities. At the republic level, differences between political leaders representing national interests can be great, but they have been tackled by efforts at consensus and compromise which have generally characterised the political history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, there has been a tendency among the

republic's leadership to ignore provocations by, and avoid confrontations with, more radical elements among the main national groups and the Yugoslav military that could lead to civil conflict.

Another important characteristic of the political landscape of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been the existence of a relatively free press, represented especially by Radio-Television Sarajevo and the Sarajevo daily *Oslobodjenje*. The media in the republic has resisted pressure to succumb to the influences of the nationality-based parties and to reflect their interests. Some complaints have been made that the media is, in fact, influenced by the government and especially the Muslim Party of Democratic Action, but it appears that this is primarily a result of the relative coincidence of views on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina between the media and PDA leaders and not overt pressure for media conformity. Some local media, however, may be under greater influence of parties and governments that are the broader, republic-wide media organisations.

An indication of the growing division in the society of Bosnia-Herzegovina were the numerous violent incidents which took place leading up to the referendum. Roadblocks set up primarily by armed Serbian groups, for example, had already become a frequent, though not widespread, occurrence well before the referendum. On the eve of the referendum, an incident took place at a roadblock between Sarajevo and Banja Luka. There, two occupants of an automobile were shot and one killed by Serbian irregulars when the driver attempted to proceed through the roadblock.

There were also reports of bombings, such as that of a building used by a Croatian cultural group in the northern town of Odzak on February 24, injuring 12 people. A local official said two previous incidents in the area destroyed a gas station and a Croat home. On February 27, a bomb exploded at the 450 year old mosque in Banja Luka, although damage was relatively minor.

Some isolated instances of violence had also taken place in Bosnia-Herzegovina involving the military, especially around the city of Mostar, where the federal military has a considerable presence. While professional military units generally caused few problems, undisciplined reservist units would often harass and even attack local villages. A somewhat similar situation existed to the north in Banja Luka. In addition, the Yugoslav defense establishment has a considerable stake in Bosnia-Herzegovina, home to a substantial portion of Yugoslavia's defense industries, and vowed to keep the republic in Yugoslavia.

Concerns over plans external players may have had for Bosnia-Herzegovina were heightened by reports in January of secret Zagreb-Belgrade talks, which included Serbian representatives from Sarajevo, over dividing the republic. Both Serbian and Croatian leadership were being criticized by extremists at home for failing to accomplish their respective objectives in their conflict with each other. These reports led to appeals to Serbia and Croatia not to interfere in Bosnia-Herzegovina's internal affairs.

In light of growing friction, the European Community resumed its mediating efforts in an attempt to find some compromises that could stabilise the republic as the referendum approached. Of particular importance in this regard was a February 21 meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, of various political figures from Bosnia-Herzegovina. An agreement was reached in which all sides agreed to respect the territorial integrity of the republic within its existing borders. While this agreement did not change the position of



the SDS regarding the referendum, it did shift somewhat the debate from one of the republic's external status to one of internal composition.

### Results

Of the approximately 3.15 million eligible voters in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1,997,644 participated in the referendum. Representing 63.4 percent of the total eligible voting population, this meant that the referendum passed the first criteria that a majority of voters had to participate for the result to be valid. The ballot results broke down as follows:

Total ballots		1,997,644
Invalid ballots		5,465
Valid ballots		1,992,179
Voting "For"	(99.7%)	1,986,202
Voting "Against"	(0.3%)	5,977

### The Post-Referendum Political Landscape

The immediate post-referendum period was marked by violence, as ethnic Serbian groups barricaded Sarajevo, formed roadblocks elsewhere in the republic, and demanded that the results of the referendum be nullified. After oscillating between confrontation and compromise, the situation has stabilised but remains tense, and the results of the referendum continue to be supported by the republic government in addition to the majority of the population.

While there have been threats of additional violence if a sovereign and independent Bosnia-Herzegovina is recognised, the international community should respond positively to the results of the referendum, thereby confirming the republic's territorial integrity.

The future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, will be determined primarily by decisions which still need to be made on its internal political structure. Dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina along ethnic lines, a compromise solution which is now being actively pursued, will likely lead to further violence, set back democratic development and possibly lead to the break up of the republic.

## Occupying army still in the Baltic States

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are continuously demanding that Russia withdraw troops from the Baltic States. The illegality of the occupation has repeatedly been recognised on the international level, and Russia too, has admitted this fact in principle.

However, the withdrawal of the troops has in reality not even begun. Russia practically refuses to negotiate for a solution, putting forward various pretexts. Instead, claims have been heard that some permanent bases in the Baltic States must be retained for the armed forces of Russia.

According to the latest estimates, there are about 120,000 Russian soldiers in the Baltic States. With their heavy armaments these forces represent a continuous menace to the political and economical development of these newly-independent countries. A special cause for concern is the slackening discipline in the occupation army. Should a crisis arise, this army has the capacity to control the area of the Baltic States without encountering serious difficulties.

If Russia obeys international law, follows the principles of the CSCE, and continuously recognises the independence of the Baltic States, then Russia's troops should be withdrawn immediately.

The undersigned Finnish civic organisations request the Governments and civic organisations of Finland and other participating states of the CSCE to make insistent demands for an end to the military occupation of the Baltic States, and to support these demands with the reduction of all assistance to Russia, until such time that Russian troops have left Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

*Helsinki, July 7, 1992*

Satu Toivonen, Chairwoman  
Baltian Tuki ry - Stöd för Baltikum rf  
The Baltic Support Organisation

Heikki Eskelinen, Chairman  
Kansalaisjärjestö Itsenäisyyden Puolesta ry  
"For the Independence" Association

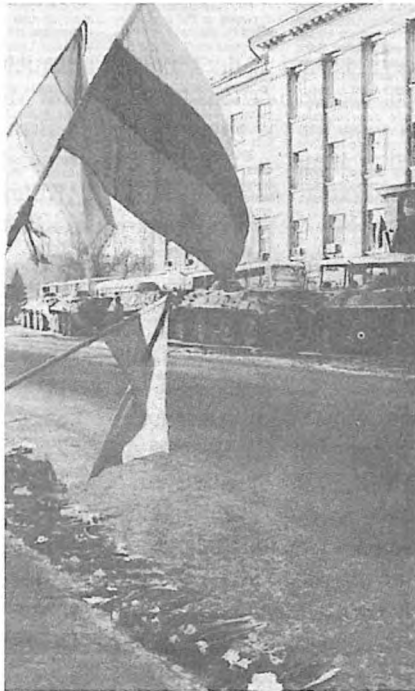
Heimo Rantala, Chairman  
Suomen Helsinki-rhymä ry  
The Helsinki Group of Finland

Olev Künnap, Chairman  
Suomi-Viro-Seura ry  
The Finnish-Estonian Society

## Lithuanian Referendum

On June 14 Lithuania held a referendum on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the former Soviet army, which is now under the jurisdiction of the Russian federation, from the Republic of Lithuania in 1992, and the payment of damages done to Lithuania by its presence. 2,539,433 Lithuanian citizens had the right to vote. Participating in the ballot were 1,931,578 citizens, who accounted for 76.05 per cent. 1,751,026 or 90.79 per cent, voted for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Russian army in 1992 and the payment of damages. Only 7.26 per cent voted against. Thus, 68.95 per cent of the population eligible to vote said yes to the withdrawal of the Russian army from Lithuania.

The Lithuanian people's will is clear. However, the Russian officials look upon this kind of democratic plebiscite with suspicion and hostility. Stepashin, Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee of the Russian Supreme Council, referred to the Lithuanian referendum as a "violation of human rights in respect to the Russian military". Isakov, Head of the Russian delegation to the talks for the Russian army withdrawal, said "the referendum will make the talks more difficult" and on the whole, "military questions such as the withdrawal of troops" should not be a subject for referendums. Stepashin's idea about the necessity to treat the Russian military on the territory of Lithuania as an ethnic minority was described by Vytautas Landsbergis as "an unheard of innovation in international law".



## **Another Wave of Arrests in Georgia**

The International Society for Human Rights (ISHR/IGFM - Frankfurt) has compiled a list of 256 persons, amongst them Members of Parliament, journalists, professors and students, who have been arrested on political grounds in the former Soviet Republic of Georgia since the fall of the democratically-elected government (January, 1992).

According to IGFM sources in Georgia, another wave of arrests has followed the bloody events which occurred at the Centre of Broadcasting and Television in Tbilisi on June 24th. Entire families of suspected opponents (including their young children) have been arrested. Such was the case with the following members of Georgian Parliament: Nika Kilasonia, Vahtang Tsagareishvili, Bidzina Dangadze, Bidzina Cholokashvili, Zurab Tsulala.

Also arrested were employees of the Broadcasting Centre accused of permitting the unarmed Gamsakhurdia supporters to make their appeal over the radio on June 24th. At the same time, Mkhedrioni troops under the command of Dzhaba Ioseliani, head of the State Council, opened fire on the crowds outside the building. One day prior, hospitals had been ordered to send many patients home in order to free up beds in case of unexpected casualties. It was also reported from Chechen Ingushetia, where President Gamsakhurdia has taken refuge, that he was unaware that an effort would be made to broadcast the appeal.

## **Finnish Parliament Invites Gamsakhurdia**

The leader of the Georgia Group of the Finnish Parliament, MP Heikki Riihijarvi, had made three unsuccessful visa applications to the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in an attempt to obtain a visa for the illegally-ousted President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who wanted to attend the CSCE Summit in Helsinki which was held on July 9-10th. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had told MP Riihijarvi and the Chairman of the Finland-Georgia Society Mrs. Aila Niinimaa-Keppo that President Gamsakhurdia could arrive in Finland only after the CSCE Summit, i.e. July 15-31, 1992. No explanation was given as to why one of the founding members of the Helsinki Group was not permitted to visit the city where the group was initiated in 1975. The Information Office of President Gamsakhurdia points to the further irony that lies in the fact that known KGB officers and members of the group Mkhedrioni were allowed entrance to Finland, whereas Gamsakhurdia has not.

"This goes against the rules of the CSCE" stated the Chairman of the Georgia Group of the Finnish Parliament MP Heikki Riihijarvi. "CSCE is based on the respect for legality, democracy and access to information and the ability to travel within the states of the CSCE." Ms. Riihijarvi also questions how the CSCE can stop Gamsakhurdia from coming to Finland while heartily welcoming Eduard Shevardnadze, who was involved in last year's putsch and who masterminded the illegal takeover in Georgia. The CSCE was meant to protect nations against criminal leaders such as Shevardnadze."

## TATARSTAN REFERENDUM SAYS YES TO SOVEREIGNTY

Tatarstan is a republic within the Russian Federation and is situated in the middle Volga River basin at the confluence of the Volga and Kama rivers and it covers an area of 26,250 sq miles (68,000 sq km). The Tatars, who today comprise about half of Tatarstan's population, are a Turkic people. Most Tatars (about 75%) live outside their republic. According to the latest census, the total population of Tatarstan is 3.7 million people. Russians are the largest minority.

Tatarstan declared itself a sovereign republic on August 30, 1990, and is currently struggling for independence. Unlike similar declarations of sovereignty by other autonomous regions, the declaration omitted any reference to Tatarstan's existence within the Russian Republic. Tatarstan got a great boost in its striving for autonomy in September 1990 when Boris Yeltsin, competing with President Gorbachev for power, told the Tatars in Kazan that they could have "all the independence they could handle". Today Russian officials tend to grimace when reminded of Yeltsin's remark.

The Tatars took it seriously however. In April 1991, the parliament followed up the sovereignty declaration by asserting the supremacy of Tatar legislation over Russian legislation where the two were in conflict. During the deliberations on the Union Treaty, Tatarstan President Shaymiyev voiced his intention to sign the Treaty as an independent entity rather than as part of the Russian Republic.

On March 21, 1992, the parliament of Tatarstan decided to hold a referendum on secession from the Russian Federation. Tatarstan's voters went to the polls on March 21, 1992, in a referendum asking whether Tatarstan is a "sovereign state" and "a subject of international law". They voted **Yes** by a margin of 61 percent to 37 percent.

The referendum's passage was a victory for a Tatarstan government determined to redefine its relationship with the Russian Federation on a bilateral treaty basis, rather than within the proposed federation arrangements put forward by the Yeltsin administration.

Tatarstan's government insisted that the referendum was not about "leaving or not leaving" the Russian Federation, but rather on ratifying Tatarstan's August 1990 Declaration of Sovereignty. Nevertheless the phrasing of the question allowed room for various interpretations and claims.

The referendum was strongly promoted by Tatarstan's President Shaymiyev, his administration, and the parliamentary faction *Tatarstan*. The opposition in parliament coalesced around the mostly Russian faction *Narodovlastie* (People's Power).

While the "ethnicity" of the vote could not be determined in a secret ballot, the Tatar population clearly voted **Yes** and the Russian population was less enthusiastic. The referendum passed by large margins in ethnic Tatar areas, but passed by a much smaller margin in the cities, where most Russians live. In the five districts where Russians form the majority, and in the capital Kazan, the referendum went down to defeat.

Election day went smoothly in areas monitored by Helsinki Commission staff, although some practices common during the Soviet period but impermissible by international standards were still observed. Spokesmen for the Russian Democratic



Party, which strongly opposed the referendum, claimed that irregularities took place where observers were not present.

The Russian Federation Commission on Constitutionality declared the referendum unconstitutional on March 13, and the referendum was accompanied by charges and counter-charges in the Moscow and Kazan mass media. Moscow's television coverage frequently featured editorial comment against the referendum. On the eve of the referendum, President Shamiyev made a personal television appeal for passage, while President Yeltsin, leaving for the CIS meeting in Kyiv, pledged that he [would] "not allow Tatarstan to leave the Russian Federation".

Passage of Tatarstan's referendum represents another step in the ongoing rearrangement of political and economic structures in the former USSR and Russia. On March 29, 1992, 18 of Russia's 20 major autonomous regions signed the Federation Treaty, many with certain reservations and amendments. Tatarstan's refusal to sign and its insistence on negotiating directly with Russia may well influence other autonomous republics even those that signed the treaty to renegotiate their terms or, at least, to continue striving for more autonomy.

## Afghanistan's killing fields

*Pul-i-Charkhi* – Abdullah Han believes the souls of his three uncles haunt the windswept, barren valley that many say became the killing fields of the former communist regime. Somewhere beneath the abandoned tank dugouts that stretch for kilometers along the Koh-i-Safi mountains east of the capital Kabul lie the remains of Mohammad Sardar, Mohammad Gulzareen and Mohammad Amire, Abdul said.

They were religious scholars. Like perhaps hundreds of thousands of other Afghans, they vanished without a trace following the 1978 revolution. Their only crime, Abdul says, was opposing the oppression and terror of Moscow's handpicked dictators. The last strongman, Najibullah, was toppled in April by Mujahideen now running the government. "I came here to mourn my uncles. Other people are coming too, hoping to find some sign of what happened to our families," said the 29 year old Abdullah, who fought with the Mujahideen against communist rule in Afghanistan.

From 20,000 to 35,000 people in Kabul alone were arrested by the feared KGB-style secret police and never were seen again, said intelligence officials of the new Islamic government's defense ministry. Human rights activists, however, consider that a conservative figure. Afghans talked in whispers for years about the "polygon", the rock-strewn plain at the foot of the jagged mountains 25 km east of Kabul. Many of those who disappeared are believed to be buried in mass graves on the plain.

A senior commander of Defence Minister Ahmad Shah Masood who identified himself only as Mohammad Es'haq recently led an expedition of Mujahideen to the area. Armed with a small shovel, the brigade picked a spot and started to dig beneath the U-shaped tank emplacements. About half a meter below the surface they found a skeleton. They continued digging, unearthing a second, then a third and fourth....

## Afghan prisoners found in Tashkent

New information reveals that some political prisoners arrested during the communist regime were transferred for imprisonment within the former Soviet Union. A member of the Mujaddidi family in Islamabad told the BBC that he has received letters from Ibrahim Mujaddidi and eight of his sons informing him that they are alive and well in Uzbekistan. They were arrested during the time of Taraki and their family believed that they were no longer alive. Prof. Mujaddidi wanted to send a delegation from Kabul to Uzbekistan to investigate the report, but Uzbekistan's government did not respond.

During a recent visit to Uzbekistan, Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif raised the issue with President Karimov. Karimov admitted that there were some Afghan political prisoners in Uzbekistan but he did not know whether members of Mujaddidi's family were there or not. If the claim turns out to be true, it confirms the allegation by Afghans that some political prisoners were transferred and kept in the former Soviet Union. The transfer took place at a time when the republics in Central Asia had little control over their affairs. The central government and KGB were the true rulers of the country.

This revelation has given hope to many Afghan families whose members are still missing. This will have an affect on the fate of Soviet POWs caught by the Mujahideen. In order to get the release of their prisoners, Russia and other CIS countries should provide full information about Afghan POWs and children taken for indoctrination.

One of these missing children returned some weeks ago to Kabul after 8 years in Russia. The child was shown on television so that his family could identify him, since he had forgotten the name of his father and did not know the address of his family.

The Russian parliament has passed a bill asking the government to present a resolution to the UN General Assembly asking for the release of all Soviet prisoners. Ruskoi, the Vice President of Russia and an Afghan veteran, is the head of the committee seeking the release of Soviet POWs.

Since 1989, the Mujahideen have released 11 POWs. One of them was released by Defense Minister Ahmad Shah Masood after the fall of the Kabul regime.

The United States is helping Russia and other former Soviet republics to get information about their prisoners of war held by the Mujahideen in return for Russian help in finding American POWs missing since the Vietman War. American officials visiting Kabul recently stopped in Moscow and Kyiv on their way home to deliver photographs of prisoners and other information about them. Washington has been helping the Afghan interim leadership find about 500 children taken to the Soviet Union since 1980. Moscow has said the children were orphans. Afghans say they were taken away to be indoctrinated against the wishes of their families.

During his visit to Washington in June, Russian President Boris Yeltsin had asked a U.S. Senate Committee for help in resolving the issue of Soviet POWs in Afghanistan. Yeltsin promised to help track American soldiers missing since the Vietnam War. It is said that some of these prisoners were transferred to camps inside the Soviet Union.

## ***Crimean Perpetuum Mobile***

The situation in Crimea, the activities of the so-called “Democratic Movement of Crimea” (DRK), the instigator behind the Crimean declaration of “independence”, on the one hand, and the “protectors” of the DRK in Moscow on the other, form one of the links in the general Russian imperial chain whose goal is to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Crimean problem is closely connected with the Black Sea Fleet and the secession of Crimea from Ukraine would thus affect Ukraine’s right to the fleet. Moreover, there are great differences between the imperialist politicians in Moscow, such as Ruskoi and company (from whom the Russian “liberals” do not differ in any way” and the activists of the DRK. The ranks of the DRK are filled with former Crimean partocrats, who form the basis of the corrupt mafia. They are anxious to preserve their monopoly of power and to go on enjoying privileges and wealth. Whereas the DRK are opposed to the annexation of Crimea by Russia, the goal of the Russian imperialist politicians is to unite the peninsula with Russia, which would give them the opportunity to claim the Black Sea Fleet for Russia.

This raises an important question: to what extent does the DRK leadership control the popular masses of Crimea, particularly the non-Russians who form 60 per cent of the Crimean population. The DRK did succeed in collecting 250 thousand signatures in support of a referendum on Crimean independence. This, however, was achieved with the help of pressure from the party mafia and does not reflect the true views of the majority of the Crimean population. After all, despite the strong anti-Ukrainian campaign, 54 per cent of the Crimean population voted for Ukrainian independence last December.

Today it is unlikely that the DRK will achieve a victory in the referendum, if it is indeed held. Ukraine has branded the activities of the DRK and its supporters in the Crimean Supreme Council as anti-constitutional actions, which threaten the integrity of the Ukrainian state. This is emphasised both in President Leonid Kravchuk’s appeal to the people of Crimea, and in the appeal of the Ukrainian parliament to the people of the Republic of Crimea. “Basing itself on the constitution of Ukraine, the fundamental norms of international law”, the parliamentary appeal states, “the Supreme Council of Ukraine was compelled to recognise the Act of independence of the Republic of Crimea and a number of other documents ratified by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Crimea as anti-constitutional and has halted their implementation, proposing to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Crimea to review these decisions”.

At the same time, the Ukrainian parliament passed a law on Representation of the President of Ukraine in Crimea. Certain voices in Ukrainian political circles are calling for the imposition of presidential rule in Crimea and the dissolution of the Supreme Council of Crimea. The Ukrainian arguments, which have already been expressed on many occasions in various statements, are meeting with significant support among wide circles of the Crimean population, despite the fact that the people are politically passive. The people realise that economically Crimea is almost completely dependent on Ukraine. This was recently stressed in the Appeal by the President of Ukraine to the population of

Crimea. It is common knowledge that Crimea receives 75 per cent of food products and 85 per cent of electricity from Ukraine. Eighty-five per cent of the water that flows through the irrigation canals of Crimea is from the Dnipro (Dnieper).

Up till now Ukrainian activities in Crimea, as well as those of Crimean democratic forces, has been insufficient. Because of protracted russification of the Ukrainian population Ukrainian organisations in Crimea are weak and few in number. This remains true today as power continues to remain in the hands of the old party mafia. In addition, the Russian democratic movement in Crimea is both weak and under the pressure of the mafia. It is only now, influenced by events in Crimea, that Ukrainian and Crimean democratic forces are becoming more active. The civic-political movement "Democratic Crimea" in Feodosia has applied to people's deputies of Crimea for help in exposing the political fraud of the corrupt party leaders from the DRK. Rukh has also increased its activities in Crimea.

The attitude of the Russian democrats of the Yeltsin-Khasbulatov camp to the Crimean conflict is thoroughly Machiavellian. A recent statement by the chairman of the Russian Supreme Council, Ruslan Khasbulatov, during a press conference is the best proof of this. Khasbulatov stated: "Russia will not make any territorial claims against a brotherly nation. We greatly cherish our relations with Ukraine". The statement was meant to be concurrent with Russia's alleged new course towards a truly democratic state, revoking all unlawful acts of the previous leadership.

From what he failed to mention, however, it would appear that Khasbulatov probably regards the 1954 union of Crimea with Ukraine as one of these unlawful acts. He does, after all, not deny the right of the Crimeans to hold a referendum on the future of the peninsula. In other words, Khasbulatov is practically supporting the reactionary party leadership, which is struggling for a referendum in Crimea. He has somehow forgotten that a referendum has already been held in Crimea on December 1, during which 54 per cent of the population voted for the independence of Ukraine.

\* \* \* \* \*

## **Resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine**

Regarding the political situation which has resulted from the decisions taken by the Crimean Republic's Verkhovna Rada on May 5, 1992

Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada, in accordance with the wishes of the Crimean population, and as a result of the historic and national characteristics of the region, on February 12, 1991, passed a law by which it reestablished the autonomous Crimean state within Ukraine. The appropriate changes were also made to Ukraine's Constitution.

According to a law passed on April 29, 1992 Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada secured the Crimea's broad powers to independently deal with economic, social and spiritual issues.

Disregarding this, the Crimean Republic's Verkhovna Rada passed resolutions on May 5, 1992 "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum" which violate the Constitution of UKraine

in which it is stated that the territory of Ukraine cannot be changed without its approval (art 70) and that the Crimean Republic is an integral part of Ukraine and independently makes only those decisions which are accorded to it (art 75-1). According to Ukraine's Constitution decisions regarding the state order of Ukraine are accorded Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada (par 2 art 97).

Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada notes that the above-stated decisions taken by the Crimean Republic's Verkhovna Rada destabilise the situation both in Crimea, as well as all of Ukraine.

Upon discussing the political situation which has resulted from the decisions taken by the Crimean Republic's Verkhovna Rada on May 5, 1992, guided by par 31 art 97 of the Constitution of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine resolves:

1. To recognise the "Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic", resolution "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and the resolution "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum" passed by the Verkhovna Rada of the Crimean Republic on May 5, 1992 as unconstitutional according to the Constitution of Ukraine.

2. To stop all activity related to the resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada of the Crimean Republic "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and the resolution "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum" as activity which is unconstitutional according to the Constitution of Ukraine.

3. That the Verkhovna Rada of the Crimean Republic revoke by May 20, 1992 its resolutions of May 5, 1992 "On the Act of Proclamation of the State Independence of the Crimean Republic" and "On Calling an All-Crimean Referendum" on the grounds that they are unconstitutional according to the Constitution of Ukraine.

4. That the Committee of Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada responsible for legislation and legalities analyse all legislative acts passed by the Crimean Republic's Verkhovna Rada on the basis of their accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine and the legislation of Ukraine "On the status of the autonomous republic of Crimea" and submit its conclusions to Ukraine's Verkhovna Rada by May 20, 1992.

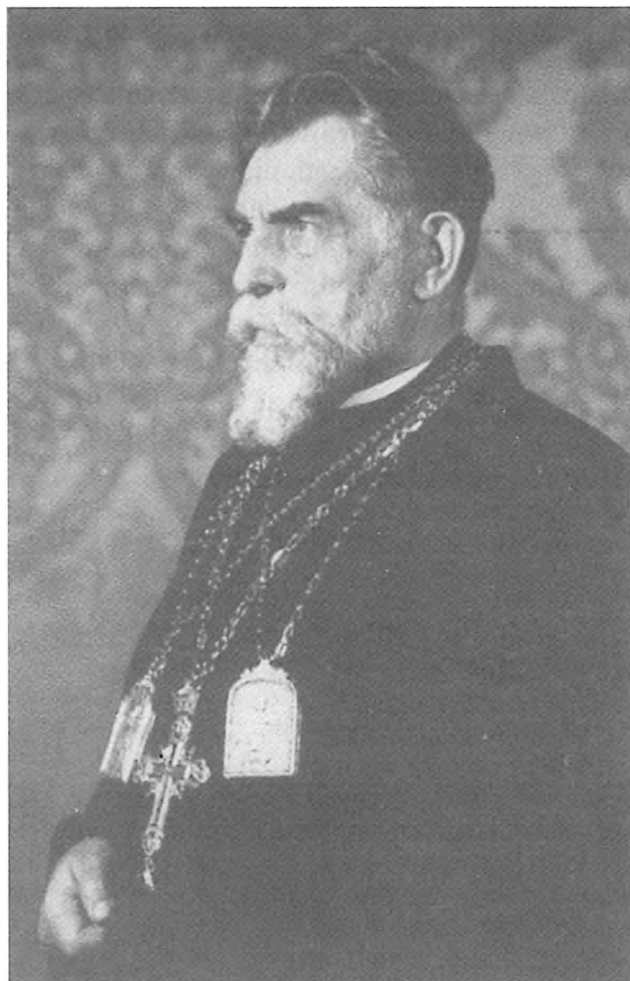
5. To suggest that the President of Ukraine take immediate measures to restore constitutional order in the autonomous Crimean Republic.

The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine declares its readiness to continue a dialogue with representative bodies of the Crimea regarding the establishment of Crimean autonomy on the basis of Ukraine's Constitution and Ukraine's legislation "On the status of the autonomous Republic of Crimea".

Chairman  
Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine



## **Ukrainian Patriarch Cardinal Josyp Slipyj to be reburied in homeland**



Eight years after the death of Cardinal Josyp Slipyj, patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, his remains will be transferred to his homeland in accordance with his last will: “Bury me in the Patriarchal Cathedral of St. Sophia in Rome, until such time that our Holy Ukrainian Church resurrects in Ukraine and the country is independent and free once again. Then, I would like my remains to be taken to my dear homeland and placed for eternal rest in the St. George Cathedral in Lviv”.

Reburial services for the late Patriarch Cardinal Slipyj will coincide with the commemoration of the first anniversary of Ukraine's proclamation of independence on August 24th. Cardinal Slipyj's remains will be brought to Lviv from Rome on August 27th. His coffin will be carried in massive processions from the airport, and commemorative services will be heard in all major churches along the way to the St. George Cathedral.

This event is expected to be celebrated by members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church throughout the world. Cardinal Josyp Slipyj was the Patriarch in exile of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was banned in Ukraine by the Soviets. Following his release after almost two decades of imprisonment in Soviet concentration camps, Patriarch Cardinal Slipyj arrived in Rome, where he successfully led the Ukrainian Catholic Church until his death in 1984. Patriarch Cardinal Slipyj was responsible for establishing a number of centres for higher learning, including the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome at which he was rector. Patriarch Cardinal Josyp Slipyj was the driving force behind the higher education of an entire generation of Ukrainian Catholic priests.



*Pope John Paul II at the funeral services for Cardinal Josyp Slipyj  
Rome, September 7, 1984*

## NEWS FROM UKRAINE

### CALL FOR FREEZE ON ASSETS OF FORMER USSR

KYIV, June 2 – The foreign ministry of Ukraine has sent a general plea to all foreign governments to freeze the status of assets taken over by Russia after the Soviet Union broke up. All former Soviet republics have a right under international law to a share of state property, but there is still no formal agreement on how to divide it up. While Russia has taken over all Soviet embassies and other property abroad since the USSR collapsed last December, Ukraine and other countries of the former USSR are left with nothing and lack foreign currency to open their own diplomatic and trade missions. Russia has agreed to discuss the subject of legal succession to the Soviet Union, but it has resisted a share of any of the property, arguing that it alone has been repaying former debts.

### YELTSIN SETS UP STATE BORDER

KYIV, June 4 – President Boris Yeltsin said Russia had decided to establish its own border guard and create formal state frontiers with five former Soviet republics including Ukraine. The creation of a Russian border guard, taking over at least some functions from the united Commonwealth force, would be a major blow to the 11-nation community set up with the aim of retaining a free economic zone. Yeltsin stated that the new border force would be subordinated to the newly-created Ministry of Security (successors to the former Soviet KGB). The priority, according to Yeltsin, would be to establish customs and state frontiers with Ukraine, Azerbaijan and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.

### UKRAINE UPSET WITH G7 SUMMIT

KYIV, JUNE 9 – Ukraine expressed dissatisfaction with Russia's position as the West's main partner among former Soviet states and suggested it also deserved an invitation to the G7 Summit in Munich. A foreign ministry spokesman said that if Russian President Boris Yeltsin was attending the meeting of leading industrialised states, then Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk should also have been invited.

### ENTRY TO IMF AND WORLD BANK

KYIV, June 3 – Ukraine's parliament approved plans for entry into the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The entry terms, approved by the world institutions in April, will give Ukraine a 0.69% share of the Fund's capital. Parliament approved the agreements by 301 votes to 3, although some deputies sought assurances that the Fund would not block Ukraine's introduction of its own currency, to replace the Soviet era

rouble. Finance Minister Grigory Pyatachenko told parliament the IMF was prepared in principle to back a Ukrainian currency with a stabilisation fund like that promised to Russia for the rouble.

## FOOD SUBSIDIES CUT, SOME PRICES FREED

KYIV, June 10 – The Ukrainian government announced it was slashing remaining food subsidies and freeing prices on milk, butter and some other products, including vodka. The decision, broadcast on television by Finance Minister Grigory Pyatachenko and other ministers, means the price of milk will be free to rise to market levels from June 11, while vodka will go up 2,5 times. This brings Ukraine's price policies into line with those of Russia, which abolished centralised food subsidies earlier this year. No mention of bread was made and it was not immediately clear if the price of bread would also rise. Deputy Economy Minister Viktor Kalnik said Ukraine's official retail butter price was 26 roubles (about 30 cents), while Russia's price was 171 roubles (\$2). The result was massive unauthorised sales of butter to Russia. The minister said 16 million of Ukraine's 52 million people would receive income supplements to compensate for the rise in staple food costs. Half of these would be pensioners and the remainder low income families. The decision to cut subsidies is part of government efforts to cut Ukraine's budget deficit and win approval from parliament for a spending plan for the rest of the year.

## 6,000 OFFICERS TO BE TRANSFERRED

KYIV, June 11 – Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov has ordered the transfer of 6,000 army and air force officers who have refused to swear loyalty to Ukraine. His order also laid down procedures for the transfer, committing the Ukrainian government to respect the officers' wishes and let them depart with full military honours, with transport paid for them and their families. Ukraine is also trying to push the high command of the Commonwealth Armed Forces to speed up the return of Ukrainian officers who have asked to transfer to the Ukrainian army from Russia and other republics.

## STATISTICS ON RECESSION

KYIV, June 19 – Ukraine's economy slipped deeper into recession in the first five months of 1992, with national income falling 18 pct to the same period last year. Government statistics published in the official newspaper Uryadovy Kurier showed that May industrial production was 9.4 pct below levels in May 1991. Unemployment and short-time working both rose. The fall in national income compared with a drop of 11 pct in the same five months of 1991 from a year earlier. National income in 1990 was 1.5 pct below 1989 levels. The data also showed that growth in personal income was outpacing price rises, giving further stimulus to inflation. April personal incomes were 7.3 times higher than in April last year. Consumer spending rose five times. But the report gave not information about current inflation levels, pushed up this year after

Ukraine reluctantly matched a Russian move to free prices for key goods and services. The report said the state budget deficit for the five months was 52 billion roubles (\$612 million at the central bank rate) – just two billion short of the figure approved by parliament in its budget for the whole of 1992. The report said that in April consumers spent only 67 pct of their available incomes, compared to 99 pct in April 1991. "The rise in personal income and the fall in production of goods have led to a fast rise in savings, which increased in January - April by 28 billion roubles," it said. Retail trade turnover in constant prices for January - May was only 67 pct of the level of the previous year.

## BILL TO PRIVATISE

KYIV, June 19 – The Ukrainian Parliament passed a bill on the privatisation of state housing which allows citizens to own dwellings for a symbolic rent. Houses and apartments will be transferred to individuals on a gratis basis – 21 sq. meters/person plus 10 sq. meters/family. They will also be sold to citizens residing in them.

## SUMMIT

DAGOMYS, June 23 – The summit between Ukraine and Russia started off on a positive note with both sides expressing desire for compromise. Major topics include the introduction of national currency, the Crimean peninsula and the division of the Black Sea Fleet. In principle, both sides have already agreed that the 300 strong fleet will be divided up between the two countries.

## EC TO STUDY CHORNOBYL

BRUSSELS, June 24 – The European Commission signed a cooperation agreement with Russia, Belarus and UKraine to study effects of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster, according to an EC statement. The commission will carry out an extensive program to study the nature of the radioactive contamination resulting from the accident, to broaden the skills needed to control such accidents in the future and to improve emergency management procedures. The program will cost about \$12.5 million.

*source: The Ukrainian Central Information Service, London, England*



## **Hypocrisy in Action**

Mikhail Gorbachev, who will go down in history as the last ruler of the Soviet Russian empire, is not one to be retired quietly and humbly, hoping that his past is not dug up. In addition to cavorting around the world promoting his research foundation and raising millions of dollars for himself, Gorbachev, who contributed to the world's deadliest peacetime nuclear disaster, has been elected head of the International Green Cross being set up at his own brazen and hypocritical suggestion to fight damage to the environment. That is comparable to Al Capone being elected chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank and Adolf Hitler receiving the Nobel Peace Prize.

Reportedly, on June 6, at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, legislators and spiritual leaders from around the world – apparently a group resembling see-no-evil, hear-no-evil, speak-no-evil – unanimously supported Gorbachev. The idea of this new organisation was proposed by Gorbachev himself at a previous meeting of world leaders in Moscow in 1990. In a message to the Earth Summit, the former Soviet leader pledged to work actively for this new organisation.

Is this Gorbachev's conscience acting up after he brought about ecological devastation and human suffering, or is he planning to unabashedly bilk the environmental issue for his own purposes? It should be remembered that the new-born ecologist Gorbachev, also thought to be a supporter of democracy, demanded the barring of the Baltic delegations from the last Paris CSCE conference.

The Chornobyl disaster occurred at the onset of Gorbachev's "glasnost" and "perestroika". Reports and memos from the Communist Party Politburo, appearing Thursday, April 16, this year in Pravda Ukrainy, indicate that Gorbachev and his cabal were fully informed of the scope of the disaster but they distorted the information. According to secret documents signed by Gorbachev, he ordered the state-run media to avoid critical reporting of the Chornobyl explosion. Moscow refused to admit to an accident for three days. Soviet authorities claimed only 31 or 21 deaths while Western experts have said that from 500 to 7,000 people have died from cancer or other radiation-related illnesses.

At greatest risk were an estimated 229,000 soldiers, workers, drivers and other persons recruited to clean up the area around the destroyed reactor. Many of these facts were hidden from the public at the time of the accident. In a resolution dated May 29, 1986 – a month after the explosion – Gorbachev ordered the state-run media to stop concentrating on the causes of the accident and to find positive aspects of the clean up. Gorbachev instructed state television, the state news agency TASS and other organs of the central press to devote more attention to such things as patriotism of workers involved in the clean up and the conditions of those who were evacuated. Gorbachev also ordered the state press to "strengthen counter-propaganda measures" in order to "unmask false inventions of the bourgeois press and the reports of special (i.e. intelligence) services on the Chornobyl events".

About 500,000 people were contaminated by radiation. Nearly 200,000 people were evacuated from the 50,200 square mile “dead” zone around the reactor. Today, some 180 tons of nuclear fuel are still buried under Unit 4, which is covered by a porous, decaying sarcophagus. Radioactive material and equipment used to remove it have been deposited at more than 800 locations, which need to be controlled and monitored.

While these are the raw statistics of this crime perpetuated by Gorbachev and Moscow, the true extent of the ecological and human destruction may never be known. Suffice it to say that Ukrainians and other peoples in the region may suffer from its effects and go on burying their irradiated dead for years to come.

Meanwhile, as the world forgets about Chornobyl, Gorbachev impudently paves the groundwork for his own exoneration. If the truth be told, Gorbachev should stand trial for this crime against humanity.

*(reprinted from National Tribune – June 21, 1992)*

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*Henry Kissinger*

**Charter of Confusion:  
The New Russian-American summit document  
takes partnership too far**

*(The following are excerpts from the article that appeared in Washington Post on May 7, 1992)*

“President Boris Yeltsin’s dramatic and successful visit to America occasioned a document that seeks to give concrete meaning to the term new world order. Titled *Charter for American-Russian Partnership and Friendship*, it could, if its ideas take hold, involve a revolutionary reordering of global relationships that should not be implemented without a full national debate.”

“Can America sustain such an undertaking? Are we luring ourselves into commitments beyond our physical and psychological capacity? Should Russia be encouraged into a global role, which is like putting liquor before a reforming alcoholic? Where does this leave America’s allies? NATO is included only as a possible contributor to an as yet to be created “Euro-Atlantic Peacekeeping Capability”. Japan is not mentioned at all, even though the united States and the Russian Federation have pledged themselves to ‘cooperate’ in strengthening ‘confidence and stability in Asia and the Pacific region’.”

“Similar ambiguities weaken the charter’s relevance to the strains produced by the breakup of the Soviet Union. In less than a year, 15 new states have emerged in that vast region. All have become members of the United Nations. The United States has

established embassies in each of them. These new nations share some unique features. None of the - except the Baltic states - has known independence for the past 150 years. Hundreds of thousands of troops of the erstwhile Red Army remain on their territories. These come and go and maneuver without asking the permission of independent countries recognised as members of the United Nations. Most republics have been afraid to ask them to leave, and those that have dared - like the Baltic states - have received evasive replies. These troops intervene in local conflicts, as they did recently in Moldova and Georgia directly upon Yeltsin's return from North America - ostensibly to protect Russian minorities.

But Russian minorities are everywhere. The Russian Empire had mixed up the nationalities by conquest, and Stalin, to facilitate central control, drew borders in such a way that no ethnically pure republics remained. Almost all republics also contain other minorities, especially in the Caucasus and Central Asia. To complicate matters further, most educated Russians identify the origin of their country with Kyiv, the capital of the new nation of Ukraine, which has a population of 58 million, an *ditto* fact view all the successor nations as ingrates duty-bound to return to the motherland.

While the Russian Republic has not directly challenged the independence of the new states, it has not fully accepted it either. Russian leaders maneuver with great persistence to establish themselves as the linear descendants of the historical empire rather than as an entirely new and separate state. The entry of all the successor republics into the European Security Conference is a measure of the success of this campaign. Russian leaders try - at least tacitly - to keep open the option of repeating the events of 1917-1922, when many of the current group of independent republics attempted to break away only to be forced in the end to return to Moscow's fold.

Precisely because economic reform, even with considerable outside help, is certain to be painful, an appeal to the historical empire may be a tempting way to rally support. This may explain why the defense minister of the Russian Republic has declared that his country will consider any troop concentration along the borders of the former Soviet Union as justifying Russian intervention by crossing the territory of theoretically sovereign neighbours. Not a single Western country has commented on this extraordinary proposition.

Such a state of affairs is potentially even more explosive than Yugoslavia, and with far greater implications for the peace of the world. If Moscow attempts to recentralize its former empire, some sort of military conflict is highly probable. If it succeeds - even partially - alarm bells will ring all around the Soviet periphery, but especially in Eastern Europe. The traditional pattern of mutual fear between Russia and its neighbours will reappear. The U.S.-Russian partnership will collapse.

This may not be an acute problem so long as Russia, together with, all the successor states, faces economic disaster. But as they recover, the question of whether the new charter reduces the dangers becomes relevant. Some provisions are clearly helpful, for example the reaffirmation of respect for national borders, including those of the new states. At the same time, Russia and the United States promise support and 'leadership' to the protection of minorities and the settlement of ethnic disputes. In the code language of the region, these phrases can more readily justify intervention than restraint, for it is so-called ethnic conflicts that will be the most likely pretexts for recentralization."

“The Bush administration seems to assume that liberal democracy and market economics will by themselves achieve and preserve peace everywhere. But even if true, that point will not be reached for decades. In the meantime, America must contribute to international stability by a foreign policy going beyond social engineering. The effort to shore up the Russian government is laudable, and Congress should support it. But we must not so idealize and personalize the relationship as to lose sight of geopolitical imperatives. We need to balance the respect and cooperation to which Russia’s reforms and potential power entitle it against the dangers of hegemony over smaller successor states. The deferential way Yeltsin is treated in the West, as compared with the leaders of the other republics, and the fact that almost all foreign aid goes to Russia, threaten this balance. Indeed, if present IMF plans are implemented, Western policy will encourage a rouble zone whose practical effect will be to force most successor states back under Moscow’s economic tutelage.

The deepest question raised is whether Russia, seeking to build democracy and a market economy without previous experience with either and in need of vast amounts of foreign assistance, can possibly fulfill the role assigned to it by the charter. Is it really wise to divert it into a global enterprise that in the end may keep it from even defining a responsible role with respect to the internal relationships of the former Soviet Union? At the end of an evolution which we should assist, Russia may turn into the partner envisaged by the charter. As of now, such a role is at best premature, at worst dangerous.

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## **KGB Still a Force on POW Issue**

On June 12, Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent a letter to the Senate Select Committee on P.O.W.’s. In this letter Yeltsin alluded to the fact that he would “provide answers to the mysteries of the past.” This reference was about missing American soldiers who were brought over to the Soviet Union as prisoners of war from World War II to the present.

According to Associated Press on Sunday, June 28 Russian and American officials made a televised appeal, asking anyone with any information about American war prisoners in the territory of the former Soviet Union to come forward. The officials also accused the KGB of withholding information about American prisoners of war. The co-chairman of a joint United States-Russian commission on POW’s retired Col. Gen. Dmitri Volkogonov said that the secret police “know the most, but have given us the least”.

Yeltsin has gone as far as saying that American soldiers actually had been kept in Soviet prisons. Volkogonov stated that former high-ranking officials of the KGB have refused to open archives which could lead to information about the fate of some of the

78,000 American soldiers who are either listed as MIA's or CIA's from World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War. If Yeltsin is in fact in charge of the Russian government he should be able to have access to these archives. There can be several startling explanations as to why this is not the case. One is that Yeltsin does not have control over the former KGB members who operate under a new name using the same old methods. Another explanation is that Yeltsin does have access to this information but is refusing to reveal it to the United States. Either case does not paint a pretty picture of the new 'democratic' Russia and its new 'democratic' leader.

Former United States Ambassador Malcolm Toon, who is co-chairman with Volkogonov, believes that prisoners still may be found alive within the confines of the former Soviet Union. Volkogonov said that after liberating American prisoners with Russian, Ukrainian or Jewish last names from German prison camps, they would take them to prison camps within the Soviet Union. Documents have been found by this commission that four Americans whose identities are unknown were in fact held in a psychiatric hospital in the Soviet Union in 1953.

With more and more evidence being revealed about American POW's in the former Soviet Union, the United States should demand that Russian officials withholding access to former secret police archives on this matter release them immediately or the United States will withhold all aid to Russia.

It is obvious that Yeltsin mentioned American prisoners of war in an effort to get the United States aid for the recovery of Russian POW's in Afghanistan. If President Bush truly cares about American servicemen, as he was so quick to state throughout the entire Gulf conflict, then he should show some of that concern now.

It is evident that there is a major cover-up going on in the Russian government over this issue. What are they trying to hide? Were American prisoners of war tortured in Soviet prison camps and psychiatric hospitals? Were they experimented on medically and psychiatrically? All this information can be found in the KGB files, all Bush has to do is demand it before it all disappears.

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### **Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation**

Selected Writings and Speeches by Former Prime Minister of Ukraine — Yaroslav Stetsko;

Edited by John Kolasky, M.A., B.Ped. Published by the Philosophical Library.

Priced at \$49.50 it is available from the Organisation for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, 136 Second Avenue, New York, NY 10003, USA.

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**ABN REPORT**  
**for the**  
**World League for Freedom and Democracy Conference**  
*presented by ABN President Slava Stetsko*  
**Budapest, August 9-12, 1992**

As we get together for the annual WLFDD conference, one cannot help but to think back at the events of the past year. Indeed, this particular year bore fruit to so many changes. At our conference last year, the nerve-wracking, tense days of 'putsch' were followed by the opportunity to witness the final dissolution of the Soviet empire. The August 24th, 1991 proclamation of Ukraine's independence initiated a chain reaction in which almost every republic of the former "union" seceded.

In this past year, the map of Europe has also seen changes. The Soviet-backed Yugoslavian empire has disintegrated, as nations within its borders have declared independence. Nonetheless, Serbian aggression against Croatia still continues today. Czecho-Slovakia is being transformed into separate states of Czechia and Slovakia.

The scope of the changes is truly reason for jubilation. However, the newly-established states, as was to be expected, are struggling with the aftermath of occupying regimes. Even today, Russia has not abandoned its penchant for imperialism, as it has proclaimed itself heir to all of the empire's assets, including its industrial-military complex. There are still Russian occupational armies in Poland and the Baltic States.

The existence of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), created under pressure from Western powers, hinders its member states from moving faster towards a free-market economy, and the introduction of separate currencies. With some exceptions, former communists still hold key positions in parliament and governments and even though the Communist Party has been outlawed, they now exist as socialist parties. The former communist nomenclatura and partocrats, who are unfortunately still in positions of power, are using their influence to appropriate land and factories before the introduction of privatisation.

To this day, the human rights violations of the former Soviet regime have not been exposed. The time has come for open access to KGB files and full accountability for inhumane deeds. Shortly after the overwhelming results of the December 1st referendum for independence in Ukraine, the KGB quickly transported files to Moscow, so that current agents could not be exposed. Such examples serve as constant reminders of the need for caution, and focus on this area.

Due to the Russian policy of "divide et impera" (divide and rule) and the mass deportation of populations, there are now problems with national minorities in republics such as Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan (Nagorny-Karabakh).

The national movements are trying to revive religion, national spirit and reintroduce democracy in their countries. For these purposes they cherish all possible links and contacts with other countries. The membership of several nations such as: Ukraine, Hungary, the Baltic States, Bulgaria, Croatia, Poland and Byelorussia in the World League for Freedom and Democracy has been of great help in the promotion of close links between subjugated nations and independent countries.



In the past year, ABN President travelled to Ukraine several times in order to organise and participate in various conferences and meetings – one of which was the first historical conference of Ukrainian Nationalists held in Kyiv in March of this year. This led to the establishment of the Secretariat of Ukrainian Nationalists in Kyiv. Following this nation-wide conference, regional conferences were held in cities such as: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Rivne, Cherkasy, Kharkiw, Kherson, Donetsk and Donbass, Ternopil and Zaporizha during June and July. District and local meetings of Ukrainian nationalists will be held in the upcoming months. The intention was to raise the conscience of the rural population and expand the nationalist movement in Ukraine. Among other activities were interviews with press, radio and television (which were broadcast throughout the Commonwealth of Independent States). At the Ukrainian Opera Theatre in Lviv, the audience of 1500 was informed about the political activities of OUN, ABN and WLFD.

Future plans include a mission to Ukraine for the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which will be commemorated throughout Ukraine. Thousands of Ukrainians from the diaspora plan to attend a memorial service for Patriarch and Cardinal Josyp Slipyj, Ukraine's greatest religious martyr whose remains will be transferred from Rome to Lviv's Cathedral of Saint George.

Leaders of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and its branches throughout the world have been visiting their homelands in order to provide assistance. Frequent travels by our representatives Mrs Dildora Damisch (Uzbekhistan), Mr Valentino Berko (Slovakia), Dr Filip Paunescu (Romania), Mr George Lazarov (Bulgaria) have enabled us to establish ABN and WLFD branches in these countries and the Baltic States as previously in Poland and Hungary.

The ABN Central Committee meets regularly with visiting officials at the head office in Munich. Throughout the past year, ABN has worked on a campaign to mobilise all governments to officially recognise the newly-independent countries and to initiate diplomatic relations. Now, much of our focus has been directed at improving relations between the formerly-subjugated countries by acting as a liaison and by approaching government agencies for assistance on behalf of the newly-independent countries. In addition, media interviews with the ABN President have been transmitted by Radio Liberty, BBC and CBC to newly-independent countries, in particular regarding support for Tatarstan before the referendum on independence from the Russia. ABN also continues its publishing activities with its aim to assist the newly-independent countries.

In October, 1991, BBC's television series *Assignment* aired a programme titled "New Nations, Old Hatreds", with participants ABN President Slava Stetsko, Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, Croatia's Minister of Information Branko Salaj, former Irish Premier Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, Sir Ralf Dahrendorf from St. Antony's College at Oxford, American academic Arthur Schlesinger Jr., the Right Honourable Enoch Powell, Political Director of the Council of Europe Hans Peter Furrer and the Nationalities Advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Dr. Galina Statrovoitova. The catalyst to the heated debate was the question posed to the guests: "Can the proliferation of new nations do anything to quell old hatred?" The issue is most timely today because of the unnecessary fears surrounding the resurgence of nationalism especially since nationalism is often confused with the negative concept of chauvinism.

In February, ABN representatives held a local conference in New York to discuss recent developments in former communist occupied countries. The danger of nuclear weapons and the threat that Russia poses to “non-nuclear” countries, the deteriorating conditions in Belarus as a result of the blockades from Moscow were among many issues discussed.

In November, ABN is planning a World Congress, to be held in Toronto where topical papers such as “The Collapse of Bolshevism”, “New geopolitical , socio-economic, military and cultural realities in Europe, Central Asia, Latin America and Africa”, and “The ‘Internal’ Empire of the Russian Federation” will be presented.

Burdened by the magnitude of the many duties and assignments facing us in our new changing world, we are most thankful to God for the opportunity and the ability to assist this process of rebuilding our newly-independent homelands. The tasks awaiting us are not easy ones and the road to recovery is not short. Nonetheless, we have gained new energy and strength that we hope will serve us well in assisting Mainland China, Vietnam, Cuba and other countries to also remove the yolk of communism.

## ABN Plans Congress

Plans for ABN’s congress to be held November 20-21, 1992 in Toronto are well underway. ABN Canada is inviting delegates and special guests from the United States, Canada and Europe. The chain of world events has led to the fall of the Soviet empire and the dissolution of other multi-national states, not only in the former Soviet Union but also in Europe. The time has come to reassess and redefine new goals for the future, but also to reaffirm the causes which ABN has championed for nearly five decades, i.e. the struggle against Bolshevik-Communist imperialism, human rights violations and the support for national independence.

The following is the proposed programme for the ABN Congress:

**I. OPENING ADDRESS:** Overview and Assessment of ABN activities from 1946-1972 (ABN President Slava Stetsko)

**II. TOPICAL PAPERS:** (*open session*)

1. The Collapse of Bolshevism: new geopolitical, socioeconomic, military and cultural realities in Europe, Central Asia, Latin America and Africa
2. Issues in nation-building in the newly-independent countries of Europe and Central Asia
3. The “Internal” Empire of the Russian Federation
4. Remaining strongholds of Bolshevism in Asia and Latin America

### **III. POLICY WORKSHOPS: *(closed session)***

ABN as an NGO and its political role in the post-Bolshevik era

1. The need for a balance of power between the newly-independent nations and Russia. Issues in the liberation of peoples confined within the “internal” empire of the Russian Federation.
2. The role of ABN in sensitizing world public opinion to the democratic changes and nation-building taking place in the newly-independent countries of Europe and Central Asia.
3. Organisational issues: ABN structure in the countries of origin and the diaspora; a new name for ABN; constitutional changes: the World Executive (its structure and make-up); publications, et al.

### **IV. REPORTS OF POLICY WORKSHOPS: *(closed session)***

Discussions and Approval

### **V. ELECTION OF A NEW WORLD EXECUTIVE OF ABN *(open session)***

### **VI. CLOSING ADDRESS: ABN PRESIDENT *(open session)***

### **VII. CONGRESS DINNER**

## **ABN Regional Meeting at the WLFD Conference**

At the beginning of the session, there was a joint meeting of the Western European Region and the ABN (Eastern) European Region. During this meeting, all delegates agreed to have more frequent joint meetings and to cooperate more closely in order to inform each other about regional meetings. The Chairperson of ABN's Preparatory Committee informed all delegates about the planned ABN World Congress to be held in Toronto, Canada on November 20-21, 1992 and invited all European chapters to participate.

After the joint meeting, the ABN Region held its meeting. The following nationalities were present: Afghan, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Uzbekistani and Ukrainian. The Hungarian and Uzbekistani delegations had to leave before the end of the meeting. At the ABN meeting, new aims and goals were discussed. In addition to the ABN World Congress in Toronto, it was agreed to hold an ABN Regional Conference in Warsaw, Poland in May, 1993. The Bulgarians informed the delegates about the Macedonian problem and requested that this be included in the Final Communique of the Conference.

The Romanians informed the delegates about the situation in Moldova and requested the following statement be put into the Final Communique: The Romanian Freedom Front asks the WLFD Conference in Budapest to demand the withdrawal of Russian troops, stationed on both banks of the Dniester River, from the Republic of Moldova.

After a brief discussion of the issues pertaining to this year's WLFD Conference, the ABN meeting was closed.

## WLFD Emblem Changed

After the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) changed its name to the World League for Freedom and Democracy (WLFD) at the 22nd Conference in Brussels, Belgium in 1990, the league still used its old emblem depicting the struggle against communism and the victory over communism.

A new Charter of the World League for Freedom and Democracy was adopted at the 23rd WLFD Conference in Costa Rica last year. In the wake of the near collapse of communism in the world, the fall of the Soviet Communist empire, and the liberalisation of Eastern Europe from the Communist yoke, it was proposed that the emblem should be more representative of the WLFD movement which furthers the cause of freedom, democracy, equality, fraternity and peace.

The proposed new emblem is engulfed with olive branches representing world peace. The six points on the orbit encircling the globe represent the six regional organisations which are tied into one international organisation. The new green colour symbolises the desire for the preservation of the harmonious relationship between mankind and nature, the colour white – world peace, and the colour blue – freedom and hope.



**Declaration  
of the  
Slovak National Parliament**

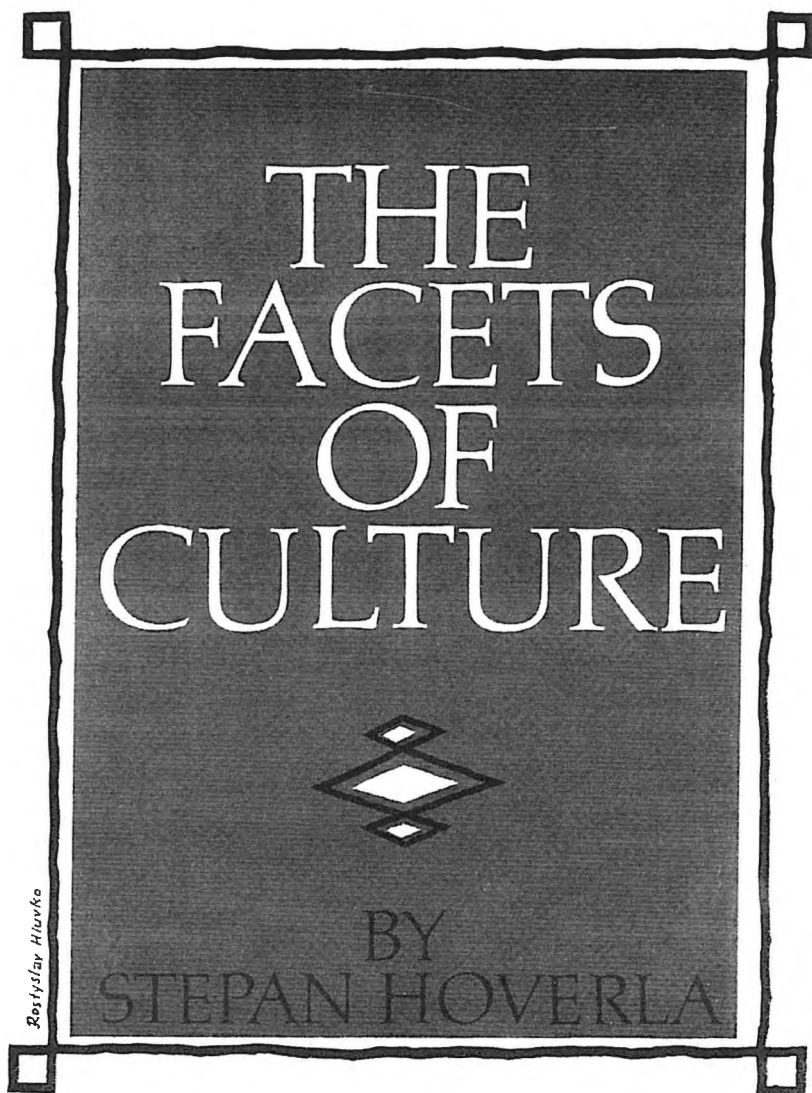
**concerning the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic  
proclaimed on July 17th, 1992  
in Bratislava, Slovakia**

*“We the democratically elected Slovak National Parliament, declare in solemn form that the thousand years endeavor of the Slovak nation for independence has come true.*

*In this historic moment, we declare the natural right of the Slovak nation for self-determination in this way as it is anchored also in the international agreements and treaties about the right of nations to self-determination.*

*Recognising the right of nations to self-determination, we declare that we will also freely shape the way and form of national and state life while respecting the rights of all, of each citizen, of nations, of the national minorities and of the ethnic groups and of the democratic and humane messages of Europe and the world.*

*With this Declaration, the Slovak National Parliament proclaims the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic as the basis of the sovereign State of the Slovak nation. “*



LONDON 1988

**THE FACETS OF CULTURE** written by **STEPAN HOVERLA**  
Published by Ukrainian Central Information Service. Available from Ukrainian  
Publishers Ltd, 200 Liverpool Road, London, N1 1LF, England



# ABN

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*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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## ABN CORRESPONDENCE

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## Let's Build our Ukrainian State

*(The following is the speech of ABN President and Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Mme. Slava Stetsko, at the celebrations of the first anniversary of Ukrainian independence in Kyiv on August 24th, 1992.)*

I extend greetings from the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) from the *banderivtsi* on the occasion of independence celebrations. The OUN set a clear goal – “You will attain a Ukrainian state, or you will die fighting for it!”. The OUN found strength in its own nation, and avoided any orientation on foreign forces. Under the leadership of Stephan Bandera, the OUN proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian state in Lviv in 1941 and to defend it, formed the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

In 1943, the OUN-UPA began establishing the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations to attain a common goal – the dissolution of the Russian empire and the restoration of independent states. On the initiative of the OUN, the Ukrainian Central Liberation Council (UHVR) was formed in 1944. Regardless of the countless sacrifices during the fight against Nazis and Bolsheviks, the continuous vitality of the Ukrainian nation was assured.

The Ukrainian nation's just struggle under the banner “Freedom for nations! Freedom for the individual!” was carried throughout the world.

We are grateful to God Almighty for allowing us to witness Ukraine's rebirth. At the same time, concern grows for Ukraine's future. The experience of past centuries, as echoed in the great poet Taras Shevchenko's warnings last century to the recent pronouncements from Moscow's reactionaries, as well as from the so-called democrats – Rutskoi, Sobchak, Popov, convince us that Ukraine must leave the CIS as soon as possible before Russia once again attempts to regain Ukraine as its colony. We are disturbed by agreements signed in Dagomys and Yalta which can transform sovereign Ukrainian lands into a base for Russian imperialism.

Ukraine must immediately withdraw from the rouble zone, and finally begin the necessary economic reforms, demonopolisation, privatisation, and the transfer of land to the farmers and the factories to the workers. Ukraine must introduce its own banking system, break ties with the common economic sphere and embark on a social market system. Taking into account not only the threat of Russian imperialism, but what is already direct subversion in the Crimean and Trans-Dniester regions, it is time for Ukraine to more seriously undertake the formation of a truly Ukrainian army, conscious of its great responsibility to maintain peace and to protect the Ukrainian state.

Do we at last have the strength to have our own true Ukrainian government, to begin introducing reforms as quickly as possible and to form our Ukrainian army? We, Ukrainian nationalists, take upon ourselves the task of rejuvenating in the Ukrainian nation faith in itself and its future, helping it to sense the importance of this historic, decisive and critical period in which we find ourselves, revive in the nation pride in our glorious past which should become the source of new creative energy. To restore the love of the land, raise the slave to a free human being responsible for governing our land bathed in the blood of our heroes. We will continue to struggle for the government of the people in the Ukrainian state based on the principles of democratic pluralism, as well as on our eternal national, political and spiritual traditions.

We take it upon ourselves to educate individuals who are aware of their rights; individuals who will not be apathetic with respect to abiding by laws, or with respect to individuals perpetrating crimes against human rights and not facing justice.

We, Ukrainian nationalists, will devote our efforts to ensure that Moscow does not use and does not split the nation with so-called confessional misunderstandings. Our great metropolitans Petro Mohyla, Vasyl Lypkiwskyj, Andrij Sheptytskyj and Patriarch Josyf Slipyj saw our great future in a strong faith in God and a great love for the nation. Let us build a Ukrainian state with Ukrainian as its official language, and which guarantees the rights of all minorities, all citizens of Ukraine and where the master of the country will finally be the Ukrainian nation.

Glory to the Ukrainian nation! Glory to our heroes! Glory to Ukraine!

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## **Greetings from President George Bush**

THE WHITE HOUSE,

August 17, 1992

I am delighted to send greetings to all those who are gathered – both Ukrainians and Ukrainian Americans –to commemorate the First Anniversary of the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence.

This is truly a special day for Ukraine. The people of Ukraine have embarked on a daunting, yet vital task –building Ukraine into a full and democratic member of the European and world communities. We will stand beside their continuing efforts to establish democratic institutions and safeguard basic human rights. Similarly, President Kravchuk also faces many challenges in creating a market economy to bring prosperity to the Ukrainian people. The United States stands ready to assist their efforts at market reform through our technical and humanitarian assistance in a variety of fields. Ukraine has also dealt courageously with one of its most complex legacies, nuclear weapons. The Parliament's resolute stand to become a non-nuclear weapons state has served as an important guidepost in our common efforts to rid the world of the threat of nuclear destruction.

Just as Ukraine has grown quickly as a Nation, so it has grown as a friend of the United States and a responsible player on the world scene. We will continue to work together closely – a process greatly aided by our meetings with President Kravchuk in Washington in May. At the same time, we are heartened by the responsible way Ukraine has sought to resolve questions with its neighbours as a sovereign equal and through peaceful negotiations.

Eventually, many American Presidents will be able to congratulate Ukraine on its independence, but as the first to do so, I would also like to wish the Ukrainian people peace, health and prosperity in the coming year.

*George Bush, President of the United States*

## Statement on the Black Sea Fleet

*(The following is a statement issued by the Secretariat and Regional Representatives of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists in Kyiv on August 21, 1992)*

### I. Considering that:

1. Negotiations should be held only on the distribution of the entire fleet of the USSR
2. No foreign military bases should exist in Ukraine;
3. The problem of the establishment of Ukraine's military naval forces and Russia's military naval fleet should be resolved peacefully;

In addition, considering the new imperial attitude of the political forces gathered around Russia's vice-president Alexander Rutskoi and the fact that the present imperial command of the Black Sea Fleet continues to incite an anti-Ukrainian atmosphere;

The Secretariat and Regional Representatives of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists call on Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk to review the Dagomez agreements and the Yalta treaty with better consideration of Ukraine's interests and, with Ukraine's best interests in mind, to enter new talks with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin.

II. Fully aware of the complex process of a peaceful transition from imperial structures to those of a nation-state, in particular, the formation of Ukrainian military forces, the Secretariat and Regional Representatives of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists call on Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk to introduce the following measures in order to strengthen Ukraine's position:

1. To immediately establish military naval forces in Ukraine with all administrative and security structures.
2. In order to facilitate the distribution of the fleet of the former USSR, it is necessary to immediately base the military naval forces of Ukraine on newly built ships and naval vessels (for example, "Slavutych") and to bring into practice the financial and technical security of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet through the structure of Ukraine's military naval forces.
3. To reinforce the process of the growth and consolidation of the Ukrainian army and military air forces of Ukraine.
4. To remove or demobilize all military servicemen from Ukraine who refuse to swear the oath of allegiance to Ukraine, and to actively support the return to Ukraine all Ukrainian servicemen, who are serving in the military forces of other CIS countries against their will, with the aim of including them in the military forces of Ukraine.
5. To determine the process and date of Ukraine's exit from the CIS and to establish Ukraine's normal state boundaries. Friendly neighbourly talks with Russia, as well as with all other states, can be held more successfully on a two-sided, mutually beneficial and equal platform. Our history has never justified any sort of "unions", "confederations" or "commonwealths".

III. The following principles should act as the initial basis for any agreements between Ukraine and Russia on the distribution of the fleet and treaties on the adherence to these agreements:

1. To consider Ukraine's contribution to the build-up of the entire military naval forces in the former USSR, in particular the Black Sea Fleet, which should also regulate for a transitional period the proportion of the recruitment of draftees from Ukraine and Russia in the Ukrainian and Russian sections of the fleet on the Black Sea.

2. During the transition from imperial to nation-state structures, the subject for discussion should not be the deployment of a historically imperialistic military fleet on the sovereign territory of a nation, which is struggling to withdrawing from that empire. Instead, at issue, should be the relocation of the fleet's Russian divisions onto Russian territory.

3. The President of Ukraine, the government bodies of Ukraine, the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine and the General Headquarters of the Military Forces of Ukraine should promote the voluntary, peaceful, methodical transition of Black Sea Fleet vessels over to the military naval forces of Ukraine.

4. To move up the date for the distribution of the fleet according to the above-mentioned positions.

The Secretariat and Regional Representatives of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists believe that the proposed solution to the problems of Ukraine's military naval forces remain in the interests of the Ukrainian people and the state independence of Ukraine, for which our nation unequivocally declared in the referendum on December 1, 1991. This referendum also gave the President of Ukraine a mandate from the citizens of Ukraine towards an independent course in the foreign and domestic policy of the state.

*Kyiv, 21 August 1992*  
*The Secretariat and Regional Representatives*  
*of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists*



## **Ukraine Hoists Blue & Yellow Over More Than 200 Merchant Ships**

*Kyiv, August 20* – The first of many ceremonies marking the changeover from Soviet to Ukrainian rule over Ukraine merchant marine fleet took place yesterday on the passenger liner “Ivan Franko”, and was shown on Ukrainian television. Black Sea and river ports saw the changeover on every type of merchant marine vessel, from trawlers to refrigerator ships to ferry boats. Ceremonies included the playing the the anthem of the now defunct Soviet Union, followed by the Ukrainian anthem, “Shche ne vmerla Ukraina” accompanying the lowering of the old Soviet flag and the raising to the new blue and yellow flag of free Ukraine.

Ukraine has obtained control over the entire 1,500 fleet of merchant ships after lengthy negotiations with Russia.

## First Anniversary Celebration of Ukraine's Independence

On August 24 Ukraine marked the first anniversary of its declaration of independence. The centre of the celebrations was the capital — Kyiv. The day began with the laying of flowers at the foot of the Taras Shevchenko monument. The ceremony was attended by members of the government, Supreme Council deputies, and delegates and guests of the World Forum of Ukrainians, which opened in Kyiv on August 21. A religious service dedicated to the national holiday was held in the St. Sophia Cathedral, celebrated by Patriarch Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Metropolitans Filaret and Antonyi. The service was attended by President Leonid Kravchuk.

The Independence Day celebrations included the grand opening, after more than 200 years, of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, a school once renowned throughout Europe. The first students of the Academy were greeted by the rector, Vyacheslav Briukhovetskyi, and honorary pro-rector Leonid Kravchuk. That day a new exhibition opened in Kyiv's National Museum of History, dedicated to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. The new exhibits portray the role of prominent historical figures such as Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Mazepa, the Central Rada parliament in the era of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

The traditional centre of all of Kyiv's celebrations is St. Andrew's Rise. As part of their contribution to the festivities, numerous artists and sculptors opened their street exhibitions in this old part of the capital, where a large number of Kyivites and visitors to the city gathered to mark the holiday.

That evening the city's grand main street — the Khreshchatyk — was filled with tens of thousands of people. A dirigible balloon, decorated with a huge national symbol, flew above Independence Square. Wearing new Ukrainian uniforms, a National Guard battalion marched down the Khreshchatyk accompanied by a military band. Throughout the whole day various choirs and folk groups entertained passers-by on Independence Square. In the evening a multitude of young Ukrainians gathered on the square to listen to a rock concert.

To conclude the celebrations a rally was held on the square adjacent to St. Sophia. The 30-40,000 people, who completely filled the square, were addressed by political activists, government officials, leaders of political parties and organisations, and representatives of Ukrainian communities of the diaspora. In her address, the chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Slava Stetsko, criticised the sluggish tempos of political and economic reform, and called for the removal of the Cabinet of Ministers. The head of the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Insurgent Army Veterans, Mykhailo Zelenchuk, called for official state recognition of the role of the UPA, a military force that fought against foreign occupation, in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation.

Volodymyr Filenko, the chairman of the association New Ukraine publicly demonstrated the Fokin government's unpopularity by calling for a show of support for the Cabinet of Ministers. No hands were raised in favour of the government. Following a brief statement by Rukh joint chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo Horyn, the leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party, who led the proceedings, declared the rally closed. Although present at the rally, President Kravchuk did not address the gathering.



## Ukraine hosts World Forum

From August 21-24 the capital of Ukraine hosted the World Forum of Ukrainians. The principal aim of this international event was to rally all Ukrainians, regardless of political views and countries of residence, around building a Ukrainian state. The event was organised by the Prosvita Society, Rukh, and the Cabinet of Ministers' commission on nationalities.

The Forum was attended by representatives of Ukrainian organisations from around the world: 447 delegates from the western diaspora, 335 from the eastern diaspora, and 470 delegates from Ukraine. Covering the proceedings were 414 journalists.

The Forum opened with an address by President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk. In his almost hour-long address, Kravchuk recounted the history of the Ukrainian people's struggle for independence, and described the plan to build an independent Ukrainian state. In the opinion of the President, Ukraine needs gradual reforms, privatisation, the nationalisation of the means of production, as well as its own banking system and national currency.

The President also emphasised the need for national consolidation, drawing a parallel with the liberation struggle of 1917-1920, when the absence of national unity brought defeat. In this context he criticised Rukh's joint chairman, Vyacheslav Chornovil, accusing him of personal ambition.

In his address, notable publicist and former political prisoner Ivan Dziuba gave a detailed analysis of the current situation in Ukraine. In his opinion, Ukraine is not yet a completely independent state. The difficulties of the transition from a totalitarian state with a planned economy to a democratic society and a market economy have been magnified by serious mistakes on the part of the leadership. At the same time, Dziuba said, the national-democratic movement has proved incapable of forming a clear and meaningful conception of reform and lasting organisational structures, which has led to the weakening of its position.

Speaking on "The Western Diaspora: Goals and Perspectives", the President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Yuriy Shymko (Canada), also focussed his attention on the flawed economic policy of the Ukrainian leadership. Shymko stressed that the western diaspora is prepared to help, but wants to be certain that its efforts will actually be directed towards helping Ukraine.

Oleksander Rudenko-Desniak (Moscow), a member of the Coordinating Council of the Slavutych Society, reported on the state of affairs in the republics of the former USSR in his address, entitled "The Eastern Diaspora: Understanding the New Role".

Many other representatives of Ukraine's eastern and western diaspora, and political parties and organisations also took the opportunity to address the gathering. Citing cases when substantial hard currency funds have been squandered, and calling on the western diaspora to take the Ukrainian communities in the countries of the former USSR under its care, Vyacheslav Chornovil accused the government of leading Ukraine into bankruptcy.

On August 22, the Forum continued its work in the form of numerous commissions dealing with historical, political, international, linguistic, cultural, security, legal, ethnographic, demographic, economic, and ecological matters.

The commissions presented their reports the following day, when the Forum adopted its concluding documents. A World Coordinating Council was established, composed of 33 members. Ukraine, the western diaspora, and the eastern diaspora will each be represented by 11 delegates. The Council includes the joint chairmen of Rukh, the chairman of the Ukraina Society — Ivan Drach, Pavlo Popovych — one of the world's first astronauts, the representative of the Slavutych Society Coordinating Council — Oleksander Rudenko-Desniak, People's Deputy Larysa Skoryk, and the President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians — Yuriy Shymko.

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## Congress of National-Democratic Forces

*KYIV (Ukrinform)* — Ukraine's withdrawal from the CIS; the replacement of the Cabinet of Ministers; the suspension of the Supreme Council's mandate and the holding of new multi-party parliamentary elections form the principal goals of the Congress of National-Democratic Forces (KNDS), which met in the Ukrainian capital on August 2.

According to its statutory by-laws, the Congress was founded to help implement joint measures for building and consolidating the Ukrainian state, and to reinforce national independence and democracy. The Congress members stand for a unitary state structure in Ukraine and the creation of a market economy through nationalisation and fair privatisation. They give priority to national enterprise and the introduction of a Ukrainian currency.

The Ukrainian Republican Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, the Ukrainian Christian-Democratic Party and other civic organisations, including the "Prosvita" society, the Association of Ukrainian Students, the Organisation of Crimean-Tatar People, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Insurgent Army Veterans, and the All-Ukrainian Society of the Repressed have joined together to form the Congress. The Popular Movement of Ukraine, on the other hand, whose representatives also took part in the Congress, has expressed its willingness to cooperate with the KNDS on the basis of a coalition.

The meeting elected a Congress Council, whose task is to form the executive organs of the KNDS.

## **Patriarch Josyf Re-buried in Homeland**

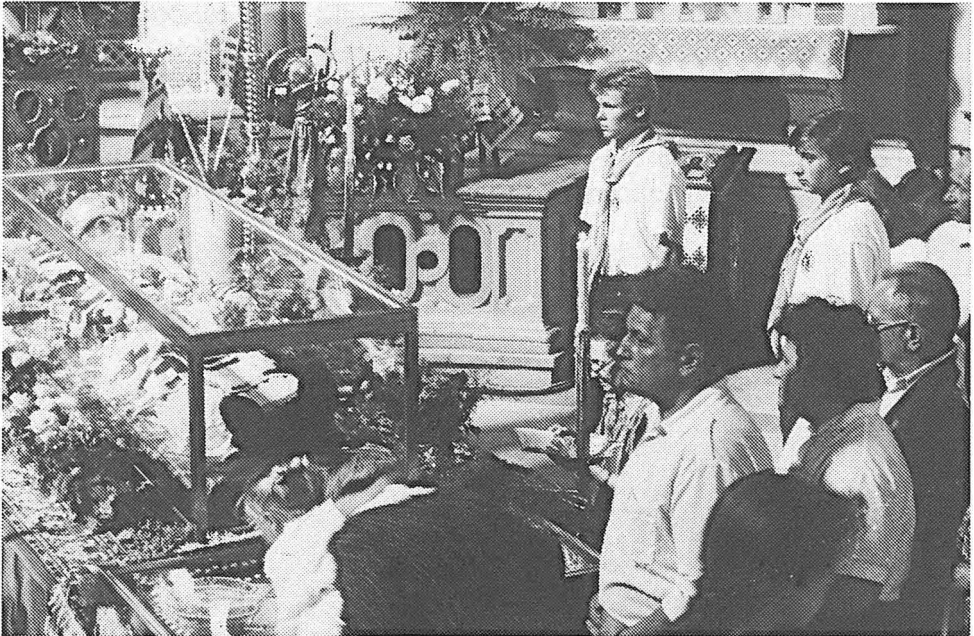


*Lviv, Ukraine* – On September 7, 1992, the leaders of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine joined together to bury the mortal remains of a great Catholic leader and devoted son of Ukraine, Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, in the crypt of the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv.



*The funeral procession through the city of Lviv, Ukraine*

The body of Patriarch Josyf had been lying in state in the cathedral, in a special crystal coffin, since August 27, when it was returned to Lviv from Rome. Interment of the body in the crypt of the cathedral had been scheduled for August 29, 1992 following two days when faithful and others were to pay their respects. However, because crowds of over one million persons gathered in Lviv especially to view the body, interment was delayed by special request of the Lviv Regional Council.



*The body of Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj lying in state  
at the St. George Cathedral in Lviv, Ukraine*

His Beatitude Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky agreed that interment would be on September 7, the eighth anniversary of Patriarch Josyf's death. Following a pontifical divine liturgy and services for the dead in the cathedral, the body of the former Soviet prisoner, who would have been 100 years old this year, was taken to the crypt which had been specially renovated. Patriarch Josyf was buried with the bodies of his spiritual father Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and Cardinal Sylvester Sembratovich.

## UPA VETERANS CELEBRATE 50TH ANNIVERSARY

KYIV, Aug 9 - Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who fought for Ukraine's independence during World War II marched through the streets of Kyiv to demand recognition after decades of repression and neglect. Some 7,000 men and women paraded through the city reminding the nation of their deed as they launched celebrations marking the army's 50th anniversary.

ABN President and Chairman Slava Stetsko participated in the celebrations in various cities throughout Ukraine. In her speeches, she paid tribute to the many who lost their lives in the struggle against two fronts – Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Many had dedicated their lives fighting for an independent Ukraine. Now that Ukraine has gained independence, their valuable contribution must be officially recognised, so that their great efforts will never be forgotten. UPA veterans must also be acknowledged as Ukraine's true veterans.



*UPA 50th anniversary celebrations in front of the opera house in Lviv. ABN President Slava Stetsko was one of the guests of honour.*

## **How the KGB tried to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church**

The reasons why the Ukrainian Catholic Church was forced to go underground nearly fifty years ago can only be objectively studied now because of the recently-allowed limited access to archival KGB files in Moscow. These documents paint a tragic picture of the planned destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which commenced under Stalin and continued until Ukraine gained its independence.

In 1989, the weekly magazine *Argumenty i Fakty* wrote that the many documents which tell this tragic tale were thought to be destroyed until recently. Another article from this same periodical uncovered the facts about the assassination of Father Oleksander Menya, after it was discovered that he had in his possession documents which showed the extent of KGB manipulation in the church.

A cover-up of the facts remains today, since the former Communist rule of the Russian empire is not eager to disclose the planned destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially since this church did not succumb to the totalitarian regime and always stood for Ukraine's national interests, while the priests of the Russian Orthodox Church sold out to the interests of maintaining the empire.

An analysis of the archival documents evokes the image of the dark corridors of the Stalin-Beria structures where the poisoned meal was prepared. Today, as our society is healing itself as it builds an independent state; the questions remain. How could this have happened? What caused the long, dark, "polar night" in our history which began with Stalin and his henchmen? What provoked them to wage a cruel war against the nations imprisoned in their state? How did the "emperor" of this land succeed in manifesting himself as a living "god"? One of the secrets of Stalin's success, after having created a religious vacuum, was to unite the atavistic and spiritual quests of the individual. Another aspect was to instill in people the concept of a mythological figure as ruler who had god-like features and unlimited power. With the benefit of analysis of this period, our society can heal itself of the negative effects of this process and manipulation.

In Tsarist Russia, the church and monarchy had a tenuous relationship which varied from tolerance to despise. The October revolution of 1917 initiated a new era of confrontation between the church and those in power, although there was a law introduced which separated church from the state. Nonetheless, revolutions tend to liberate a groundswell of aggressive force and action. One of the institutions which was most closely linked to the old Tsarist regime was the Russian Orthodox Church, and hence it suffered from negative backlash. The decree on the separation of church and state illicitly protested from religious activists, who called this decree discriminatory, especially on the issue of the state disposing of church assets and valuables.

The church had viewed its assets as belonging to society, however, the way in which the church was forced to dispose of assets caused rebellion, protest and bloody struggles. Churches and monasteries, and religious schools were closed, church

publishing was halted, and the Bible was no longer printed. Church monuments and buildings were demolished, religious books and icons were burned. Anti-religious propaganda became widespread. Atheist extremists staged demonstrations where some were dressed up mocking clergy.

During revolutions when an old regime is destroyed and there is a lack of civil order, there is the danger that those who seek power for its own sake may benefit from such a period. Such was the “Machiavellism” of Stalin, who tried to then build an absolute dictatorship, and thus eliminated all obstacles and persons which blocked this path. His persona was forcefully tied in with every aspect of life: education, culture, art, even religion. However, this was not enough. Stalin believed that there should only be one god - the one in the Kremlin and the faith in him should become the dominating ideology, over and above Marxism. The last battles were won by Stalin, when a change was passed in the constitution forbidding religious propaganda and the symbol of Stalin’s victory was the physical demolition and blasting of many well-known churches.

Stalin had decided that this religious vacuum that he created was sufficient. However, the creation of a new religion was on the horizon as Stalin, the self-proclaimed “father of nations” raises himself to an even higher plane on Mount Olympia towards the kind of absolutism, not even dreamed of by Emperor Augustus.

The Second World War drastically changed the position of the Russian Orthodox Church. There were many reasons for this change. The occupying armies of Nazi Germany did not oppose the re-opening of churches, and this was accepted favourably by the people and forced Stalin to follow suit later (purely from a propagandistic-political perspective). Taking into account the overt rebirth of religious faith during the war, Stalin decided to utilise this to his benefit with the help of the puppet Moscow Patriarchy.

Stalin, realising that he is the uncrowned emperor, decided that it would be to his benefit to have the “blessing” of the same church which sanctified the rule of Russian Tsars since the sixteenth century. And thus, the church that was on its way to complete destruction, suddenly gained approval. How did Stalin manage to have the Russian Orthodox Church leaders “eating out of the palm of his hand?”

It started out quite simply – from a casual conversation on September 4, 1943. When it was becoming clearer how the war would end, Stalin summoned the KGB officer responsible for religion, H. Karpov, to his *dacha* to get information about the Russian Orthodox Church. L. Beria and Malenkov, who was responsible for ideology, were also present. Karpov was well versed in this area and reported extensively – from the health of the metropolitans, to the number of believers and about the relations with other orthodox churches in Roumania, Bulgaria, etc. When all of Stalin’s questions were answered, he wanted to know more about Karpov.

Stalin then decided that it was necessary to form a separate state structure at the governmental level which would act as a liaison between the authorities and the Russian Orthodox Church, and thus, would precipitate more control over church activities. Stalin then told Beria, Malenkov and Karpov that he wanted to immediately meet with the Metropolitans Serhij, Aleksij, and Mykolaj. Karpov called Metropolitan Serhij and told him that the intention of the meeting was to discuss the needs of the church.

The Metropolitans arrived at the Kremlin on that same day, and were quite surprised by the hospitable and accomodating treatment from the “Father of all nations”.



Stalin thanked the Metropolitans for the church's patriotic contribution to the war effort. Little did they know that their belief in this deception would have grave consequences for millions of followers of the Russian Orthodox Church as well as of other religious denominations.

As a token of his gratitude, Stalin asked the Metropolitans if he could assist the church in any way. Metropolitan Serhij, the patriarchal representative, had said that the biggest problem facing the patriarchy is the lack of centralised authority, especially since there had not been a church synod allowed since 1935. He asked for permission to call a *sobor* (a meeting of church leaders) in order that a patriarch be chosen. The Metropolitan of Leningrad Aleksij and the Exarch of Ukraine and Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych Mykolaj supported the proposal of forming a synod. The Metropolitans stated that this synod would be canonical. But how could a synod, that was organised inside the walls of the Kremlin under the watchful direction of history's worst tyrant, be considered even remotely legitimate? In fact, the outcome of the planned synod was decided by Stalin – Metropolitan Serhij would be the next patriarch. And so it was. The script for the theatrical spectacle that called a canonical synod was written by the “omnipotent” Stalin with the KGB as the supporting actors. To further add to the show, the patriarchy would have an appropriate title – the Patriarchy of Moscow and all of Russia. Stalin's cast of henchmen had even assisted with quickly assembling together all of the Russian Orthodox Church leaders within a record time by providing air transportation. This enabled the date to be set for as quickly as September 8, 1943.

The deal with Satan was almost complete. The Russian Orthodox Church became Stalin's puppet and transformed itself into a government apparat as it received privileged status. Requests for further assistance resulted in promises for the re-opening of religious seminary schools, permission to publish church literature and the re-opening of several churches. However, later, this last request was altered in such a way that state authorities decided which churches could be opened. A request was also made that the church receive financial assistance which would directly flow into church coffers for the activities of the patriarch and the synod. This was also granted, as well as permission to reestablish autonomous church enterprises, such as, for candle-making, etc. When the Metropolitans became more confident with Stalin, they even requested the release from prisons and concentration camps of imprisoned priests.

Stalin assured the Metropolitans that all the church's needs would be met and that the church could count on the support of the government for its development throughout all of the Soviet Union. Although this new direction violated the former laws on the separation of church from state and church from schools, it was in keeping with the specific socio-political situation of the time and it was acceptable in terms of Stalin's further plans. By offering a subsidy and support, Stalin managed to make the church a servant of state ideology.

After the church needs were taken care of, Stalin moved to the personal realm by offering larger apartments, automobiles, deliveries of scarce food supplies, etc. The clever politician Stalin realised that he had fully manipulated the church leaders. Now the true reason for the meeting was revealed. Stalin turned to the Metropolitans and said, “If there are no other requests, than we will go to the task at hand – the creation of a Soviet of the Russian Orthodox Church, which will be headed by comrade Karpov.” The church representatives agreed to this proposal and the deal was completed.

After such a decision there could be no question of the existence of an independent church. The Russian Orthodox Church leaders, who succumbed to their own personal interests, were aware of this as they embarked upon a path that led them to being an instrument of the state, or rather the Soviet-Russian empire, and which later led them into direct conflict with other denominations, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The next day, September 5th, 1943, Molotov had written a communiqué for radio and press about the decision to hold a meeting of bishops (*sobor*). Metropolitan Serhij made a public statement that day expressing gratitude to Stalin.

Archival documents explicitly unravel the tragic tale that began with this first meeting where the Russian Orthodox Church sold out its beliefs and integrity for material gain. The recently-disclosed documents portray a vivid picture of this unrevocable relationship between the Soviet-Russian empire and the KGB infiltrated church that was supported by personal gifts of large sums of money to the Metropolitans (some as large as 35,000 rubles in 1943!).

As far as Karpov was concerned, he remained an officer of the KGB. To his staff he also coopted to other KGB officers. The government structure responsible for church affairs had final say on all candidates for religious education in seminaries, for selection of priests, etc. This connection of the KGB with the Russian Orthodox Church remained until the recent fall of the empire.

However, the biggest victim in this historical sell-out became the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was prominent in western Ukraine, and also existed in western Belarus and in the Baltic states. The Ukrainian Catholic Church remained true to its ideals in spite of Stalin's tyranny.

After the Second World War, western Ukraine came under the rule of the Soviet Russian empire. Under Stalin, the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist legally but not in reality. The main orchestrator of the church's *de jure* demise was KGB officer Karpov. He had called together *sobor* on March 8-10, 1946 in Lviv with the intention that this political farce would erase the church from existence.

Before Soviet Russia overtook western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had 4,440 churches, an academy, 5 seminaries, 2 schools, 127 monasteries, 3 weekly newspapers and 6 monthly publications. The church was headed by a Metropolitan, and had 10 bishops, 2950 priests, 1090 monks and 540 seminarians. The Ukrainian Catholic Church had experienced great development during the time when Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytskyj led the church from 1901 until his death on November 1, 1944, at which time, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was chosen to head the church.

The Soviet Russian occupation of Ukraine saw the the physical destruction of thousands of Ukrainians and forced resettlement to remote areas of the empire. In order to stop the physical torture and killing, shortly before his death, Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytsky had responded to the request for a meeting with Soviet governmental body on "religious cults" with the intention of "normalising" relations. Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj sent a delegation to Moscow in December, 1944. The results of the meeting were accurately reported to Stalin by Molotov, Beria and Khrushchev, especially since the Ukrainian Catholic Church leaders had demanded that the Red Army immediately halt its path of destruction. When the church delegation asked for a guarantee of its right to continue its activities, the delegation received a positive reassurance.



*Demonstration in Ukraine for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church*

There were two reasons for this. At first, there was a law passed in 1944 by the *Radnarkom* of the U.S.S.R. on the “reopening of prayer facilities for religious cults”, (under which jurisdiction came the Ukrainian Catholic Church) stating that religious unions must register their intention to hold services. Secondly, Stalin did not want to openly initiate a conflict with the Ukrainian Catholic Church during the war. However, it was difficult for Stalin to forgive the church’s role in supporting the national movement for an independent Ukraine and the support of the church for the Declaration of Ukraine’s Independence on June 30, 1941.

Shortly following, Molotov asked Karpov to devise a plan for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Karpov had decided that this should be done at the synod called for March, 1946, by infiltrating the church, creating conflicts among the church leaders, presenting the Russian Orthodox Church as the only solution and blaming the church itself for its own demise. The plan detailing the extent of involvement of the Russian Orthodox Church on an international level to the type of insults and libel that should be hurled at the church, was submitted as document no. 58 on March 15, 1945. Among the arguments to be presented to support the motion to withdraw from the Catholic Church ranged from labelling the Pope as pro-fascist and the Vatican as anti-democratic.

The plan called for at least 6 months preparation, since orthodox church leaders were to be invited from all over the world. They were to be prepared before the synod, therefore, they would be told that it was for the good of the orthodox church that certain directives were followed. Also, much focus was also placed on strengthening orthodox brotherhoods so that they would pressure church leaders to only support the orthodox church. However, the most important part of the plan in preparation for the synod, was the forming of an initiative group within the Ukrainian Catholic Church that would be convinced that it should vote for a separation from the Vatican.



*Father Mykola Symkajlo hears confessions in the forest - 1979*

The archival document shows the extent to which this plan was masterminded. The KGB-devised strategy would be utilised by the Russian Orthodox Church to expand its power at the cost of other religious denominations. The plan was approved by Stalin on March 16, 1945 and by the next day, Karpov's plan for the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and directives to the Supreme Council's committee on "religious cults" were sent by his first assistant, I. Poliansky, on May 8, 1945. Six copies were sent with strict instructions that the incriminating copies must be returned after the information had been studied. All six copies remain in the KGB archives today.

The use of the Russian Orthodox Church to fulfill the directives of the KGB is the beginning of the cooperation that would exist until recently. The tactical directives and argumentation: The Vatican was strongly opposed to the Soviet Union during the war. The Vatican is theocratic in nature. The Vatican meddles in international politics, and has a political role through the existence of diplomats/papal nunci. Among the diplomats to the Vatican are representatives from the "bourgeois" Lithuania. The Vatican has a strongly organised political "apparat" in every country which informs the pope of all Catholic activities. In 1943, the Vatican had strived for a "peaceful compromise" to end the war – this could only have been interpreted as support for Hitler's fascism. Pope Pius XII, in his papal letters, is calling for forgiveness for the wrong-doing of Hitler's Germany. And the final reason – the Vatican has always expressed a "dislike" for the Slavic nations of Eastern Europe, and specifically for Eastern orthodoxy.

The strategy consisted of discrediting the Pope, Roman Catholicism and the initiative group comprised of "orthodox catholics" would then propose allying with the Russian Orthodox Church, rather than with the Roman Catholic. Karpov and Poliansky then planned to discredit those who would form the opposition. A member of the

delegation sent by Metropolitan Slipyj to Moscow, Dr. H. Kostelnyk of the Metropolitan order, was to be discredited because of an article he wrote in 1933 titled "Napoleon and Stalin", which was published in *Meta*. In 1934, the same newspaper published a sermon he gave at the commemorative Holy Mass for the millions who died during Stalin's forced famine in Ukraine. Excerpts from the articles would be used to discredit Kostelnyk.

Needless to say that it was Kostelnyk who was the most demanding and asked the difficult questions during the meeting with Poliansky in Moscow. At that meeting, the KGB officers understood that Kostelnyk would be the one who could influence and lead the Ukrainian Catholic clergy. Furthermore, he had consistently and energetically stated the legal and juridical arguments for the Ukrainian Catholic Church's right to existence.

However, another member of the delegation, I. Vilhowyj, had tried to bend over backwards to be accomodating to the Soviet Russians. Vilhowyj had requested permission to initiate a group which would give financial and moral support to wounded Red Army war veterans. However, permission was not granted.

In the meantime, the KGB was also busy initiating false conflicts between the Roman Catholic and the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

One of the most "extensive" accounts of this forced "unification" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church is found in the book "*Dijanja Soboru Hreko-Katolyckoji Tserkvy 8-10 bereznja 1946 roku u Lvovi*" (The Sobor of the Ukrainian [Greek] Catholic Church March 8-10 1946 in Lviv) was prepared and published by the KGB. On page 13, the authors cynically wrote that only the truth is written in this book.

On the streets in Lviv in 1946 were signs of the first post-war spring, which did not bring the anticipated hope of renewal for millions of Ukrainians. The liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for which Stalin laid the foundation, was underway and the blame for it would be placed directly on the initiative group of Ukrainian Catholic clergy.



Such was the case with so-called Soviet historians and scholars, who claimed that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had seceded its right to exist. However, the analysis of the documents which were alluded to in this article clearly indicate that the initiative group was set up by the KGB.

This group was formed in Lviv on May 28, 1945 at the end of the war. It was comprised of: Rev. Dr. Kostelnyk, Rev. Dr. M. Melnyk, and Rev. Plevetsky. The aim of the group was expressed as such, "Our church now finds itself in a state of flux and disorganisation. This situation has negative effects on our church life. That is why we, the undersigned, have decided to lead our church out of a state of anarchy".

On May 28, 1945, the initiative group asked to be acknowledged officially. This in itself is testimony to the fact that there was anarchy in the church. But why? Simply because it was created by the KGB. On April 11, 1945, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj, Bishop Budka, M. Czarnecky, H. Khomynshyn and I. Latyshevsky were arrested. The guilt of the accused was resolved without a trial.

With the help of the KGB, an interview with the head of the initiative group, Kostelnyk, was printed in *Lvivska Pravda* on March 1, 1946, where he stated that the church leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were arrested for their involvement and aid to the occupying German army, and they have been accused by a Military Tribunal". Ukrainian Catholics, believing that justice would prevail, wrote a petition to Molotov. Many were later arrested and sent to concentration camps. The Ukrainian Catholic Church went underground in Ukraine. After many of years of torture and imprisonment, Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was released from the Soviet gulags, and continued to lead the Ukrainian Catholic Church in exile as Patriarch. He resided in Rome until his death.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church remained a vibrant church in the diaspora. The many believers who gathered in forests and privately in homes to worship must always be remembered for their undying spirit and their refusal to sell out to the Soviet Russian empire.

*Ivan Bilas is a doctoral candidate at the Military Academy in Kyiv, Ukraine.*

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## EVIDENCE WITHHELD FROM DEMJANJUK DEFENSE

*CINCINNATI*, July 17 - The Justice Department has admitted concealing Soviet and Polish documents from John Demjanjuk's lawyers that indicated another Ukrainian guard was the barbaric death camp guard Demjanjuk was accused of being. But the Justice Department also asserted that Demjanjuk's extradition to Israel in 1986 to stand trial as the Treblinka death guard "Ivan the Terrible" was lawful.

## **U. S. Should help Bosnia and Croatia Now**

More than 60 years ago, Albert Einstein and Heinrich Mann wrote to the International League for the Rights of Man: "The facts show that cruelty and brutality practiced upon the Croats only increase. In view of the frightful situation, we urge the International League for the Rights of Man to do everything possible to suppress this unrestrained rule of might which prevails in Croatia."

"Murder as a political weapon must not be tolerated and political murderers must not be made national heroes. The League should muster all possible aid to protect this small peaceful and highly civilised people." *The New York Times*, May 6, 1931.

The dramatic and often tragic events unfolding in former Communist Yugoslavia have exposed a classic case of aggression, terror and the largest land grab in the history of Europe since the end of World War II.

Despite airlifts to the embattled Sarajevo, the crisis in my native Bosnia grows uglier by the day as thousand of Bosnian people – Muslims, Catholics and Protestants alike – are forced to leave their homes and property and seek refuge in neighbouring Croatia. To date, more than 2.5 million refugees have been affected by war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. As reports of atrocities by Serb forces in Bosnia surfaced and the Bosnian government disclosed the existence of 105 Serb-run concentration camps – 94 in Bosnia-Herzegovina and 11 in Serbia and Montenegro – increasing outrage comes from the world community.

Bosnian Ambassador to the United Nations, Mohamed Sacirby released a report showing that U.N. peacekeepers knew about executions of Bosnian Muslims as far back as May. The report was written by a peacekeeper and based on interviews with 18 witnesses. It was never forwarded to the Security Council so it could consider action, officials said. The memo was passed part way up the bureaucratic chain of command and then referred to the Red Cross, which has been trying to get to the camps in order to inspect them.

These are tragic days for my people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The tragedy which they experienced during World War II cannot match the current war of aggression and genocide led by Serbia and its communist president, Slobodan Milosevic, who has been the principal instigator of Yugoslavia's troubles. After the December 1991 elections in Serbia, Milosevic renamed his Communists, the Socialists, and set the stage for the showdown and attempt to crackdown on the democracies first in Slovenia and Croatia, and now in my native Bosnia. The people of Bosnia have been victims of an aggression and indiscriminate war, a war whose inhumanity approaches that seen in Croatia only a few months ago.

I take this opportunity to appeal to you to address the worst refugee crisis in Europe since World War II. Escapees from Serb-run concentration camps in north Bosnia have told reporters of beatings, rapes, killings and starvation diets. Television footage has shown gaunt figures with protruding ribs in scenes reminiscent of Nazi concentration camps.



Across Bosnia, there is ferocity and destruction – innocent men, women and children have been bombed in cities, towns, and villages. The Serbs are systematically attempting to exterminate all those who are not Serb or Serb-Orthodox by faith.

Serbia's Communist leadership is adamant at maintaining the former shape of Yugoslavia at any cost even though four out of six former republics, including Macedonia, have seceded. The Serbs have used the Yugoslav Army as the last ditch effort to save the evil empire they have dominated since the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. While the spotlight is on Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, every city, town and village in Bosnia has been affected by Serbia's war of aggression and its policy of "ethnic cleansing".

For several months, I have not heard from my relatives in Tuzla, an industrial city in northeast Bosnia, where I have an uncle, four aunts, and a number of first cousins and other relatives and friends. The town has been repeatedly bombed by Serb artillery almost on a daily basis, from nearby mountains. The Serbs have threatened to "level" the city. The fate of my relatives in Tuzla remains unknown.

The people of Bosnia were not prepared for the war of aggression. They have no weapons, ammunition, food reserves or supplies. My relatives and other correspondents thought that Western Europe and the United States would not allow such aggression.

Nearly a year after Serbia began its action against Slovenia and Croatia, and now Bosnia-Herzegovina, the European Community and the U. S. have realised who the aggressor is, however, there has been reluctance by the Bush administration to use military force to end the bloodshed and misery in Bosnia.

Under growing pressure, the administration – through the U.N. Security Council – has passed a resolution authorising the use of force to deliver humanitarian aid. While the people of Bosnia continue to experience the deepening tragedy, most governments, including the United States, and independent observers have placed the principal responsibility for this war on the Serbian government, which they believe is systematically trying to create by force a Greater Serbia out of the remnants of the former Yugoslavia.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher suggested that the arms embargo against Bosnia be lifted so that the Bosnian people could defend themselves against attack from Serbs. Unfortunately, her idea was rejected by the Bush administration. I have often wondered what it would have been like in my homeland, if Bosnia had oil. If Kuwait were not rich in oil, the West would not have sent half a million soldiers to the Persian Gulf. America stood up to Saddam Hussein against his aggression on Kuwait, and sent a clear message to the world. The U.S. should send the same message to Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade, and it should be consistent in defense of democracy and human rights.

No one has yet told Milosheovich to stop his aggression in Bosnia and Croatia. America must take the lead in providing Bosnia, along with humanitarian aid, significant military aid to defend its national territory. Mr. Bush must stand for a genuine new world order and condemn Milosevic as he did with Saddam Hussein. The U.S. and the European Community have yet to send a strong enough message to Milosevic: Get out of Bosnia and Croatia!

*Eck Spahich, native of Bosnia, is a journalist and realtor in Borger, Texas, U.S.A.*

## **Market Economy and National Development**

*(The following is a paper presented at the WLFD Conference – August 8-13, 1992)*

It is a great honour for me to participate in this symposium which allows us to together approach the area of a free market in Eastern European countries. It is very important to remember that a market economy is only possible in democratic countries. The events in the Eastern European countries during the last 40 years are evidence of this.

I have had the opportunity to read a discussion paper from the World Bank about efforts to reform and privatise socialist economies. I will try to give you some analyses limited to Hungary, Poland and the former Yugoslavia. The common denominator is that the three government have recognised the need to go beyond the past and have opted for fundamental reforms.

In all socialist economies, the state-owned enterprise sector is a major economic player. In most, it is the dominant one. You must know a state-owned enterprise is a government-owned productive organisation which is expected to earn a significant portion of its revenues from the sale of the production. There is no control from the government.

The reality was inefficiency, and in some cases, absolute declines in productivity and levels of production. In spite of a great deal of investment support, production rates tended to stagnate. The quality was generally poor and not acceptable for export. We are now demanding higher quality goods. In addition, enterprises in Eastern countries have been heavy polluters of the environment and have tended to be poor innovators in technology. Even moderate reforms in the control of production were necessary, but they were too slow and often without any regard for consumer demand. It was also argued that increased autonomy in business would lead to increased technological innovation. But socialist spirit and organisation was always the driving force behind all reforms, and thus, the impossibility of reaching the previous goal was clear. Managers (who often were not really managers) and workers preferred the security of government control to the risks of the market. The conclusion was: without changing the essential features of socialism, satisfactory results could not be produced.

The breakdown of communism in Eastern European countries was the logical consequence from a catastrophic economy. We now observe how very fast new Western European methods of market economy are being accepted in former communist countries. The doctrines of Marx and Lenin are completely buried.

The best example of change towards a market economy is our host country Hungary. It is one country with the best and fastest results. We know that the economic situation in the country is not brilliant, but it is better than in other neighbouring countries.

The multiparty government elected in April, 1990 took measures for enterprises remaining in the public portfolio. Auditing and accounting procedures based on the Western model are being incorporated in key industries and there is restructuring in sectors such as mining, metallurgy and construction. The government insists on doing it in a commercial manner. However, one must not forget that politically, the new

managers or investors are often former *nomenklatura*. The issues of the rights of workers will be a preoccupation of these new governments. Today, we do not have much information about the situation.

Concerning foreign investment, Hungary has greatly liberalised regulations in existing or former enterprises. Approval is automatic for investment proposals that will result in a minority position for the foreigner; official permission for majority or full ownership; profits can be repatriated; and foreigners can own real estate.

Western financial institutions have already created investment funds in Hungary. And Hungary reportedly leads the former socialist bloc in the number of joint ventures negotiated with Western partners. Despite this, unemployment is increasing and the average family income has decreased. There are many difficulties in adapting to a market economy – from implementing new policies to changing one’s mentality.

A new liberal concept for a market economy must be accompanied with complete reform of state and society. This process of transformation from a communist country to a democratic state should also be assisted with support from the free countries of the world. This is all easier said than done.

In Europe, the common market is close to being born. It would be impossible to join countries which do not have a democratic system in place. In reality, there are differences between countries in the individual incomes of its citizens and in the way of life, but the common factor is a democratic system. This foundation is indisputable for the initiation of a free-enterprise, market economy. A country may always have rich people and poor people, academics and workers. But it is most important for a country to have liberty and the opportunity to develop its own qualities, its own businesses, shops, etc., without the weight of ideology and unnecessary intervention from government.

Pierre Mendès, a French minister once said to me, “Democracy is first – a state of spirit.” I hope you will also agree with him. Eastern European countries need our full support.

*The Honourable Geneviève Aubry is a member of the Swiss parliament and Chairman of the European Freedom Council.*



*Hon. Geneviève Aubry (left), WLFDP President Dr. Tze-chi Chao, and ABN President Slava Stetsko (right)*

## **The Cold War is still going on in the Korean Peninsula**

Although a few communist countries are still managing their survival, mankind is ending the era of wasteful and futile ideological confrontation and opening an era of peace and cooperation. This profound change is taking place not due to the political-military attack of the liberal democratic countries, rather due to the failure of the socialist countries under the unbearable weight of inhuman and unproductive socialist systems and their expansive military expenditures. In other words, this change is brought about by the collapse of the socialist system which resulted in the expansion of freedom and democracy.

Unfortunately, this change for the era of peace and cooperation is yet to come in the Korean Peninsula, due to North Korea's refusal to recognise the failure of its own system and also the inability to grasp the trend of the time. North Korea adamantly maintains that there is no reason to revise its own version of socialism. Even if they say that their socialism is distinctly "North Korean socialism", it is in fact only a version of the Stalinistic oppressive system. The only difference from a true stalinistic system is the variant of a father-son dynasty, which even Stalin did not dare.

"We carry out what the party orders" is the slogan which symbolically demonstrates North Korea's political orientation. It is a model of one-party dictatorship. In the North Korean system, the party never makes mistakes and the leader of the party is a living "god". The statue of the supreme leader Kim Il-Sung is the object of worship. Those, who do not worship his statue, are punished for disrespect without formal trial. So freedom and rights of people are only empty words. The enthusiastic competition of worship for Kim Il-Sung has become routinized as it is a means of survival in the system.

Under this circumstance, even the right to silence is no longer allowed. Tamed by party orders, individual initiative and creativity have been deadened. Since North Korea's Labor Party is completely Kim's personal party and since no criticism is allowed, there is no room for a multi-party system and policy debate.

The rights to individual profit and personal happiness are regarded as anti-revolutionary and reactionary, and those who hold these ideas are also punished without trial. People are driven to poverty-level austerity. Food is so scarce that even rationing is often delayed. Nevertheless, North Korea's military force is the largest in the world in terms of population and GNP. There is a 1.5 million person military for a 20 million population. Twenty five percent of the GNP is spent on military expenditures. North Korea is demanding the withdrawal of U.S. forces in South Korea while developing nuclear weapons.

South Korea is insisting that two Koreas should agree on special mutual inspection of suspected nuclear facilities and storages upon 24 hour notice. But North Korea has rejected South Korea's proposal. Because of North Korea's system, its internal situation and its policies, South Koreans are worried about the military threat which North Korea represents.

Last January, South and North Korea signed “The Agreement of Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, Exchange and Cooperation Between North and South Korea.” This agreement establishes only basic principles that have to be worked out in detail by the respective committees set up by the agreement. Nevertheless, North Korea has been obstructing any progress on these programs. So far, North Korea has been using the agreement as a propaganda tool. At the same time, North Korea is undertaking covert political operations to form a united front for socialist revolution in South Korea.

After the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, contacts and dialogue between the two Koreas have become frequent. But there is no progress for peace and cooperation. The Cold War is still going on in the Korean Peninsula. Victory of liberal democracy in the Korean Peninsula is still to come.

It is the duty of the Korea Freedom League to dedicate itself for the victory of democracy in the Korean Peninsula. We, the members of the Korea Freedom League are trying to awaken the people in North Korea and to show them how they are being misled and deceived by the North Korean leader’s ideas and actions. We are also trying to tell the North Korean people that freedom and human rights are more precious than “revolution” and “revolutionary obedience.”

*General Ro, Jae Hyun is the president of the Korea Freedom League*

## **North Korea Insists Nuclear Processing Plant is Only a Laboratory – but Seoul and Washington Unconvinced**

Japan’s News Agency *Kyodo* said that on May 3, delegates from seven countries had attended an international conference in Pyongyang to discuss a multibillion-dollar development project on North Korea’s northern border.

Participants included private-sector officials from Japan, South Korea, and the United States, which still had no diplomatic ties to North Korea’s Stalinist government. Other representatives came from mainland China and Russia, partners in the project to create a free trade zone on the Tumen River, where their borders with North Korea meet, and also from landlocked Mongolia.

Economically-stumbling North Korea opened the two-day conference by unveiling plans to improve the infrastructure serving the project site. This included expanding the cargo-handling capacity of the zone’s planned port to 100 million tons a year, building an electrified, double-track railway belt line and a highway approximately 300 km long. However, representatives from Tokyo and Seoul told Pyongyang leaders that full economic cooperation was impossible until North Korea allayed their fears that it was secretly building nuclear weapons.

North Korea made its first concrete proposal on the trilateral trade port development project late last year, saying the project would be modeled on the special economic zones in southeast China. On May 4, North Korea presented an initial report on its nuclear facilities and materials to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). An IAEA spokesman said the report was handed to the agency’s director general, Hans Blix.

North Korea said it had built a center in Yongbyon, 90 km north of Pyongyang, to research nuclear power. But Washington, Seoul and Tokyo suspected it was building a crude nuclear bomb there.

After years of delay, North Korea's parliament ratified a safeguards accord with the IAEA on April 9, a move which required it to submit a list of its nuclear facilities within 30 days. Under IAEA regulations, an inspection by outside experts can take place as soon as the accord is ratified and up to 90 days after it is put into effect by parliament. North Korea said it would list three nuclear facilities in its initial report. South Korea said IAEA inspections would not reveal the whole truth about the North's nuclear program and demanded inter-Korean inspections as early as possible.

On May 5, a group of American academics said North Korea had admitted producing small amounts of plutonium, a material that can be used to make a nuclear weapon, but North Koreans claimed the material was to be used only for routine civilian experiments. In meetings during the week, they again denied charges that they were operating a plant to reprocess fuel from nuclear reactors to extract plutonium in sufficient quantity to manufacture nuclear arms, the group said.

The disclosures were reported in Peking by three experts on Asian and nuclear issues from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a day after they ended a weeklong trip to North Korea during which they met with senior government officials. On May 11, a Seoul government spokesman said South Korea had turned down a demand by Pyongyang that it open American bases to North Korean nuclear inspectors. "North Korea's demands will not be accepted," a Unification Ministry spokesman said. "The North is asking us to open all our U.S. bases when they are allowing inspection of only the Yongbyon plant." South Korean President Roh Taewoo said last December that his country was free of nuclear weapons.

Pyongyang made the demand the day that Blix was due to arrive in the North Korean capital for a six-day visit. On May 16, Blix said the North was building a nuclear reprocessing plant and had produced plutonium at the site as part of atomic energy experiments. Blix said North Korean officials told him during a five-day tour of nuclear sites that the building under construction in Yongbyon was a laboratory. But he added, "if it were in operation and complete, then it would certainly in our terminology be called a reprocessing plant". Blix stressed that he was unable to verify North Korea's claim that it did not have a nuclear weapons program. That task might be fulfilled by a team of IAEA experts that soon were to go to North Korea for exhaustive investigations.

A group of 25 Americans, including former government officials, congressmen and state governors, arrived in Pyongyang on May 28, on a rare visit by Westerners to the hardline communist state. The official Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), monitored in Tokyo, said the group was sponsored by the American Freedom Coalition and was led by former congressman Richard Ichord. The arrival of the delegation coincided with inspections of nuclear facilities in North Korea by another team from the IAEA. The United States and Japan had made clear that normalization of ties with North Korea would be conditional on assurances that it had no secret nuclear bomb project.

## Adrift without the Soviets?

Over a 40-year period Sino-Soviet relations have ranged all the way from close alliance in the early 1950s, to intense antagonism throughout most of the 1960s and 1970s, to full normalisation at the end of the 1980s. One result of this has been that the Mongolian security environment has changed dramatically several times.

The strategic role of Mongolia can be described as that of a buffer zone between major powers interested in or bordering on Central Asia. This is hardly a recent development. For many centuries before the birth of rivalry between the two communist powers, control over Mongolia was the key to influence in Central Asia. But Mongolia's position became particularly crucial during the period of Sino-Soviet confrontation.

There can be no doubt that deployment of Soviet troops in Mongolia during the 1960s significantly helped improve the geopolitical situation of the Soviet Union. The Soviets viewed Mongolia both as a buffer and as a "deterrent territory" against China. On the other hand, given the length of the border (4,500 km), it is not surprising that China felt especially vulnerable to an attack launched from Mongolia. Mao Zedong called Mongolia a "fist in China's back."

Today the Sino-Soviet relationship is being fundamentally restructured though, at least according to Chinese sources, it will not revert to a formal alliance like that of the 1950s. China and Russia continue to consider each other a long-range threat, but at the diplomatic level relations are changing in ways that have profound implications for Mongolia.

The Sino-Soviet joint communique of May 1989 invalidated Soviet obligations to aid Mongolia against attack, at least from China. This is because the agreement committed the Soviet Union and China not to use force or the threat of force against each other in any manner. The ban covered actions involving the use of the territory, territorial waters or air space of any third country adjacent to either party.

Mongolia is also affected by changes in the strategic thinking of both Peking and Moscow. Russian doctrine has shifted from the idea that attack is the best form of defence to the idea that defence is the best form of defence – a change which means it no longer has much interest in stationing troops beyond its own frontiers. China meanwhile is changing its strategic doctrine from the defence-oriented "people's war" to "war under modern conditions". This places emphasis on local border wars.

Changes in the former Sino-Soviet relationship and in the thinking on strategic issues means that Mongolia faces a far more complex security situation than in the comparatively recent past. The Mongolian People's Republic had a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the former Soviet Union and has a treaty of friendship and cooperation with China. How to balance these treaty relationships so as to remain on good terms with its neighbours is one of the challenges facing Mongolia. There is also the possibility of abandoning the principle of alliance policy and of integrating Mongolia within some Northeast Asian security framework.

An important psychological change which may ease our entry into the new era is that the historic Mongolian perception of a "threat from China" generally no longer exists. However, the fading of the Chinese threat does not mean that we are free of external



threats; indeed Mongolia could not possibly cope on its own with the entire spectrum of possible threats to its security. We have to deal with conflicting realities such as our own inexperience and the unwillingness of neighbouring countries to accept Mongolia's increasingly independent line.

As a result of its open door policy, Mongolia is rapidly becoming part of Northeast Asia in a political sense. In an economic sense, however, it remains painfully remote from Northeast Asia and this increases our vulnerability. Today Mongolia is having to cope with new and potentially disastrous assaults on its security stemming from the debt situation and the country's economic crisis. Other security-related problems that are attracting attention include food shortages, lack of modern transportation and communications links with the outside world and ecological factors.

The problem of adjustment to the new security era is complicated by the lack of a single balance of power in Asia. There are in fact several balances of power, and needless to say, this creates a nightmare for arms control. In Northeast Asia the radical reduction of conventional armaments is an issue that arises along the Sino-Russian border and in the Korean peninsula. As an alternative to bilateral arms reductions agreements there is scope for unilateral confidence-building measures.

Mongolia already made a unilateral gesture by reducing its own armed forces by 20,000 troops in the past two years. Now it may be time for other nations to make similar moves, including China and Russia, whose relations have always affected the security perceptions of the US and Japan.

A further rapprochement by Peking and Moscow would require both to take a new and long range strategic view of their relations with Mongolia. Consultation on Northeast Asian security problems promotes the establishment of an environment that enables each country to realise its potential and thus contributes to a more secure regional environment for all.

Seen from the outside it is in the best interest of Northeast Asian countries to encourage and foster the development of an independent, non-aligned and internationally cooperative Mongolia. Mongolian independence and neutrality could be a factor in helping to stabilise the balance of power within all of Northeast Asia.

*R. Bold is the Executive Secretary of the Mongolian Centre for Strategic Studies.*

### **Anti-Taiwan Textbooks**

*Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.* - Scholars have warned that the hostile phrases used in textbooks in Communist China to refer to Taiwan and its ruling party would harm current relation between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

Contents of the textbooks, especially on history, used in elementary schools on the mainland, carry strong anti-Taiwan sentiments and call for liberation of the island, Prof. Huang Cheng-chieh said. These negative references, some against the Taiwan government, while others attacking the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek or his ruling Kuomintang (KMT), show that Beijing intends to educate its people to hate Taiwan, he said. He foresees a serious problem if the government here fails to react to anti-Taiwan sentiment since education could be a tool in psychological warfare.

Huang, director of the Education Research Centre of National Taiwan Normal University, recently released a report which analyzes primary school textbooks on

mainland China. The report shows that the textbooks are strongly anti-Taiwan, or anti-KMT, and these sentiments can be read in history textbooks used by the mainland. For example, one chapter says the “anti-revolutionary KMT collaborated with the imperialistic United States to launch an anti-people attack at the territories held by the Chinese Communist Party in 1946. “Due to the heroic resistance of the party... the People’s Liberation Army trounced the crazy attack by the KMT troops in the following year... and in 1949, destroyed the major anti-people force...,” the report says.

Another example shows that “Chiang Kai-shek was an ambitious man who joined the revolutionary force in order to win the trust of Dr. Sun Yat-sen... He privately recruited his own people, waiting for a chance to seize the leadership of the revolutionary force...,” according to the report. Dr. Sun, founder of the ROC, led a revolutionary force to fight with the Manchu government in order to establish the republic.

The Chiang Kai-shek led government was ousted from the mainland after losing a civil war to the communists in 1949. Prof. Huang urged the government to devote attention to the anti-Taiwan references in the mainland textbooks. Nancy Chao Li-Yun, director of the National Institution of Compilation and Translation, said authorities here have deleted all hostile references to the Beijing government since ending the Mobilisation Period Against the Communist Rebellion last year. Such phrases as “seditious group and communist bandits’ referring to the Beijing government have all been deleted, and articles attacking the backwardness and dark side of the mainland have all been dropped, while songs against the communists have also been eliminated from elementary and high school teaching materials, Chao noted.

### **Kabul, Doshanbe opens embassies**

The republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic State of Afghanistan have agreed to establish diplomatic relations and cooperate in economic and trade matters.

The Tajik delegation, headed by Akbar Sekandarof, the acting chairman of Tajikistan’s supreme council, came to Kabul on July 13 to hold talks with Afghan leaders. The prime minister and foreign minister of Tajikistan were included in the delegation. During their stay in Kabul, the Tajik guests met with President Rabbani, Prime Minister Farid, Defense Minister Ahmad Shah Masood and other officials of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan has agreed to give training to young Tajik diplomats in Kabul. The two sides agreed to form a joint commission to study the possibility of exporting Afghan gas to Tajikistan in return for electricity supplied to Afghanistan. They also agreed to cooperate in eradicating agricultural diseases and carry out a feasibility study for joint power projects on the Amu and Panja rivers along the borders of the two countries. They will study the possibility of establishing air links between Kabul and Dushambe.

The security situation along the border of the two countries also came under discussion in the talks. Tajikistan, which is facing political crises at home, is worried about the temptation for the opposition to seek military assistance from Afghan Mujahideen across the border. But the Islamic government assured the Tajik delegation of non-interference in the internal affairs of the republic. Professor Rabbani said that Afghanistan was in favour political stability in Tajikistan. The government of Tajikistan has offered border trade between the two countries. (*Afghanews, vol 8, no.15, Aug 1,1992*)

## **Crimea – an Integral Part of Ukraine**

The Yalta negotiations in the first days of June between the Presidiums of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, headed by Ivan Pliushch, and the Supreme Council of Crimea, headed by Nikolai Bahrov, ended successfully. According to their joint agreement and declaration, Crimea remains an “integral part of Ukraine”, but will have extensive autonomy, including the right to establish direct social, cultural and economic relations with other states. The delimitation of powers between the central authorities in Kyiv and Crimean officials will be worked out in detail by a special commission, to be formed from representatives of Ukraine in Crimea by July 5.

Bowing to the pressure and intrigues of both Moscow and the Republican Movement of Crimea (RDK), which took various measures to stage a referendum in Crimea on “independence”, the Crimean Supreme Council, composed primarily of former party aparatchiks, initially issued a decree on Crimean independence and the need to hold a referendum on the issue. Several days later, however, with a large majority the Supreme Council reversed its former decision and declared that Crimea remains a part of Ukraine. It did not, however, renounce the referendum, but only postponed it from August 2 for an indefinite period.

The reasons for this were manifold. Economically, Crimea is completely dependent on Ukraine. Even supporters of its “union” with Russia realised that should this happen, Crimea could end up in economic isolation from Ukraine, which supplies it with 75 per cent of food products, 85 per cent of electricity, and 85 per cent of water, which flows from the Dnipro (Dnieper) into the peninsula’s irrigation system. Moreover, no one could be certain that Russia would be able to fill this economic void.

Moreover, the pro-Russian faction was not sure that the adventurism with “independence” would end successfully. Ukraine issued appeals and decrees to the Crimean population which, on the one hand explained to the Crimeans the catastrophic consequences of Crimea’s secession from Ukraine, and on the other, the Supreme Council of Ukraine granted the peninsula wide-ranging autonomy. To a large degree, these Ukrainian measures began to influence the population of Crimea, leading to the emergence of a strong opposition to the secession of the peninsula from Ukraine. The opposition comprised not only representatives of the Ukrainian community, but also Russians and Crimean Tatars. Furthermore, opposition to the activities of the DRK and the deputies loyal to this movement, began to grow in the Crimean Supreme Council. Internal political and economic relations with Crimea also played an important role in this process. Power rested in the hands of the party mafia which generally supported the RDK and hoped to increase its power and influence in the event of Crimean “independence”.

On the other hand, Russian interests, which played a great part in the Crimean issue, especially in the conflict over control of the Black Sea Fleet, did not win significant support among the Crimean population. Moscow’s propaganda campaign, designed to frighten the Crimean population with enforced “Ukrainianisation” if Crimea continued to

remain a part of Ukraine, was unsuccessful. In practice, Russification in Crimea was continuing. The Ukrainian inhabitants of the peninsula had neither their own schools, nor their own press. As far as any "Ukrainianisation" was concerned, it was concerned with the restoration of the national rights of the Ukrainian population of Crimea, which forms 25 per cent of all inhabitants of the peninsula.

It is not strange, therefore, that even the decree of the Russian parliament, which declared the union of Crimea with Ukraine "unlawful and unconstitutional", found no significant support among the Crimean population. Immediately after the Supreme Council of Russia issued this decree, the Crimean Supreme Council revoked its own decree on the independence of Crimea, and at the beginning of June its Presidium declared Crimea an "integral part of Ukraine".

The agreement between the Supreme Council of Ukraine and the Supreme Council of Crimea on the peninsula's autonomous status within Ukraine does not yet spell the end of internal and external intrigues in Crimea. They will continue in various ways, despite the blow they received from the agreement.

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*Victor Fedorchuk*

## **From Dagomys to Yalta**

The Dagomys meeting between the Presidents of Russia and Ukraine marked a point in relations between the two states. Russia finally achieved strategic superiority and the ensuing course of events spelled out Ukraine's retreat in all aspects of its relations with its northern neighbour. The first debacle was the loss of Crimea. Without explanation or any apparent reason Ukraine consented to the establishment of a state within a state.

Crimea's status within Ukraine goes beyond federative ties. The closest analogy that can be drawn are the British dominions. In some aspects the members of a commonwealth have more independence, in others less, but generally speaking this is the closest-knit form of intrastate structure. However, to call Crimea an integral part of Ukraine is analogous to calling Canada an integral part of England.

Ukraine, which has so far successfully played the leading role in destroying the CIS, substituted loyalty for disobedience. In contradiction to self-assured predictions of foreign analysts regarding the ultimate demise of the CIS, the causes of the Commonwealth's new burst of vitality resounded in the speeches of representatives of government and pro-government circles in Ukraine and in the official Russian media. As became very clear, the potential for cooperation within the CIS is far from exhausted.

The jolt of the Commonwealth's revival was felt immediately. At the meeting of CIS interior ministers, Ukraine renounced its former warnings and signed an agreement on cooperation between the security services of the CIS countries.

Officials of the Ukrainian and Russian security services signed an agreement suspending intelligence operations against one another. This is completely absurd. Every government needs independent information about the state of world affairs, particularly in neighbouring countries. Governments cannot rely solely on the good-will and honesty of their neighbours. This is completely natural for all countries, including NATO members. With the suspension of intelligence operations between Russia and Ukraine a future integration of the two security services can only be expected.

In Yalta further steps were taken towards "finding common interests" in relations between Russia and Ukraine. Freedom of travel, for instance, is in itself a very good thing. It does, however, imply a great degree of unity between the two countries, similar to the British Commonwealth and the European Community. The Yalta agreement is particularly significant as Ukraine is leaving its eastern borders wide open, while at the same time preserving almost intact the integrity of the Soviet iron curtain in the west. In practical terms, the groundwork is being laid for the establishment of greater ties with Russia, curbing any further development of relations with Europe. The tendency towards an even greater integration of Ukraine in the CIS, a sphere of great-Russian influence, is blatantly obvious.

The second critical aspect of Ukraine's post-Dagomys retreat is the complete pinnacle of its policy in the Trans-Dnister region. From the very beginning, Ukraine remained outside the ethnic conflict in the region. This position was dictated by the fear of violating existing CIS borders. Ukraine maintained a strict policy, defending not Moldova, but the principle of the inviolability of borders. It gave neither moral nor material support to the Trans-Dnister Ukrainians and Russians, although it was mostly Ukrainian names that appeared on casualty reports. Ukraine did not even request the Moldovan government to grant cultural and political autonomy to the 600-700,000 Ukrainians living in Moldova, who constitute almost a quarter of the republic's population. By failing to raise the issue, Kyiv lost its one and only real chance to establish any kind of authority and influence among the Ukrainians living in Moldova. Under Russian pressure, Kravchuk reversed Ukraine's position on Trans-Dnister. He recognised the right of the local population to autonomy, and in the event of a union of Moldova and Rumania, their right to self-determination. This move, however, came too late. Russia no longer required Ukraine's help. Leaving Kravchuk on the side, Yeltsin reached a direct agreement with President Mircea Snegur on separating the warring factions and the deployment of a Russian peacekeeping force in Moldova. Ukraine was simply left on the sideline. As a result, the local population sees Russia as its champion and Ukraine as an indifferent and unreliable neighbour. In short, Russia has gained a reliable ally in the west, indebted to Moscow for its very existence. Ukraine, on the other hand, through its prudent and thought-out policy of non-intervention, has gained nothing.

The agreement establishing a unified Black Sea Fleet is also particularly unfavourable and poses a serious threat to Ukraine. Kravchuk renounced his previous statements that all the ships stationed in Ukrainian ports and naval bases belong to Ukraine. This is an affront to the country's national dignity with no national compensation. In recognising Russia's exclusive right to all the other fleets of the former Soviet Union and its right to part of the Black Sea Fleet, Ukraine recognised its own subordinate position. With a unified fleet Russia will manage to maintain its military

presence in the south of Ukraine. Adding to that the prevalent sentiment of the command structure of the Black Sea Fleet, then Ukraine's part in the unified command will be strictly nominal. Although the agreement stressed that Sevastopol belongs to Ukraine, Kyiv has to all intents and purposes forfeited its presence in this town. Serving as the headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet, Sevastopol has always been administered as a military base. All power lies in the hands of the naval command. The role of the civilian authorities has been almost completely diminished. Even the economy of the town is geared exclusively towards serving the fleet. With a unified fleet and a joint naval headquarters, the building of the presidential representative in the city is effectively all that remains of Ukrainian presence in Sevastopol. What is now preventing an independence referendum in Sevastopol? Nothing. Ukraine has lost its military vantage point in southern Crimea, and Russia has acquired a base from which it can neutralise Ukrainian attempts to control the peninsula. Crimea's Council of Ministers issued a decree on the simultaneous circulation of the Russian rouble and the Ukrainian coupon on the territory of the peninsula. In this way Crimea continues to remain within Russia's economic zone.

Furthermore, the weak Ukrainian coupon, which is now worth only 65 kopeks on the black market has no chance of surviving alongside the relatively strong Russian rouble. This is a further step towards Ukraine's ultimate loss of the peninsula.

The conviction that Russia has not come to terms with the loss of its empire and is prepared to employ desperate measures to restore the old empire is widespread. History has shown that no empire has been able to painlessly part with its domains and live with the retrenchment of its international status. The long and bloody wars of Poland, Turkey, France, Spain, and China became striking examples of imperial nostalgia. It is unlikely that Russia, which is hardly a world cultural centre, can become a fortunate exception. Illia Glazunov, a notable Russian artist, openly stated: "For some it is the CIS, and for us, Great Russia". Although he does not occupy a government post, his words reflect the sentiment of broad circles of the Russian intelligentsia, which provide the cadres for the government structures. Russia's position is becoming stronger. Crimea, the Russian stronghold in the south, Trans-Dnister, a loyal Russian vassal in the east, the Black Sea Fleet, as a military lever, and raw materials and fuel as economic levers are the four factors which have compelled Ukraine to coast obediently in the shadow of Russia.

The collapse of the economy is the source of weakness of Ukrainian foreign policy. The position of Ukraine's independence is becoming increasingly more vulnerable. At present, Ukraine is still close to the source of the new, and this time legal integration of Ukraine with Russia. The opportunity to alter the course of events is still far from being lost, but the impending circumstances leave no time for procrastination. Ukraine has just celebrated the first anniversary of its independence. However, if the present tendency prevails, the first anniversary may also become the last. Whereas in the spring one could optimistically say "goodbye Russia, hello Europe", now one can state with pessimism that everything is returning to its former place.

## **NEWS FROM UKRAINE**

### **PARLIAMENT CONFIRMS YUGOSLAV PEACEKEEPING**

**KYIV, July 3** - The Ukrainian parliament voted to send 420 troops to join a United Nations relief force in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The joint force, including the French and Egyptians, will replace Canadian troops policing Sarajevo airport.

### **MILITARY CUTBACKS ANNOUNCED**

**KYIV, July 2** - Ukraine announced plans to reduce ground troops and stockpiles of military hardware inherited from the Soviet Union cutting its land forces by more than half, from 450,000 to 200,000 before the end of the decade. Excluded from the cutbacks are the 350-ship Black Sea fleet and the strategic nuclear forces.

### **CURRENCY ACCORD REACHED**

**MOSCOW, July 6** - The presidents of the Commonwealth of Independent States have signed an agreement at their summit conference in Moscow on procedures allowing individual states to withdraw from the rouble currency zone. The accord, reached unanimously, stipulates the procedures to be implemented should any member of the CIS decide to introduce its own currency and withdraw from the rouble zone.

### **UKRAINE ASKS FOR SECURITY PLEDGES**

**BRUSSELS, July 8** - During his first visit to NATO, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said his republic wants limited "political control" over the former Soviet nuclear arsenal on its territory as well as certain political guarantees from other countries in exchange for ultimately relinquishing the weapons. Operational control would remain with the CIS command, but Ukraine wants some say over movement of CIS strategic forces and weapons on its territory, among other controls.

### **CRIMEA SUSPENDS REFERENDUM PLANS**

**SIMFEROPOL, July 9** - The Crimean parliament voted to suspend plans for a referendum on independence from Ukraine originally scheduled for August 2. Crimean lawmakers said they were still committed to economic, social and cultural independence, but they chose to put off the vote in the interest of avoiding political, ethnic and economic strife.



## **UKRAINE RESETTLES ETHNIC GERMANS**

*KYIV*, July 13 - A German official praised Ukraine for its help in resettling ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union and promised limited financial aid for the process. Germans are resettling primarily in the regions of Odessa, Zaporizhia and Nikolayev.

## **OFFICERS START HUNGER STRIKE IN FLEET DISPUTE**

*KYIV*, July 13 - Ukraine's navy said that two senior military officers had begun a hunger strike after one was beaten up by Russian marines, as the wrangle over command of the Black Sea fleet continues. Ukrainian Colonel Vladimir Indilo was attacked by the marines at the Sevastopol headquarters of the Black Sea fleet.

## **REFORMIST ECONOMY CHIEF REPLACED**

*KYIV*, July 12 - President Leonid Kravchuk replaced the chief architect of Ukraine's economic reform, market radical Vladimir Lanovoy, with a former career communist official. Kravchuk named Valentin Simonenko, his representative in the Black Sea port of Odesa, as the new economic chief and to the senior post of first deputy prime minister.

## **UKRAINIANS TO HEAR VOA ON OWN STATE RADIO**

*WASHINGTON*, July 14 - Radio listeners in Ukraine will be able to hear Voice of America broadcasts on their own state radio network for the first time. VOA, the US government's foreign broadcasting system, said it will provide a one-hour daily program on the state cable network and on domestic broadcasts to an audience of 37 million.

## **NUCLEAR TALKS IN U.S.**

*WASHINGTON*, July 20 - Six Russian and Ukrainian nuclear regulatory officials began three days of talks with the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Department of Energy aimed at avoiding another Chernobyl-style accident at the two countries' antiquated nuclear reactors. The U.S. unveiled an aid program several weeks ago to assist Russia and Ukraine with nuclear safety and regulation.

## **SHIP FLEES TO UKRAINE**

*KYIV*, July 21 - A Black Sea fleet coast guard ship deserted its Commonwealth navy command and fled to the Ukrainian port of Odessa. The unnamed vessel left its Commonwealth-controlled base at Donuzlav in the Crimean peninsula without permission, hauled the flag of the ex-Soviet navy and raised Ukrainian colours.

## **EC SIGNS AID PROGRAM WITH UKRAINE**

*MOSCOW*, July 22 - The European Community has signed a program to provide Ukraine with technical aid in the fields of industry, engineering, transport, agriculture and financial services. The program is to be implemented within the next few months.

## **PEACEKEEPING TROOPS HEAD FOR SARAJEVO**

*NOVOMOSKOVSKA*, July 23 - The first batch of Ukrainian troops ever to take part in a United Nations peace-keeping force sets off for the battleground of Sarajevo. The men are all volunteers.

## **GERMANY URGES FREE TRADE ZONE**

*BONN*, July 28 - Germany presented the European Commission with a set of proposals aimed at setting up a free trade zone with four former Soviet republics within 10 years, among them Ukraine.

## **BLACK SEA FLEET AGREEMENT REACHED**

*MUKHALATKA*, August 3 - Presidents Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine and Boris Yeltsin of Russia met in the Crimean resort of Mukhalatka, near Yalta, on August 3. The two leaders agreed on the main points of a prospective treaty on friendship, cooperation, and partnership between their two states. Leonid Kravchuk announced that work on the basic propositions of the treaty was almost complete and that both countries' foreign ministries would now take care of the details.

At the meeting they reached an agreement on the future of the Black Sea Fleet for the next three years. According to the agreement, during the transitional three-year period the Black Sea Fleet will be withdrawn from CIS command and will become a "unified fleet of Ukraine and Russia". The joint command of the fleet will be directly responsible to the presidents of both countries.

Leonid Kravchuk further proposed that each year command of the fleet should alternate between Ukrainians and Russians. The command structure has still to be decided.

## **UKRAINE APPEALS FOR RETURN OF POWS**

*KYIV*, Aug 13 - Ukraine appealed to Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani to provide information on the fate of 80 Ukrainians who went missing in Afghanistan while serving with the Soviet army. Prime Minister Vitold Fokin said a total of 3,280 Ukrainians had died during 10 years of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan from 1979.

## **NUCLEAR STATION SHUTS DOWN**

*KYIV*, Aug 15 - A reactor at one of Ukraine's five nuclear plants was automatically shut down after a fault was detected. The reactor at Rivne in the west of the country was shut down without posing any threat to nearby residents.

## **UKRAINE WILL HONOUR DEBT COMMITMENTS**

*KYIV*, Aug 17 - Ukraine intends to honour interest payments on its 16.3 pct share of the foreign debts of the former Soviet Union, according to the deputy head of the Ukrainian central bank. Nikolai Sivulski put Ukraine's share of the debt at \$11.2 billion.

## **REACTORS SHUT DOWN AT NUCLEAR PLANT**

*KYIV*, Aug 19 - False alerts shut down two reactors at a nuclear power plant in southern Ukraine after a faulty sensor and extreme weather conditions caused radiation scares. The sensor malfunctioned in the steam chamber of a reactor at the station near the port of Nikolayev. The reactor was reconnected to the energy grid within 24 hours and no rise in radiation was noted.

## **UKRAINE SLAMS PROPOSED TREATY WITH RUSSIA**

*KYIV*, Aug 27 - Ukrainian authorities denounced a friendship treaty proposed by Russia, saying its provisions for close military and political links served only Moscow's interests. The draft treaty calls for mutual defence should either state be attacked, a joint defence policy and joint formulation of armed forces.



*ABN President and Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Mme. Slava Stetsko speaks at a UPA 50th anniversary rally in Ukraine*

## **Russia identifies possible causes of war – 130,000 Russian troops remain in Baltics**

The U.S. Mission to NATO has recently reviewed a draft of the *Fundamentals of Russia's Military Doctrine*. The nineteen page document explains Russia's approach to war and lists various possible causes of armed conflict.

Various sections of the document have raised concerns that the Russian government does not intend to follow through with promises to withdraw troops from areas such as the Baltics. The document instead seems to imply that the Russian government intends to maintain a military force that would be ready to intervene in the affairs of a neighbour state.

Under the heading *Possible Causes of War and Its Sources*, Russia does not rule out the repetition of the Moldovan scenario in other neighbouring countries:

- Russia shares the view that an immediate threat of world nuclear and/or conventional war has been considerably reduced. At the same time, political, economic, territorial, religious, ethnic and other contradictions still exist, which may lead to armed conflicts and wars (including civil)...
- The violations of civil rights within Russia as well as the rights of persons identifying themselves ethnically and culturally Russian in the former Soviet republics may become a serious source of conflict.

A section on the mission of Russia's military forces further specifies:

- A special task of the Military Forces of Russia may be ... defence of rights and interests of Russian citizens and persons abroad connected to Russia ethnically and culturally.
- Russia also reserves the right to regulate military activities in neighbouring countries:
- Russia will regard as an immediate military threat the intervention of foreign troops on the territory of neighbouring states, as well as the stationing of military troops and naval forces near Russian boundaries. In this case, Russia reserves the right to take necessary measures in order to guarantee its security.

At least 130,000 Russian troops remain in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Baltic governments have repeatedly attempted to negotiate troop withdrawal agreements with the Russian government, but have had no success as yet.

*Joint Baltic American National Committee*

***Freedom for Nations!***

***Freedom for Individuals!***

## **Recent Russian Troop Related Incidents in Estonia**

In July, in Narva, the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, Vladimir Zhirovskiy, called Estonia a “criminal state” and also added that “SU-29 bombers will fly over Narva for acts of retribution against rabid nationalists.” (FBIS)

On August 2, thirty drunken persons wearing the uniform of Russian special airborne forces crossed the border point between Estonia and Russia in Narva. They beat up the Estonian border guards on duty. The Estonian Foreign Ministry sent a letter of protest to the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Transfers of Russian military property to phony stock associations controlled by Russians in Estonia may be forming the economic basis for a continued presence in Estonia, says an Estonian government investigative commission.

Firing wildly, about 60 heavily armed Russian sailors and marines attacked a navy installation in Tallinn, which had been peacefully turned over to the Estonians earlier that morning, July 27th. Twenty-four young Estonian soldiers, who had not been issued cartridges for their guns were beaten, forced to strip and to lie face down in the mud. The Russians fired 985 rounds during the attack.

ITAR-TASS has been issuing inaccurate and provocative reports accusing Estonians of attacking and beating the sentry at one base on July 28. At the hospital, it was determined that he was unconscious due to a drug overdose.

Drug dealers, criminals, and “mafioso” from all parts of the former USSR are flocking to the Estonian city of Paldiski, which, as the site of a Russian nuclear submarine base, is closed to Estonians. New Russian recruits, as evidenced by their shaven heads, have been seen in Paldiski.

The same Russian garrison chief who a year ago flatly denied the existence of nuclear reactors in Paldiski now says that the reactors are “too dangerous” to dismantle or move. The fall-out zone extends to Estonia’s capital, Tallinn. The Russians demand that Estonia build a railroad for the 120 ton reactors.

Fact: The population of Russia is over 150,000,000.

Fact: The population of Estonia is just 1,600,000.

Fact: The ex-Soviet military has millions of men: 130,000 are in the Baltics.

Fact: The fledgling Estonian Defense Forces have less than 2,000 men.

***Question: Who is threatening whom?***

*Submitted by the Estonian American National Council, Inc.*

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## Helsinki 2 and the Baltic States

On July 9-10 the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) approved the Helsinki-92 Concluding Document, Paragraph 15. The Interpretive Statement, regarding this particular paragraph has been handed in to the Executive Secretariat of the CSCE by the Lithuanian delegation.

This document states that Lithuania considers that the importance placed on the participating states on the issue of the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Baltic States shows that this problem is not a bilateral one. This is also underscored in Paragraph 15, which clearly states that these troops are present on the territories of the Baltic States without the required consent of those states, whereby "required" could only be interpreted as required by the virtue of basic principles of international law. That is why the 51 participating states are concerned about this problem and each of them became engaged in observing, stating, and not tolerating further hesitation in the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania.

The June 14 1992 referendum supported the demand for compensation of damages inflicted by the illegal presence of foreign troops. Of special importance was the request of this referendum to withdraw Russian troops by the end of this year.

Considering the contingencies for proper implementation of "orderly withdrawal", Lithuania holds that they could include further possibilities for the meaningful evolution of the CSCE through the means of monitoring as well as other available CSCE mechanisms. Lithuania hopes that the statement will emphasize a cooperative approach from all CSCE partners and reserves its right to raise the issue on any occasion, when it deems necessary. *Baltic News, Issue 4-5, 1992*



*Wishing good luck to Lithuanian Olympians for Barcelona (from left to right): Vytautas Landsbergis, President of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, Aruturas Poviliunas, the President of the Lithuanian National Olympic Committee (LNOC) and Janis Grinbergas, the Secretary General of the LNOC.*

## The WLFD Congress

The 24th Conference of the World League for Freedom and Democracy was held in Budapest, Hungary, August 10-12, 1992. Dr. Chao Tze-chi, WLFD President and Dr. Jozsef Torgyan, Chairman of the host chapter welcomed over 170 participants from 63 countries. Several regional organisations were also represented. Dr. Woo, Jae-Seung, the Secretary-General of the WLFD assisted the President in leading the Conference. The Thermal Margitsziget Hotel was the location for the Plenary Sessions, while other activities took the delegates to different parts of the beautiful city of Budapest on the Danube River.

In his address at the opening ceremony, Dr. Chao praised the Hungarian people, who in 1956 waged a heroic battle against Soviet armed suppression and wrote a noble page in the history of struggles for freedom and democracy. Dr. Chao said, "For nearly half a century East European nations were subjected to slavery and persecution... However, the enormous strength from these peoples' longing for freedom and democracy brought about the downfall of communist dictatorships – one after another, ushering in a new era of freedom and democracy and thereby paving the way for a brighter future for all."

Delegates to the Conference, under the theme "Expanding the Frontiers of Freedom and Democracy", expressed satisfaction that the WLFD has made a giant step forward since the disintegration of the former Soviet Union into national states. They expressed appreciation over the efforts and progress made by states in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, in democratisation and liberalisation. However, the Conference recognised that many problems still exist on their way to freedom and democracy, especially economic ones. The Conference delegates were hopeful that the industrially-strong countries would do their utmost to support these efforts.



*Wreath-laying ceremony in Budapest – Dr. Tze-chi Chao (centre)*





*During a break at the conference – ABN President Slava Stetsko (right),  
Roksolana Potter, AF ABN and Orest Steciw ABN Canada (left)*

The WLFDC Conference condemns the aggressive actions of Serbian communists against the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in particular, against the Moslem and Catholic population, and appeals to the United Nations and European Community to take more effective measures to stop the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia as well as the continuing presence of the former Soviet troops in the three Baltic states, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia which represents a threat to the newly recovered independence and sovereignty of these countries and to the collective security in Europe. The Conference calls for the immediate and total withdrawal of the Russian troops from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as the from all other newly-independent states, such as Ukraine and Byelorussia.

The Conference supports the efforts of the United Nations to restore peace and democracy in Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and Cuba.

The Conference noted with concern that remnants of the communist regimes in Asia and other regions of the world are stubbornly refusing the world-wide trend of moving toward freedom and democracy despite the fact that communism has shown itself to be a bankrupt ideology and political system. An intensified pace of economic reform is now underway in the subcontinent of China. Unfortunately, the regimented and oppressive political system and the disregard for human rights remain unchanged. At a time when all major powers are attempting to reduce defense spending, continental China has increased its defense budget by fifty percent, despite world-wide disarmament program. Being a notorious arms supplier to troubled areas, continental China had recently engaged in a gigantic nuclear test and is exporting nuclear technology. It also openly declared its intention to expand its naval forces so as to extend naval operations to farther seas, which undoubtedly would endanger the peace and stability of the neighbouring regions. The Conference wishes to call the attention of the interested nations toward the sinister intention behind these developments.

The people of Latin America suffer from violence imposed by communist parties and the narcotics trade, and has to overcome the problems inherent in democratic systems to better articulate their own peoples' aspirations. Among the countries in the area, it is in Peru where the above-mentioned three factors are present simultaneously,

and where communist violence of the past twelve years continues to increase in intensity. Likewise, it is necessary that efforts be doubled for the early democratisation of Cuba, the only remaining communist regime in Latin America.

Public opinion throughout the world should mobilize to support further steps to oust the last communist regimes in Vietnam, Laos and Cuba.

The Conference is gratified that the sudden end of the Cold War waged for decades between the superpowers, has improved the chance for lasting world peace. It was, on the other hand, deeply concerned that world peace is now facing serious threats from local wars and conflicts because of reasons of political, racial and religious differences, which indeed are occurring more often and with more intensity than in any other period in modern history. The Conference urged more effective efforts to be made by the international community to resolve these local wars and conflicts, so that peaceful and innocent peoples could be spared the horrors of death and destruction.

The Conference is encouraged by the recent Mid East peace initiatives, despite the lack of immediate positive results. These efforts must continue until a just and lasting settlement, acceptable to all parties concerned is found.

The WLFD is gravely concerned about the situation in Burma, where the democratically elected government has been prevented from taking office and human rights are being ruthlessly violated, particularly in Kachinland. All member of the League expressed their firm support for the United Nations resolution dealing with the Burmese situation.

The WLFD is appealing to the world conscience to take appropriate measures to assist the people of Somalia in their struggle for survival.

The Conference urges North Korea to cease its adherence to “North Korean Socialism” and to take steps for opening its society. For the sake of peace in the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia, the Conference urges that North Korea halt the development of nuclear weapons.

The Conference is mindful of the vast pressure many countries are experiencing as a result of economic recession. But it is firm in its belief that full economic recovery can only come through global democratisation and economic cooperation.

In conclusion, the Conference wishes to thank the Government of the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian Chapter of the League, for their assistance and cooperation.



*Part of the ABN delegation at the WLFD Conference*

## **Declaration of the Romanian Freedom's Front at the WLF D Conference**

The Romanian Freedom's Front, an organisation founded in exile while Romania was still suffering under dictatorship of the communist regime, imposed by Moscow, joyfully salutes participating members at the WLF D Conference in the capital of a country which also suffered a long martyrdom of more than 40 years, together with other peoples fallen under the Moscow domination after the Second World War.

The Romanian Freedom Front painfully and indignantly asserts that the ideal of "individual freedom" and "freedom of nations" for which the Eastern European nations sacrificed themselves, is not being respected in certain parts of the former Soviet empire.

The independent Republic of Moldova, inhabited in majority by Romanians, is being attacked from the interior by the Russian minority with the help of the Russian army which continues to be stationed on the territory of this independent state, against international law. Bloody battles took place on both sides of the Dniester river, around the cities of Tighina and Tiraspol, which left over a thousand dead.

According to the territorial delimitation, established under the old communist regime, both banks of the Dniester river in this region constitute an integral part of the Republic of Moldova. This delimitation corresponds to the ethnic structure of the population of these regions. Forty percent of the Transnistrian population over the Dniester river are Moldavians. An exception is the city of Tighina, situated on the right bank of Dniester, which is inhabited in majority by Russians. But these are colonists of recent date, for Tighina belonged for centuries to the Principality of Moldova.

The Romanian Freedom's Front vehemently protests against the interference of Russia in the internal affairs of the independent Republic of Moldova. This infringement of the law of nations is especially serious, since Moscow has recognised the independence of this country, and the Republic of Moldova was admitted in the Organisation of the United Nations.

The Government of the Republic of Moldova has repeatedly recognised the rights of administrative and cultural autonomy of the Russian and Ukrainian minorities living on its territory, so that no impediment exists in order to reach a peaceful cohabitation among the ethnic groups on both banks of the Dniester river.

The Romanian Freedom's Front asks the WLF D Conference in Budapest to take into consideration this Declaration, so that in the Final Communique of the Conference be included a demand for pacification of this region, which cannot take place without the retreat of the Russian troops stationed on both banks of the Dniester river.

*Dr. Victor Malcoci*  
President

*Chirila Ciuntu*  
Secretary-General

*Budapest, August 9, 1992*

## Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes

*(The following text was submitted to the Government of Ukraine by the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Commission this year, and was later published as a brochure.)*

1. The Ukrainian communities in the West do not oppose, nor have they ever opposed, bringing war criminals to justice. But they have challenged policies that denaturalized and then extradited alleged war criminals to the Soviet Union, Soviet - dominated Eastern Europe or Israel.

2. Over the past decade Australia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States of America have initiated official inquiries to determine whether individuals who committed crimes against humanity or war crimes during the Second World War were able to escape justice by emigrating to the West. The Ukrainian Canadian community initially welcomed this inquiry. Concern grew once it became obvious that the terms of the investigation's mandate put a focus, not on Nazi war criminals, but on alleged East European collaborators (e.g. Lithuanians, Ukrainians). In Canada, in February 1985, a Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals, headed by Mr. Justice Jules Deschênes, was constituted. In its final public report, issued 12 March 1987, the Deschênes Commission essentially accepted the recommendation made by the Civil Liberties Commission of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, namely that "all alleged war criminals, regardless of their ethnic, religious, racial or cultural origin, or where or when they committed their crimes, should be brought to trial in Canada under Canadian criminal law".

3. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian communities of Australia, Great Britain and the United States of America did not follow a similar strategy. The end result was the establishment of government agencies in those countries whose mandate and means of operation are unjust. Considerable damage is now being done to Ukrainian communities throughout the West as a result of the skewed mandates given to these "Nazi-hunting" bodies. It must also be underlined that, since the end of the Second World War, Soviet denunciations of the Ukrainian national resistance movement and a concerted disinformation campaign orchestrated by Soviet organs have tarnished the good name of Ukrainians everywhere, making it all the more difficult for the communities to counter the miasma that has grown around this issue.

4. What is done by Ukrainian communities in the West has a bearing on the way in which the world regards Ukraine, and what is done in Ukraine impacts on Ukrainians around the world. A consistent, just, and intelligent response by the Ukrainian government and Parliament on the crimes against humanity and war crimes that took place on Ukrainian territory before, during and after the Second World War is required promptly. Lack of appropriate action will damage the international prestige of Ukraine and in turn will damage Ukrainian communities in the West.

5. We recommend that the Ukrainian government form a commission of inquiry into crimes against humanity and war crimes on the model of royal commissions in Canada. It will be responsible for investigating and reporting on legislative and administrative measures that should be taken.

6. Matters that will need to be considered include:

- 6.1 definitions
- 6.2 information-gathering process
- 6.3 international agreements
- 6.4 criminal organisations
- 6.5 Soviet convictions
- 6.6 extradition
- 6.7 rehabilitation
- 6.8 administration of investigation and prosecution

7. It is imperative that Ukraine appear to be taking positive action on crimes committed on Ukrainian territory. A commission of qualified and respected individuals acting to deal with crimes against humanity and war crimes will be positively perceived by western governments and politics.

8. On formation of the commission, the Ukrainian government should approach other governments e.g. Canadian, Australian, British, Swedish, German and American for assistance in the form of materials from their reviews and subsequent treatment of this area.

9. Delay in mandating a commission will assist the vilification of Ukraine and Ukrainians that continues in the West.

10. The Civil Liberties Commission of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress is prepared to assist the Ukrainian government and Parliament.

*Toronto, Canada/Kyiv, Ukraine – 1992*

*(ED: All crimes against humanity and war crimes must never be ignored, not only Nazi war crimes, but also the crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Soviet Russian regime. When will these crimes be put on trial?)*

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## **Czecho-Slovakia – An amicable divorce?**

It seems that the split of Czecho-Slovakia into two independent states is moving quickly towards its outcome. The agreement made August 26th states that the two republics will become two separate countries by January 1st, 1993.

By September 30th, the federal parliament should pass a law that is already approved by the federal government, legalising the four possible ways of terminating the federation: by referendum; by agreement between the two parliaments; by secession of one republic or by simple declaration of the federal parliament.

At this point, a referendum might seem redundant. The federal parliament will probably pass a bill to vote itself out of existence. Then, there will be the problems of sorting out a customs union, separate currencies (probably with a fixed exchange rate between the two), and defense co-ordination. Plans are underway for having all of these issues sorted out by the end of October.

## The peace score

A Sarajevan holed up in his cellar may be forgiven for seeing little to cheer about in the conference on ex-Yugoslavia that ended on August 27th. The politicians in London had promised reasoned debate; on the ground, besieging Serbs and besieged Bosnian Muslims were sticking to irrational shot and shell.

The optimists say that in London the world registered its insistence on a set of principles for an eventual settlement. The six working groups due to start operations in Geneva on September 3rd have the job of putting these principles into practice. Words, words, the sceptics reply. Bosnia's Serbs and Muslims have continued their bloodletting. The Serbs, whose leaders had said in London that they would not obstruct convoys carrying food and medicine for civilians, were slow to comply on the ground: a United Nations convoy bound for the Muslim town of Gorazde had to delay its departure several times because its safety could not be guaranteed.

Before winter sets in, the UN hopes to reopen the road to Sarajevo from Mostar, in the south of Bosnia. The trouble is that, although more aid is now getting through, as word of the London agreement slowly reaches the men on the Serb roadblocks, the safe passage of aid convoys continues to depend on the consent of local commanders. Even if the UN Protection Force in Bosnia (UNPROFOR) gets more soldiers –and NATO is trying to help–it is still unlikely to be able to silence Serb snipers. The governments sending the troops are still reluctant to give them the order to fight. Marks out of three, so far, for the London conference's humanitarian achievements: one.

As if to emphasise the point, Serb militiamen hit the Sarajevo headquarters of UNPROFOR on September 2nd with shells fired from guns whose positions under the London agreement, were to be notified to the UN so that they could eventually be put under the control of international monitors. Later the same day the Serb commanders in Sarajevo agreed to let UNPROFOR inspect their batteries, while reserving the right to use the "in self-defence". As with the other points seemingly agreed upon in London, compliance hinges on the co-operation of local Serb commanders. No firm marks yet for the silencing of Serb guns.

On the upside, the five-month siege of Gorazde was more or less lifted soon after the conference, despite the delay with that aid convoy. Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, says this shows his men are abiding by the promises he made in London. Since the Serbs had already said that they have occupied more of Bosnia than they actually need, this willingness to forgo the acquisition of yet another chunk is less than wholly cheering.

Better marks for the leader of a visiting UN human-rights team, a former Polish prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. His proposal that the UN's men in Bosnia should intervene to prevent serious human-rights violation is unlikely to find much favour with the Security Council. Nor is it likely that Serb militia leaders can ever be put on trial for war crimes. Even if the UN could construct a legal basis for prosecuting such men, it lacks the will to translate this into action.

Nevertheless, Mr. Mazowiecki has established a precedent. Small comfort though it may be to Bosnians languishing in detention camps, a permanent group of UN human rights monitors may soon take up his work. Three out of three for Mr. Mazowiecki's unflinching determination to day what he saw.

Bosnia's killing fields are not the only threat to the putative peace process. In Belgrade, the doveish prime minister of the rump of Yugoslavia, Milan Panic, has been under fire from hawks loyal to the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic. Mr. Panic survived this attack. But, if he succumbs to another, he may take with him the faint hope of a gentler approach by the Serbs of Serbia itself. Together with the unabated butchery in Bosnia, this makes for a grim forecast: more thunder in the Balkans, and tears by the waters of Léman.

*From The Economist – September 5, 1992*

### **CIS Counts Down**

With each passing day and meeting, it is growing increasingly apparent that the six-month-old Commonwealth of Independent States will soon go the way of the Soviet Union. The Tashkent session merely reinforced its predictable demise as well as Ukrainian President's recent statement about the possibility of Ukraine withdrawing from the CIS.

Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, desperately grasping at all possibilities, had hoped that the round of talks in Tashkent would help solidify the CIS and, moreover, formalise Russia's preeminent role in the commonwealth. Yeltsin's hopes were dashed by the obvious absence of Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk and four other heads of state. Yeltsin can belittle Kravchuk's staying away, saying "it's not tragic", but, realistically, he and most pundits in the CIS and around the world understand that without Ukraine's participation the commonwealth is doomed to failure. And nothing would be lost.

Officially, the CIS was formed in order to facilitate an orderly dismantling of the Soviet Union, however, informed sources in Ukraine have offered two other explanations for its formation: Yeltsin wanted to get rid of Gorbachev and Kravchuk wanted to get rid of the USSR and Russia. Regardless of the reasons for its establishment, since its inception on December 8, 1991, it has served no purpose and has accomplished nothing.

During his historic visit to the United States as the president of independent Ukraine, Kravchuk did not hide his contempt for Russia's efforts to turn the CIS into a new Russian empire, just as the old USSR was. Kravchuk said Gorbachev and Yeltsin are Russian national chauvinists with imperialist ideologies and Russia is striving to dominate that region of the world. At the United Nations he charged that Russia is unjustly treating Ukraine and the other member-states of the CIS, refusing to divide equitably the internal and external wealth of the old USSR, and that a joint CIS command of the Black Sea Fleet would eventually turn into a Russian fleet flying the Russian colours. He also described how Russian Vice-President Rutskoi embraced a cannon in Crimea and declared that Russia would never give up the peninsula. In other

words, Russia has failed to reform, while the other members of the CIS are charting a course to democracy. Is there any reason to remain in such a club? Russia has not convinced, not for a lack of opportunity, its former colonies that it is trustworthy and will treat other independent states with respect not as possessions.

The Tashkent meeting produced six documents, including a mutual security treaty, which states that an attack on one signatory would mean an attack on all signatories. Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan declined to sign this and other accords. The US State Department immediately issued a statement saying that it would like to see continuing cooperation among the member-states of the CIS.

Pressure will be mounting on Ukraine to sign the defence pact but what the world and the United States, favouring Russia, will overlook to understand is that Ukraine, by its previously-stated declarations cannot join this defence bloc. Kravchuk has repeatedly declared that Ukraine will become a nuclear-free, non-alligned independent state. That means destroying all nuclear weapons on its territory, building its military for defence purposes only and not joining any military-defence-security arrangements. His statements were also ratified by the Supreme Council. Consequently, politically, morally and legally, Ukraine could not have signed the treaty.

The world is at Ukraine's doorstep and that is where its bilateral and multilateral priorities lie. If the other CIS members understood this as well, they would be better off and would not have to endure the big brother from the North.

## **Ukrainian Minister Substantiates Chornobyl Danger**

*Moscow* – Up until now it has not been clear what the situation is regarding the sarcophagus covering the Chornobyl reactor that exploded. There have been repeated, unsubstantiated reports that radioactive substances are getting through the sarcophagus into the environment.

Yuri Schcherbak, Ukrainian Environment Minister said, “I think that the sarcophagus is the most dangerous nuclear facility on Earth. Recently, there was a sitting of the committee of the international jury responsible for determining the further fate of the sarcophagus. Dramatic data was cited on the number of cracks, on the state of the construction, and about the fact that in the event of let's say, an earthquake or other events, all kinds of consequences are possible relating to the destruction of the sarcophagus. (FBIS-SOV-92-155, 11 Aug.'92)

*Russian Television Network, August 7*



## *Obituary*

### **Ignatius Billinsky**



In the evening hours of August 4, Ignatius M. Billinsky, long-time ABN activist, founding member of the World Anti-Communist League and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, passed away after a long bout with cancer.

Mr. Billinsky was born on November 1, 1917, in Philadelphia. He spent his youth in Sambir and Stanyslaviv in western Ukraine, where he completed his studies at the Pedagogical Institute. In 1942 he moved to Lviv, where he studied medicine at Lviv University. His studies were cut short by the return of the Russians in 1944.

Upon his return to the United States in 1947, he immediately became involved in Ukrainian community life, was a co-founder and served as president and honorary president of the Organisation for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine (ODFFU), and was a leading member of the Ukrainian Liberation Front.

Mr. Billinsky was president of the national executive in the United States of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; a member of the National Captive Nations Committee; a member of the committee that built the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington; a participant of numerous international and State Department conferences; a founding member of the World Anti-Communist League; and chairman of the Famine Commission of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU).

In 1946, Mr. Billinsky began working as editor of the newspaper *America* and other publication of the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in the United States. He remained in this position until 1983. His articles and political commentaries were widely published. He also served as editor of the ODFFU *Visnyk* and was a member of the editorial board of the *National Tribune*.

For his dedication and tireless efforts on behalf of the Ukrainian community in the United States and the Ukrainian nation, as well as for all Captive Nations, Mr. Billinsky was awarded the UCCA's Shevchenko Freedom Award, a Captive Nations Committee award and the WCFU Medal of St. George.

**UKRAINE CELEBRATES  
FIRST ANNIVERSARY  
OF INDEPENDENCE**



*ABN President and Chairman of the Organisation of  
Ukrainian Nationalists, Slava Stetsko (centre)  
at the unveiling of a new monument in Ukraine  
to Ukrainian nationalist hero Stepan Bandera.*

# ABN

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*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!*

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Freedom for Nations!

Freedom for Individuals!

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## **Exiled Georgian President Appeals to the United Nations**

On the 25th of September 1992, Mr. Shevardnadze addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations as the self-proclaimed leader of Georgia. On behalf of the Georgian people and the democratically elected parliament of the Republic of Georgia. I declare that Mr. Shevardnadze had neither legal nor moral authority to speak to the United Nations General Assembly on behalf of the Georgian people. I also disavow any statements that were made by Mr. Shevardnadze in the name of the Georgian people or The Republic of Georgia.

### **Shevardnadze's Role in the Military Coup in Georgia**

It is the ultimate in hypocrisy for Mr. Shevardnadze to lament that "separatism threatens to splinter the historical territory of Georgia." It was Mr. Shevardnadze and a group of former communists who together with the criminal mafia created the current crisis in Georgia. They conspired with the former Soviet authorities to overthrow the democratically elected government of Georgia immediately following the parliamentary elections of October 1990 which were won by the democratic forces committed to Georgian State independence. Mr. Shevardnadze is the mastermind of the military coup in Georgia. He had established contact with a number of political figures who had infiltrated the elected government and through whom he acted to destabilize Georgia.

The successful coup in December 1991/ January 1992 was the last of a series of unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the elected government. On the 19th of August 1991, the same day of the attempted putsch in Moscow, a coup was to take place in Georgia as well. When the government uncovered the plot involving Mr. Kitovani, the commander of the Georgian National Guard, I relieved him of the command. He took part of the National Guard with him to a Soviet military camp and publicly stated that he was going into opposition to the government because President Gamsakhurdia had supported the putsch in Moscow! The government tried to deal with the situation in a way that would avoid bloodshed. Accordingly, the forces loyal to the government were not ordered to disarm Mr. Kitovani and the forces allied with him.

The second attempt to overthrow the government took place in early September 1991, when Messrs Kitovani's and Iosseliani's forces tried to occupy the television station. Once again the government forces prevailed, but did not move to destroy the rebel forces, hoping that the conflict could be resolved without further bloodshed. Throughout this period, Mr. Shevardnadze maintained regular contact with the plotters and provided financial support to the rebels using the royalties from his book published in the West. The rebel forces were also receiving weapons from the Soviet Union. Mr. Shevardnadze waited until after the coup to be "invited" to come to Georgia to "save" his country. This was a masquerade to show the international community that he had no part in the events leading up to his return to Georgia in March 1992. In fact more than a year earlier, he had said to a number of world leaders that he would receive them in Georgia the following year!

## **Junta Violates Human Rights**

Today, Mr. Shevardnadze and his criminal accomplices are trying to dictate their will to the large majority of the Georgian population through repression of dissent, violation of fundamental human rights, suppression of press freedom and the right of Assembly, terror, imprisonment and execution of civilians who resist Mr. Shevardnadze and his military Junta's attempts to rule Georgia by force and without any popular mandate or constitutional legitimacy.

Mr. Shevardnadze and his Junta have committed serious crimes against the Georgian people. Thousands have been arrested. In an attempt to confuse international inquiry into the number of prisoners, the Junta frequently releases and then reimprisons the same individuals. The right of assembly and political protest has been taken away from the Georgian people. Nevertheless, since January 1992, daily demonstrations have taken place against the Junta and in support of the democratically elected government. Demonstrators have been shot at and arrested. A list of over 100 people who have been killed and hundreds more who have been arrested by the Junta has been provided to Amnesty International together with supporting documentation. In a recent incident in mid-September, more than 50 people were arrested at a peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi. Also, a number of people have been tortured and at least one young teacher (Mr. Gogsadze) has been tortured to death. All opposition newspapers have been closed (the last two papers closed were *Tavisoupali Sakartvelo* and *The Independent*) or have been forced underground (*E.G. Kartouli Azri* in Tbilisi and *Ardgoma* in Soukhoumi) or allowed to reopen on condition that they modify their political commentary.

## **Shevardnadze's Crisis of Legitimacy**

Mr. Shevardnadze tries to portray the current tragedy in Georgia as an ethnic conflict. In fact, the crisis in Georgia centres around the legitimacy of Mr. Shevardnadze and his military Junta. It is a political crisis of authority of the self-proclaimed rulers who are resisted by the population. The plain fact is that the Junta can only survive through the use of terror with the support of troops from the former Soviet Union still stationed on Georgian territory. Today, the Junta controls, by force, only a small portion of the Georgian territory, with more than half of the country still beyond its control and a majority of the population determined to resist it.

Mr. Shevardnadze has no legal or moral authority in Georgia. He has not been elected by the people. He cannot even pretend to speak on behalf of the Georgian people because throughout his political life he has demonstrated that he consistently put the interests of his imperial communist masters in the Kremlin ahead of the interests of Georgia. He can sometimes fool the people outside Georgia by pretending to be a democrat who wants the best for his country. If he wanted to lead his nation he should have run for office during the free democratic elections in Georgia. Instead, he preferred to stay in Moscow and serve his Soviet masters, even after the attempted coup in Moscow in 1991. Like Stalin, another infamous Georgian, Shevardnadze's political thought is a product of Russian-communist culture. Like Stalin before him, Shevardnadze was rejected by his own nation and advanced his political career in communist circles in Russia. The world community must realize that despite his assurances to world leaders, Mr. Shevardnadze has not been able to "normalize" the situation.

### **Shevardnadze Orchestrated the Crisis in Abkhazia**

Realising that they have been unable to pacify the country and normalize the situation, Mr. Shevardnadze and his Junta have recently orchestrated with Moscow's support a so-called ethnic crisis in Western Georgia to create a pretext for Shevardnadze and criminal associates to wipe out the strong resistance to the Junta and to portray themselves as Georgian nationalists by challenging the so-called secession of Abkhazia, and for Russia to use military force to pacify the North Caucasian republics such as Chechnia that have supported the Abkhaz and are themselves seceding from Russia. It is disingenuous for Mr. Shevardnadze to tell the General Assembly that Georgia will never let Abkhazia secede. Contrary to Mr. Shevardnadze's disinformation campaign, the Abkhazian authorities have only reinstated the 1925 constitution and declared their intention to remain an integral part of the State of Georgia under a federal governing system. Therefore, with no legal or justifiable basis for military action against Western Georgia in general and Abkhazia in particular, Junta's main objective remains the suppression of the supporters of the democratically elected government of Georgia in order to establish authoritarian rule in that region.

The situation in Abkhazia differs greatly from that of south Ossetia, where two years ago the South Ossetian local government was enticed by the Soviet authorities to secede from Georgia and join the Russian Federation as a reprisal to the newly elected government of Georgia when it refused to sign the union treaty proposed by Mr. Gorbachev. In January 1991, when I refused to sign the union treaty, Mr. Gorbachev personally told me over the telephone "You will see what will happen in south Ossetia." Shortly thereafter, Mr. Shevardnadze made similar threats to Georgia's Foreign Minister. How ironic that Mr. Shevardnadze, the communist apparatchik who spent his whole life serving his imperial master in the Kremlin and declared that "For Georgia the sun rises in the north!", is today portraying himself as the defender of Georgia's territorial integrity!

Mr. Shevardnadze tries to convince the world community that the recent campaign of terror and military assault, including helicopter bombing of cities and villages in Western Georgia (e.g., Tkvarcheli and Ochamchire) which have resisted the Junta has been undertaken by Mr. Kitovani (the so-called Defence Minister) and his military comrades and that Mr. Shevardnadze cannot control them. This is a pure lie. In fact, Mr. Shevardnadze is the architect of the Junta's policy in Western Georgia.

The world community should not fall for such lies and must be prepared for what could turn out to be a genocide by the Junta in Western Georgia. Mr. Shevardnadze's Commander in Chief in Abkhazia, colonel Karkarashvili, declared on national television on August 25 that "If the Abkhazians will not cease resistance, my troops will kill all 97 thousand Abkhazians" i.e. the whole Abkhaz nation!

### **October Election Will Not Be Free**

Mr. Shevardnadze and the Junta were desperately trying to gain legitimacy in Georgia by promising to hold "elections" in October. However, they were doing everything possible to "fix" the elections. For example, Mr. Shevardnadze was the sole candidate for the post of "Chairman of the future parliament!" There is no precedent in the world for the direct election of a Chairman of Parliament. However, sole candidates were common occurrence in Soviet elections, which are evidently still a source of great

inspiration for Mr. Shevardnadze. According to the Junta's electoral law, Mr. Shevardnadze could have won with only one-third of the votes cast in a single candidate election. Even in the Soviet elections, there was a requirement that more than half of the registered voters had to participate for the elections to be valid. The Junta's election law does not have any minimum required participation. Mr. Shevardnadze's concept of "free elections" resembles closely the communist elections in the former Soviet Union, the only system of government he knows well.

The democratically elected parliament of Georgia does not recognise the legality of the elections organised by the Junta because the latter has no constitutional authority to call elections. Accordingly, the democratically elected parliament has called on the Georgian people to boycott the Junta elections. In some parts of the country the military has forcibly taken away people's internal passports to be returned after the elections. These are likely to have been used to stuff the ballot boxes with bogus votes. In addition, the Junta has declared on national television that those who boycott the elections will be dismissed from their jobs and imprisoned! This is the type of democracy which Georgia is expected to have as long as Mr. Shevardnadze and the Junta remain in power.

#### **Appeal to the Community of Nations**

On behalf of the Georgian people, I appeal to the United Nations and the Heads of State of the member countries to demand of Mr. Shevardnadze and the Junta to stop violations of human rights, and to resign, in order to allow the country's democratically elected authorities to return to their rightful positions to serve the country in accordance with the Georgian constitution and to bring Georgia back onto the path of democracy and economic prosperity. There is a risk of civil war and balkanization of Georgia unless the nation moves rapidly towards the reestablishment of representative government. A civil war in Georgia could have serious implications for the stability of the region. To avoid further bloodshed, to restore the rule of law and democratic institutions, and to create the conditions for the development of the Georgian economy, the democratically elected parliament of Georgia is prepared to organise new internationally observed elections once the legitimate governmental institutions have been restored in Georgia in accordance with the Georgian constitution and the Junta's military forces have been disarmed under international supervision.

*President of the Republic of Georgia in Exile,  
Zviad Gamsakhurdia  
27 September, 1992*

Editor's note: Exiled President Zviad Gamsakhurdia was due to arrive at the ABN headquarters in Munich on November 28th, but his temporary visa application and invitation from the IGF were rejected.



## Deepening Crisis in the CIS

The meeting of leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States, held in the capital of Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek, on October 9-10 failed to bring any positive results. Russia's proposals, supported by President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, to tighten political, military and economic relations in the CIS encountered vigorous opposition from Ukraine and several Central Asian countries. In consequence, only two countries, Russia and Kazakhstan, signed an agreement on economic, military and political cooperation, which in practice subordinated Kazakhstan to Moscow.

There is, however, a long way to go from signing the agreement to its realisation. In Kazakhstan the nationalist Republican Party, headed by Sabitkasi Akatayev, is gaining increasing political significance. Akatayev, whose goal is to free Kazakhstan from Russian colonialism, is winning the support of increasingly wider masses of the Kazakh population.

Moscow sees Ukraine as one of the primary culprits for the failure to realise the plan for tighter cooperation within the CIS. Ukraine, Moscow claims, firmly opposed the Russian plan for greater coordination, whose goal was to create a new Union under the leadership of Russia. This was obvious from the proposal put forward by Russia. This plan envisaged a joint economic region with the rouble as a common currency, coordination of internal and foreign policy, and a joint army.

Discussion of the control of nuclear weapons situated in Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan led to conflict. The commander of the CIS armed forces Marshal Shaposhnikov claimed that Russia should have the exclusive right to control nuclear weapons. This, however, contradicts the previous agreement on this issue, which stipulated that there would be joint control of these weapons. In response, Ukraine announced that the nuclear weapons situated on its territory would remain under the control of the Ukrainian government.

Moscow's aspiration towards a monopoly on strategic nuclear weapons led to a renewed conflict between Russia and Ukraine. According to the "Financial Times", President Leonid Kravchuk rejected Russia's claim that Ukraine is incapable of exercising control over nuclear weapons. Kravchuk said that Ukraine is aspiring to become a non-nuclear country by 1997. Until then, however, it has all the technical means at its disposal to exercise control over the nuclear weapons situated on its territory.

According to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, Ukraine is formally one of the strongest military powers in Europe. Its air force (1,100 military aircraft) is superior to the air forces of individual NATO countries in Europe. Presently there are more tanks and other armoured vehicles deployed in Ukraine than in any other European country, with the exception of Russia and Germany.

Old arguments concerning the purpose of the CIS flared up again in Bishkek. Ukraine, like several other CIS members, believes that the Commonwealth has to be a free union to coordinate the further dissolution of the USSR, a transitional period for Ukraine prior to joining the European Community.

Moscow, however, is continuing to push for a tighter cooperation between CIS countries, which would consolidate its political and economic influence in the

Commonwealth, transforming the other CIS members into Russia's dependencies. To achieve this Russia is using the old Soviet imperial links between the centre in Moscow and the former republics, links which primarily concern the economy, particularly oil supplies to Ukraine and the other CIS member-states.

Russia's plans to increase cooperation between CIS countries — a more liberal form of Russian imperialism — are also being subjected to serious criticism by the other members of the CIS. Azerbaijan, for instance, recently stated that it is withdrawing from the Commonwealth and will remain merely an observer. To a large degree this move was brought about by the protracted military conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorny Karabakh.

In Bishkek President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan stated that Kyrgyzstan would also leave the CIS in the near future because the Central Asian republics have their own interests.

CIS forces are to be deployed in Tajikistan, a member of the CIS, where armed conflicts between various political factions are continuing. The CIS armed forces are, however, the centre of an argument. Marshal Shaposhnikov believes the CIS armed forces which are to operate in hot spots of the former Soviet Union demonstrate the need for a joint CIS army.

In general terms, the Bishkek meeting confirmed one more time the practical inviability of the CIS, which is split by a clash of two opposing tendencies. On the one hand there are the new independent states aspiring to consolidate their independence and to set up a normal state structure. On the other, there is the new democratic Russia, which has not yet shed its old imperialist tendencies. In these circumstances normal cooperation on the basis of equal relations is completely unfeasible. There is hope, however, that real political opportunities, the consolidation and stabilisation of the independent states, their resistance to Russian protectionism, and the continued dissolution of the former Soviet system, will come hand in hand with changes in Russia's policy, enabling real cooperation on the basis of equality. So far, however, such changes have not taken place in Russia.

## **CIS Meeting in Bishkek**

KYIV, October 10 — On his return to Ukraine following the meeting of CIS leaders in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyzstan, President Leonid Kravchuk met journalists at Kyiv's Boryspil airport. "It seems we succeeded in removing the foremost danger, or rather threat... that they want to form a new economic union, or some new structure", was the fundamental conclusion Kravchuk drew about the meeting. According to Kravchuk, a consultative economic commission was set to function alongside the council of government leaders. The commission is to assist the heads of government, but is not empowered to ratify any decisions. This situation, Kravchuk said, fully satisfies Ukraine.

Answering questions on the ongoing processes to strengthen the integration of the CIS countries and Ukraine's participation in them, Kravchuk stated: "... We support objective processes based on market relations, as is the case throughout the world... . If, however, these processes will be realised with the help of administrative structures... through any form of pressure then, naturally, we will oppose them". The participants of

the Bishkek meeting, Kravchuk said, reacted calmly to the potential introduction of a national currency in Ukraine. Boris Yeltsin himself called for mutual understanding and pointed out that every state has the right to introduce its own currency.

Leonid Kravchuk further noted that Ukraine maintained its resolute position concerning control of strategic nuclear weapons. Ukraine's principal goal in this matter is to prevent the use of the strategic arms situated on Ukrainian territory. The president announced that had Ukraine proposed its own candidate to command the Black Sea Fleet.

Kravchuk also gave a brief description of his meeting with the Russian president. Boris Yeltsin has taken steps to expedite the settling of mutual accounts between the two countries, he said.

During the Bishkek meeting Ukraine stuck by its own concept of the structure and purpose of the CIS. If the processes to reinforce centralisation in the CIS continue, Ukraine will oppose them. Only one alternative would then be open for Ukraine — to leave the CIS.

### **Students Renew Protest Action in Kyiv**

KYIV, October 6 — The Union of Ukrainian Students (SUS) marked the second anniversary of the 1990 student hunger strike, which brought about the demise of the prime minister, by erecting a tent city in the capital's central square.

The students were demanding that new parliamentary elections be held in the spring of 1993, that a decision on parliamentary elections be made before a new prime minister and government were named, and Ukraine's immediate withdrawal from the CIS.

President Kravchuk met leaders of the Union of Ukrainian students on October 12. The following day student protesters clashed with police outside the Supreme Council. Several of the protesters were injured and others were detained.



*Scenes from student demonstrations two years ago.*

## ABN Congress

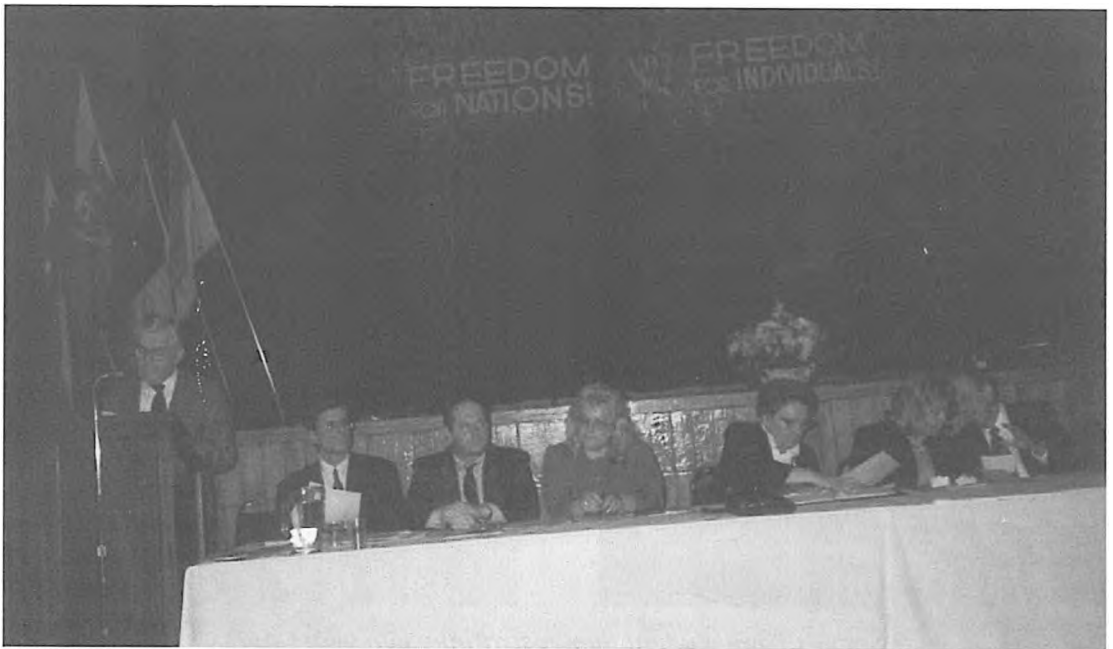
The ABN Congress was held November 20 - 21, 1992 in Toronto, Canada. Delegates from Canada, United States and Europe were in attendance. The conference papers focused on the collapse of Bolshevism and the new geopolitical realities in Europe, Central Asia, Latin America and Africa.

As a result, there was also a vigorous debate over a proposed name change for ABN. It was decided that the acronym should remain the same to eliminate any confusion, but ABN now stands for the *Assembly of the Bloc of Nations in Europe and in Asia*.

The name change, however, does not represent a change in goals. ABN intends to continue the struggle against totalitarianism. Since most ABN members represent the previously-imprisoned nations in the former Soviet Union and the so-called satellite states, they are familiar with the destruction caused by the Soviet Russian totalitarian empire – a destructive regime which lasted many decades. Cooperation between the previously-captive nations can ensure stability and peace in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The newly-independent states can mutually benefit each other as each state struggles with the problems facing all post-communist societies – the transition from an inefficient, centralised economy and repressive political system to a productive market economy and parliamentary democracy.

Mme. Slava Stetsko was re-elected to the position of ABN President, and Mr. Orest Steciw from Canada was elected to the newly-created position of Executive Chairman.

In light of the fact that ABN will be celebrating its 50th anniversary next year, the next ABN Congress is to take place in Ukraine – in the birthplace of ABN.



The Presidium table. Mr. Peter Lupsor (Romania) addressing the Congress.

ABN Congress  
in Toronto  
20-21st of  
November 1992

Slava Stetsko, ABN  
President speaking at the  
Congress dinner.



Mr. Orest Steciw ABN  
Executive Chairman  
addressing the Congress.



## Crackdown on the Opposition in Uzbekistan

Since the presidential elections in Uzbekistan at the end of 1991, the government of Uzbekistan, led by President Islam Karimov, has intensified its attempts to stifle the democratic opposition through various methods, including physical attacks. In effect, although the two main opposition groups, *Birlik* and *Erk* [Freedom], enjoy the legal status of a political movement and a political party, respectively, any real opposition to the government of Karimov and its policies has been forced underground.

Although the term "opposition" in Uzbekistan is often associated exclusively with the mass popular movement *Birlik* and its smaller counterpart, *Erk*, the democratic opposition movements constitute only one end of the spectrum of forces contesting the authoritarian rule of President Karimov. The Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) – formally illegal in Uzbekistan since the adoption in February 1991 of the Law on Public Organisations, which outlaws parties with a religious platform – has continued to gain in strength since its Uzbek chapter was founded in January 1991.<sup>1</sup> From its foundation, the party has worked closely with leaders of *Birlik*, who have succeeded in getting the party to moderate its positions. Its leader, Abdulla Utaev, now advocates a program similar to that of *Birlik*. Uzbekistan's government should be secular, and all forms of belief or nonbelief should be respected; but Islam should occupy a central place in social life.

Cooperation with the IRP has been a mixed blessing for *Birlik*, the connection has given the government an opportunity to tar *Birlik* with the brush of Islamic fundamentalism. Before *Birlik*'s Fifth congress, held in late May 1992, officers in the Tashkent military district received notification that *Birlik* would meet to decide how to impose an Islamic government on Uzbekistan. This strategy has kept Uzbekistan's sizable and economically significant Russian minority wary of the opposition and more or less behind President Karimov. Whether *Birlik* can erase the stigma of fundamentalism associated with the Islamists remains to be seen. While the alliance with the Islamic party has undoubtedly increased *Birlik*'s influence, it has also served to intensify official antagonism; after the March demonstrations in Namangan in support of the Islamic Center, housed in a seized communist party building, many *Birlik* and IRP activists were arrested.<sup>2</sup> The significance of this alliance is that it has begun to build a foundation for all Uzbek opposition groups to work together. In early June the first meeting of the Forum of Democratic Forces took place in the city of Andijan; *Birlik*, *Erk*, the IRP and the *Adolat* [Justice] (a group like the Russian movement Memorial, has fought for recognition for the victims of the Stalin-era repressions) all took part.<sup>3</sup>

*Birlik* has also begun to forge an alliance with a newly-formed group, the Business People's Movement. The origins of this organisation can be found in the Exchange Association of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, which issued a declaration at a 23 April meeting in Samarkand noting the need for entrepreneurs to become politically active

1 Bess Brown. "The Islamic Renaissance Party in Central Asia," Report on the USSR", no. 19, 1991

2 *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, 21 March 1992.

3 *ibid*, 6 June 1992.

in order to support market reforms.<sup>4</sup> The statement proposed the creation of a “forum” or “movement”, specifically not a political party, which should be “ready to conduct a constructive dialogue with all political and social forces of the states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan that hold dear the ideals of democracy and progress”.<sup>5</sup>

While *Birlik* is often accused of catering to a narrow group of intellectuals not representing the interests of society as a whole, reports of the last year paint a different picture. Organisers of the movement, which requires only general agreement with its goals for membership, claim 500,000 adherents. Moreover, the peasants have also begun to turn to *Birlik* as a defense against the arbitrary actions of local governments.<sup>6</sup>

Leading members of *Birlik*, including the poet Mohammad Solih, broke with the movement in 1990 to create their own group, *Erk*, partly owing to a disagreement over the means to advance democratic reform. While *Birlik* viewed mass demonstrations as indispensable to changing the government, *Erk* preferred to pursue a purely parliamentary plan. Relations between the former allies deteriorated still more after *Erk*'s registration as an official political party in September 1991. The Law on Presidential Elections allowed only registered political parties to field candidates; and although *Birlik* was, in November, finally allowed to register as a social movement, the Ministry of Justice still refused to register the *Birlik* party. Thus, *Erk* was the only party able to field a candidate against Karimov; namely, its leader Solih, who garnered 12% of the vote.

Since November 1991 *Birlik* has tried through legal means to force the Ministry of Justice to register it, but without success. It does not seem likely that President Karimov will allow the registration of all political parties, given the attitude of other senior government officials. The Uzbek Minister of Justice, M. Malikov, explained to representatives of *Birlik* on 25 November 1991 why their party could not be registered: “The People’s Democratic Party of Uzbekistan is the governing party. We are its representatives, and we carry out its decisions. And when you come to power, you can do as you like.”<sup>7</sup>

The early spring of 1992 brought greater international legitimacy to Karimov’s presidency, just as the opposition’s activities were being more and more constricted. But Karimov’s attitude toward the opposition has not always been wholly negative. In the wake of the student demonstrations in Tashkent, in which police fired into the crowd, killing two people, President Karimov promised to allow the registration of all political parties. After a meeting with the leaders of *Birlik* in February he praised them for their “restraint” and their “readiness to cooperate”.<sup>8</sup>

February 1992 witnessed a series of high-level meetings between President Karimov and international figures who sought to encourage Uzbekistan’s commitment to human rights and democracy. US Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Uzbekistan

4 Pravda Vostoka, 7 May 1992.

5 *ibid.*

6 Zvezda Vostoka, no. 2, 1992.

7 Nezavisimiyi Ezhenedelnik, no. 4, March 1992.

8 Moskovskie Novosti, no. 4, 1992

on 16 February, and President Karimov took the opportunity to emphasize the democratic nature of the Uzbek presidential elections, which had taken place in late December. President Karimov then traveled to Helsinki, where he signed the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Treaty. The contents of the agreement were not reported in the Uzbek press, although the meeting itself was. A Swedish Foreign Ministry delegation, headed by Special Ambassador Ingmar Carlson, traveled to the republic in early March in connection with the CSCE agreement. Baker and Carlson also met with representatives of *Birlik* and expressed support for the movement's activities.

After the demonstrations in April and May in Dushanbe, the capital of neighbouring Tajikistan, the Uzbek government intensified its battle against groups advocating popular democracy, and the repressive measures grew harsher. President Karimov evidently had decided there was reason to fear similar unrest in his republic; moreover, the continuing demonstrations in Dushanbe had resulted in the inclusion of opposition figures in a coalition government.

The Uzbek opposition learned just how intense the president's apprehension over political opposition was soon after the Tajik demonstrations had begun. In *Birlik's* Tashkent headquarters, the lights and electricity were disconnected at the end of April, and policemen stationed outside the building evicted the group soon afterward.<sup>9</sup>

The closure of *Birlik's* headquarters, repeated beatings and arrests of its leaders (including Pulat Akhunov, *Birlik* cochairman and former USSR people's deputy) and the categorical refusal of the government to register *Birlik* as a political party and thereby allow it to participate in political life have led the group to circumvent the authorities' virtual ban. In late 1991, members of *Birlik* registered a charitable organisation, *Aloqa* [Connection], in the Russian Republic. The organisation began to publish a newspaper called *Nezavisimyi Ezhenedel'nik* [The Independent Weekly], carrying the slogan on its masthead "For a Free and Democratic Uzbekistan".

The most serious attack on the *Birlik* leadership came in late June. From the hospital where he remained for over two weeks, cochairman Pulatov gave an account of his beating to an RFE/RL correspondent. Pulatov had been called in to a Tashkent district prosecutor's office for questioning in connection with *Nezavisimyi Ezhenedel'nik* and the demonstration planned by *Birlik* and *Erk* for 2 July, the date of the opening session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet. When Pulatov refused to call off the demonstration, the prosecutor told his associate that it was time for "the second variant" and made a telephone call. Upon leaving the building, Pulatov was attacked by a group of eight to ten teenagers of mixed ethnic background, wielding metal pipes. They beat him on the head while the prosecutor and his assistant watched; no ambulance was called. The editor of *Erk's* newspaper, Nazar Ishangulov, told an RFE/RL correspondent that one of the four articles cut by the government's censor from the last issue of the newspaper concerned Pulatov's condition. According to Ishangulov, the authorities had spread rumors of Pulatov's death and thus suppressed the article.

The demonstration scheduled for 2 July was the first joint protest action by both main opposition groups since *Erk* had been registered as a legal party in September 1991.

9 Russian Television, 25 April 1992.



On that day, the regular police and troops of the Internal Affairs Ministry blockaded the central area of the city, shutting down public transportation and in effect preventing the planned demonstration. Opposition leaders, fearing bloodshed, called off the Tashkent protests; but a demonstration in Samarkand continued as planned and was broken up by the police. Sixteen *Erk* leaders in Samarkand were arrested. On the first day of the Supreme Soviet session, *Erk* chairman and deputy Solih resigned his seat after having been prevented from addressing the assembly. Later, in a speech to his constituents, Solih contended that instead of battling the country's deep social and economic problems, the government of Karimov had chosen to wage war on the opposition *Birlik* and *Erk*. More than twenty *Birlik* members have been charged with criminal offenses this year, and many have been taken into administrative detention for interrogation.<sup>10</sup>

During its whirlwind three-day session, the Uzbek Supreme Soviet considered over thirty measures, among them twenty-two pieces of draft legislation, including a draft constitution. As in previous years, all the measures, including Solih's resignation, were approved by a wide margin. New measures passed by the Supreme Soviet amended the republic's criminal code to supplement penalties for antigovernment actions, gave the state security apparatus more powers to tap telephones, and made provision for the reregistration of political parties. This last act was probably intended to allow the government to deprive *Erk* of its legal status.

Observers assessed the events of 29 June and 2 July as a turning point in the political fate of Uzbekistan. With *Birlik* and *Erk* strongly unified, the regime will no longer be able to play the "divide-and-rule" game it has used in the past to weaken support for these groups. *Erk's* withdrawal from the parliament will temporarily spoil the illusion of a government-tolerated opposition within the legislature until new elections can be called. However, despite the creation of new, obedient pseudo-opposition parties, there is no reason to believe that future parliamentary elections will be any more democratic than the previous ones.

In order to preserve the illusion of multiparty democracy, the government has sponsored the creation of several new puppet political parties. One is the Party of the Heirs of Timur, led by the respected writer Olimjon Adylov. Capitalising on the reassertion of the Uzbek national idea through the "rediscovery" of history, its leaders are attempting to attract other members of the intelligentsia who sympathise with, or who are member of, *Birlik*. Another is the Social Progress Party (PSP), which has received wide coverage in the official republican press. The avowed aim of this party is to advocate reform through parliamentary means; its structure is closely modeled on that of the communist party (now the People's Democratic Party). Thus when the time comes to call new parliamentary elections, there will be new groups to help simulate a multiparty system, even though genuine opposition parties are barred from participating.

Uzbek President Karimov has expounded the view that only his rule can prevent anarchy from breaking out in Uzbekistan. Like the communist leaders of old, Karimov has shown his irritability at the slightest hint of criticism. It is not only the democratic opposition that accuses him of dictatorial tendencies, his former vice president, Mirsaidov, also maintains that government appointments are made on the basis of loyalty alone, not professionalism.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*, 13 July 1992.

<sup>11</sup> *Nezavisimyi Ezhenedelnik* no. 4, March 1992.

Karimov himself stated, "If maintaining discipline and order in society is called dictatorship, then I am a dictator."<sup>12</sup> Karimov's position is absolutely clear. "Real democracy was not maintained with nightsticks, but by the masses' understanding of what is allowed and what is not."<sup>13</sup> For the time being, at least, to carry out the activities of an opposition party falls within the category of "what is not allowed" in Uzbekistan.

12 Rabochaya Tribuna, 3 July 1991.

13 ibid, 3 July 1991.

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## **UN supplies \$10 million in relief aid**

The personal representative of the UN Secretary-General in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, said on August 23 that the United Nations agencies working in Afghanistan had prepared a \$10 million package of emergency assistance to meet the urgent humanitarian need of the country arising from current hostilities. The areas covered in the package include: the transport of food aid (\$4 million); medical supplies and supplementary feeding (\$2 million); and mine clearance (US \$2 million), he said. The emergency program will be implemented within the framework and budget of the Secretary-General's consolidated appeal for assistance to Afghanistan launched on 6 June, 1992, where US \$180 million was requested in the appeal but only US \$ 42 million had been pledged so far, primarily for UNHCR's encashment programme in Pakistan, he disclosed.

According to Mr. Mousouris the current hostilities in Kabul have caused losses in human lives and vast damages in property and have seriously disrupted the return to normal life in the country. He further said, over 1,800 civilian deaths have been reported, especially among women and children, with several thousands injured and seeking treatment. Among the 17 hospitals in Kabul, on 8 are minimally functioning with 2,403 beds. While the few doctors available in the government hospitals are unable to provide urgently required medical and surgical services due to lack of electricity, water and essential medicines, including intravenous fluids, anesthetics, gauze and bandages.

Food supplies in Kabul are rapidly becoming scarce and expensive and the price of a kilo of wheat for example, has more than doubled in the past two weeks, he added. The temporary evacuation of the international staff from Kabul, the practical operational difficulties, and the overall volatile security in the country have obliged the UN agencies to review the method of delivering assistance. The agencies agreed to strengthen their presence in the main provincial have been appointed in Herat, Jalalabad, Kandahar and Mazar to provide regular situation reports in their areas, he said.

## A Brief Overview of Ukraine's International Position

*(The following three reports were presented at the DEMYC Conference held in Wildbad Kreuth, Germany - October 24, 1992)*

As a result of a long struggle, in 1991, Ukraine reappeared on the international scene after centuries of national repression. The Ukrainian state has transformed itself from a colony of the Russian empire in its Soviet expression into an independent state.

Ukraine's refusal to sign Mikhail Gorbachev's Union Treaty precipitated the collapse of the Soviet Union. The so-called Commonwealth of Independent States was hastily formed in an attempt to keep the former colonies together. Ukraine is one of the CIS's fiercest opponents. In fact, Leonid Kravchuk, Ukraine's President, only agreed to join this alliance as a temporary measure in order to facilitate a peaceful, definite break with Russia. Ukraine refuses to participate in a common military pact and has constantly maintained that the CIS is not a legal entity. President Kravchuk did not attend the CIS summit on May 15. Ukraine has also decided to leave the rouble zone. Dmytro Pavlychko, the Head of Ukraine's Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Commission had said that it is time that "the world realise that the CIS is a rather unstable and cumbersome alliance with the tendency towards self-destruction. The succession of Ukraine from the CIS should be tied to the system of collective security in Europe."

Ukraine becomes one of the key players in post-communist Europe. Ukraine is the second largest country in Europe and it provided the former USSR with more than one fifth of its GNP. However, the primary reason for Ukraine's importance is geopolitical. Ukraine provides an important geographic buffer between Russia and Europe and it could assure political stability in Eastern Europe. Ukraine also separates Russia from its former satellite states Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Moldova, which were historically subjects of Russian expansionist foreign policy. On the other hand, Ukraine has declared itself a neutral, non-nuclear state. This may prove to be critical in keeping Russia's imperial interests at bay, especially considering that Russia is a nuclear power. As Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote: "Above all it is geopolitically essential that Ukraine succeed in stabilizing itself as a secure and independent state. That will automatically increase the chances of Russia's evolution as a democratizing and increasingly European post-imperial state. Accordingly a critical component of Western strategy has to be the deliberate effort – not only economic but also political – to consolidate a stable and sovereign Ukraine. Elsewhere in the former empire the process of nation building is likely to be even more complex than in Ukraine, and yet it too will have to be supported simultaneously with the postcommunist socio-economic transformation itself." (*Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1992)

A main aspect of Ukrainian foreign policy is the inviolability of all existing borders in Europe. This principle is a basic component of a policy which intends to ensure stability in Europe. A main aspect of Ukraine's internal policy is the installation of a functional system for the protection and guarantee of human rights in the personal

realm, and minority rights for groups and individuals. Ukraine has already forged good relations with its neighbours, and has expressed its willingness in becoming the fourth partner in the Vysehrad process. Ukraine also desires good neighbourly relations with Russia, but this goal needs a transformation of the Russian mentality which includes the recognition of Ukraine not only as a geographical denomination.

The focus on Europe has been another cornerstone of Ukraine's developing foreign relations. The government is aware that the inclusion of Ukraine in the European Community requires profound transformation of the political, economic, social and cultural system. Ukraine is confronted with the same problems and challenges facing other post-communist countries. But in Ukraine's case, the process of liberalisation from a totalitarian ideology goes together with the process of national liberalisation. Ukrainian leaders hope that the initiation of the much-needed transformation will result in membership in the European Community.

The transformation from totalitarianism to democracy and from a state-run inefficient economy to a free market system is not easy. The introduction of a new currency – the *hryvna* – was planned for the end of October. A separate currency and departure from the rouble zone are necessary for the establishment of a stable monetary system and foreign trade. The introduction of so-called coupons was intended as an interim measure. The stability of a new currency requires also the ability to assure the steady and neutral balance of payments. Up until now, foreign trade has been primarily between countries of the former Soviet Union. Ukraine must find trading partners outside of the rouble zone and attract foreign investment. Ukraine's government has already introduced measures and very attractive incentives for foreign investors, but until the new currency is introduced soon, accelerated investment will not likely occur. Up until now, 49% of foreign investment has come from Germany, and in particular from Bavaria.

Ukraine's foreign policy is western-oriented with focus on Ukraine's full integration into Europe. But Ukraine's relations with the West are not without their problems, which stem mainly from the tendency of the West to view the CIS as a continuation of the former Soviet Union while overlooking the still-existing inherent qualities of Russian imperialism. The West's policy towards Ukraine, its willingness to integrate Ukraine into Europe, could have a critical effect on the future course of foreign policy pursued by Ukraine.

The old mentality still persists regarding the false perception of the CIS as a substitute for the old USSR in the area of financial aid. Many Western countries still perceive Moscow as the rightful recipient of financial and technical aid. Ukraine and the other countries of the former Soviet Union perhaps need aid and support more than the old "centre", which has hoarded aid in the past. Of more usefulness than monetary assistance would be technical aid programmes, economic development and the sharing of "know-how". The greatest gift to Ukraine and other post-communist states would be aid programmes which would technologically yank the countries out of the anachronistic economic systems they have inherited. But assistance must be of the sort which would assure the path to self-sufficiency through efficiency.

Education, training and exchanges should not be overlooked as an area, which should merit the most importance. The proximity of Europe and its highly developed economies could provide the training ground for the next generation of Ukrainians, who

are diligently building their new state and are eager to absorb as much as possible about new technologies.

Ukraine's re-entry into Europe could be facilitated by this kind of assistance. Ukraine has already become a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CSCE and an associate member-state of the North Atlantic Assembly. An Ukrainian delegation has travelled to Brussels to discuss an agreement regarding Ukraine's status in the European Community. Ukraine is rapidly taking steps that will restore its place among other great European nations, and Ukraine could assist Europe by working towards maintaining European security and peace.

*Tanya Tarapacky is a freelance journalist living in Germany.*

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*Bohdana Kostiuk*

## **Ukraine and Democracy Today**

Ukrainian democratic forces have continuously upheld the ideals of freedom and democracy; we continued the national-liberation movement began centuries ago. About 400 years ago, Ukraine had been the directorate of the Russian empire, and during the last 70 years - the victim of the Bolshevik Soviet system. However, the dreams of a normal, civilized life never faded from the hopes of the Ukrainian people and the Soviet Russian empire could not crush the determination of the Ukrainian nation.

On 1st of December 1991 Ukrainian citizens voted for the establishment of an independent democratic Ukrainian state. We understand that this is only the beginning and that a truly independent and free Ukraine will be a long and arduous path. Ukraine will have many problems in the future and we are prepared to overcome them.

The first of them is a staff problem. The official administrative structures are represented by former communists, and they have the same influence, as two - five years ago. Young democratic forces try to teach the young generation to work within the present structures, according to the new historical situation and needs of Ukraine.

Another problem is the reconstruction of the "old" administrative system - in relation to the period of the establishment of new democratic institutions.

Our people will work in governmental institutions and local administration, and they must find the most effective way to organise qualitative administrative work.

The most important problem for Ukraine is the economy. We see the results of a centralised economy, combined with large bureaucratic "craft-machine", which not only ruined the national economy, but also agriculture, ecology and the social structure of Ukraine. It is necessary to construct a normal economic system which can be integrated into the European Economic Community.

The Parliament which was elected during the leadership of the Communist Party (in March, 1990) is only an interim Parliament, which can reconstruct our society on the basis of democracy and freedom. That is why the Popular Movement "Rukh" with its associated members and Association "New Ukraine" created the Bloc "New Parliament for Independent Ukraine" (summer 1992), which is gathering signatures to force the Ukrainian Parliament towards an earlier election on the basis of a "multiparty" system. Parliamentarian leaders of "Rukh" and democratic parties organised a similar Block at Parliament. It is necessary to have 3 million signatures at the end of this year to organise new elections in the spring of next year.

The Popular Movement "Rukh" was founded in September, 1989 in opposition to the totalitarian system, as the base of democratic renaissance of Ukraine. "Rukh" did its best to realise the projects of the democratic reconstruction of Ukraine, to liberate Ukraine and return it to its European home. Today, "Rukh" has great political influence in Ukraine and is well known abroad. For these reasons, "Rukh" attempted to unite Ukrainian organisations and the Ukrainian diaspora. There are "Committees of Rukh, or "Friends of Rukh" in Germany, Canada, United States, Australia, Poland, and partners of the Popular Movement in Russia and Baltic States. Now "Rukh" plans to teach its members and friends to work in the new, independent Ukraine – and to give the necessary knowledge to the younger generation, – the future leaders of Ukraine.

"Rukh" has inspired the formation the political parties such as: The Christian-Democratic Party of Ukraine (Chairman, Dr. Zurawsky); The Liberal-Democratic Party of Ukraine (Chairman, Dr. Klymchuk); The founders of "Rukh" and The Ukrainian Helsinki Group which, later became the Ukrainian Republican Party ( whose Chairman is former political prisoner Mr. Myhajlo Horyn) and The Democratic Party of Ukraine (co-chairmen, Mr. Badzio and Mr. Pavlychko). These political parties evolved from structures based on the European traditions of their "political brothers": from the single untotalitarian ideal to their own roads to real democracy and freedom of Ukraine. The intellectual forces in The Party of Democratic Renaissance of Ukraine (headed by Dr. Yemets, Mr. Griniov and Mr. Filenko; these people are also founders of "New Ukraine" Association).

The main opponent for "Rukh" and these parties is the Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU), founded by former leaders of the Communist party of Ukraine. The parliamentarian majority of the Ukrainian Parliament is represented by SPU. The people from the former CPSU continue to hold key positions in the main spheres of our life - in politics and economy.

Our most important task is to re-educate the younger generation to uphold a more democratic society and to work towards maintaining democratic life. That is why all democratic forces coordinate their activities in the most important political actions, like referendums, or demonstrations near the Ukrainian "House of Parliament". We are working together on the long road to a free Ukraine.

*Bohdana Kostiuk is the International Secretary of "Rukh" in Kyiv, Ukraine*

## **Albania opts for Pluralism**

Following the great victory which was won at the end of summer of 1992, the Communist Party was agrogated by parliament as the destructive force which was responsible for oppression of the nation and Albania's virtual isolation from the rest of the world for the past fifty years. Coerced by the Soviet Union into believing that its society was an open one under Khrushchev's rule, Albania submitted herself under the cruel communist regime of dictator Emmer Horla.

In December 1990, there was a declaration which allowed for pluralism and the establishment of political parties. Initially, the development of political parties was aided by government funding and the allowance of radio and television time for the parties to expaline their ideas and programmes to the people.

At the present time, there are about 41 political parties in Albania. Most of them are without any activity and exist in name only. The main characteristics of the parties is the absence of solid social groups that must support them in every way, because in Albania as in other eastern European countries, society was extremely polarized. Moreover, since 1967 in Albania, the existence of religion was not allowed, as well, there was no possibility for the exchange of ideas and values from one country to the other.

The Democratic Party of Albania (DPA) and four parties are represented in Parliament and Government. There are also two parties which exist outside of Parliament, which gained much publicity through their newspapers; their names are: "The Legal Party" (that inspired "The Kingdom of Leka Yoku") and "The National Front", an old party founded in 1943.

### **The Democratic Party of Albania and other Parties (Parliamentary Factions)**

The DPA is the first and strongest democratic party in Albania, founded on the 12th of December, 1990 and legalised on 19th of December, 1990, is headed by Prof. Berislia, already president of the Republic of Albania. In the second free and pluralistic elections, the Democratic Party received 67.5% of the total vote. The second strongest party is the Socialist Party which is composed of former Communists. The Democratic Party has 90 members of parliament, the Socialist Party has 6. The new parliament is composed of the following:

Democratic Party – 92 MPs

Socialist Party – 38 MPs

Social Democratic Party – 7 MPs

Union of Human Beings – 2 MPs

Republican Party – 1 MP

A powerful and integral part of The Democratic Pary of Albania is the Youth Forum of the DPA, which gathers the young people of Albania aged from 18-30 years. The Youth Forum is built and functions on a completely voluntary basis, has 30

branches in regions and has developed a lot of activities such as different seminars with political and social subjects, concerts, conferences about culture. Recently, the Youth Forum has reorganised and reelected new leadership headed by Mr. Arben Siliu, already the Chairman of Forum and a deputy of the Albanian Parliament.

### **On the question of repression:**

This question seeks wide answers. There is repression in a particular manner. No one meaning of liberty in general. For example: In Albania there is not an independent newspaper, but only party organs. This is happening because the intellectuals have no funds to realise their ideas. In many ways, Albania has many political voices, but no one individual voice. The writers are in deep silence, hopeless to publish their books that hidden away in secret shelves, because of fear of communist security in the past. The cost of publication is rising, so the poets and writers feel that they are in a hopeless situation, since they do not believe there are easy solutions.

Another problem is the absence of free circulation from Albania to other countries, especially to Western Europe. It is impossible to visit Europe without an invitation sent by an organisation. This does not apply only for regular tourists, but also for journalists, professors, scientists, writers and so on. Furthermore, the low standard of living is abysmal. Intellectuals, teachers, and workers only 12-15 \$US per month, while prices continue to escalate.

*Myftar Gjani works for the Press Office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tirana, Albania.*

### *Obituary*

#### **WALTER CHOPIWSKY**



It is with great sadness that we relay the news of the death of long-time ABN member Walter Chopiwsky. Born in Ukraine in 1929, he was forced to flee westward because of the oncoming, occupying Red Army during World War II. He settled in the United States. Since 1960, Mr. Chopiwsky was a member of the Captive Nations Committee and was its president in Arizona. From 1967, he was an active member of the World Anti-Communist League (later WLFD). For the past 10 years, he was the General Secretary of the North American Branch. It was on his return trip from Ukraine on August 25th, following the WLFD Conference in Budapest, that the late Mr. Chopiwsky met his untimely death. He will be missed.



## **Estonian Parliament declares Restoration of Constitutional Authority**

In unwavering faith and in the steadfast desire to safeguard and develop an independent Republic of Estonia, the citizens of Estonia – based on the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia which went into effect in 1938 – adopted a new Constitution in the referendum of 28 June 1992. On the basis of the new Constitution, the citizens of the Republic of Estonia on 20 September 1992 elected the Seventh *Riigikogu*, their first constitutional Parliament after the Second World War.

The RIIGIKOGU proclaims:

Estonia's period of transition, which was proclaimed in March 1990, has come to an end. The constitutional authority of the Republic of Estonia has been restored. The present Republic of Estonia as a subject of law is identical with the Republic of Estonia which was proclaimed on 24 February 1917 and which fell victim to the aggression of the Soviet Union and was incorporated illegally into the Soviet Union in 1940.

The Parliament expresses its thanks to [those] countries which continued to recognise the Republic of Estonia *de jure* during our difficult decades of occupation. This made the *de facto* restoration of independent possible on 20 August 1991.

The Parliament affirms that Estonia is ready to develop relations with the countries and peoples of the world on the basis of mutual understanding and trust. The time has begun in Estonia during which everyone, regardless of national background or citizenship, may devote their energy and will to the building up of a free and democratic Estonia.

We say to the Estonians abroad: the door to [your] home is open! Estonia, you stand once more on the threshold of a promising future.

*Ülo Nugis*  
*Speaker of Parliament*  
*Tallinn, 7 October 1992*

## News from Estonia

Calling itself the 7th *Riigikogu*, the Estonian parliament passed a declaration on October 7 which stated that the transition period proclaimed in March 1990 has ended and that constitutional state power has been restored in Estonia. The declaration affirms that today's Republic of Estonia is legally the same as the one which declared its independence February 24, 1918 and which fell victim to Soviet aggression in 1940. It further states that the new Constitution of the Republic of Estonia ratified June 28, is based upon the 1938 Constitution of the Republic of Estonia. "A new era has begun in Estonia in which everyone, regardless of nationality of citizenship, can dedicate his energy and will to build up a free and democratic Estonia. It concludes with an appeal to Estonians abroad: "The door to your home is open!"

Despite acrimonious debate, 90 members approved the declaration. Many changes to the wording were proposed and some incorporated.

Despite the attempts of some member of the "government in exile" to carry out a putsch on September 15, Estonia's "acting president in exile", Heinrich Mark, arrived in Estonia for the first time in fifty years and resigned officially on Toompea. Calling for unity and forgiveness of those who do not have blood on their hands, he agreed that the transition period was officially over. Mr Mark said that Mihkel Matheisen, who proclaimed the coup, has been relieved of his duties for illegal and unauthorized activities and for violating his oath.

Realignment of party memberships is continuing. Tiina Benno officially resigned from Estonian citizen and joined ERSP on October 7. Rein Helme left Estonian Citizen on the first day, joining Esamaa. He explained that he wanted to be constructive, "not destructive", in the parliament. A third member of Estonian Citizen, Toivi Uustalo, is also considered leaving Estonian Citizen. Heido Vitsur, who now claims to be independent, however is still being listed with PTEL (formerly Secure Home).

In an interview with *Paevaleht*, Juri Tommepuu stated that the *Riigikogu* will not last long, because it has "lost the trust of the people before it convened." "The present Constitution and election laws are doing everything to make the phrase 'Estonian people are the highest power in the land' meaningless." His group, which is tied to vociferous opponents of the new Constitution led by Endel Lippmaa, the putsch faction of the "government in exile", and to a paramilitary group which has apparently broken away from the official Defense League (*Kaitseliit*), is making preparations to create a "Union of Estonian Citizens" (*Eesti Kodanike Liit*). Toompeuu hopes to make this "a very large and powerful organisation" which will "very quickly become the most important and influential organisation in Estonia. One that is created from the bottom up, not like all the current parties - which were created from the top down. If things go like this, the Estonian people will be able to understand that it is possible to move forward democratically, possible to express one's will and to elect a *Riigikogu* which really represents us."

## **Campaign to counter Russia's Anti-Baltic Propaganda**

Throughout their struggle to restore independence and to end the Soviet occupation of their nations, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians have used peaceful and democratic methods, something for which they have been widely praised. Despite the brutality of the Soviet takeover, despite decades of being treated as colonies, of being ruled by Soviet puppets, of seeing thousands of their citizens killed and deported while thousands of people from other parts of the USSR were resettled in their homes, of having their air, soil and water polluted by the Soviet military-industrial complex, of seeing their sons impressed into the Red Army, of having their languages and cultures suppressed and russified, of fearing for their very survival as separate, unique peoples, Balts have not retaliated against deliberate provocations nor resorted to violence and retribution.

As they begin to rebuild their nations after the physical and psychological devastation of fifty years under Moscow's rule, Balts are continuing to behave in a peaceful, legal manner in which the human rights of all people living there are protected and guaranteed. As long as Moscow was in charge, most Russians in the Baltics enjoyed many privileges, especially in the areas of jobs and housing, at the expense of the indigenous population. With the restoration of Baltic independence, some of these people are finding it hard to adapt to the new conditions just as the English upperclass did at the end of British rule in India. Some, who evidently still long for restoration of the Soviet Empire, find democracy and a free-market economy to be alien concepts. They do not respect Baltic sovereignty, Baltic borders, Baltic laws, nor Baltic culture and customs.

Currently Estonia and Latvia, in particular, are being subjected to an intense propaganda assault which seeks to persuade world public opinion that the oppressed are the oppressors, that the invaders are the victims. Ignoring the already existing lenient conditions for the naturalisation of individuals in Estonia, Russia is actively interfering in Estonia's internal affairs by demanding that all Russian-speaking residents of Estonia be given Estonian citizenship, en masse and automatically, whether these Russian or Soviet citizens want it or not. Even withdrawal of the Russian occupation forces has now been tied to this demand, leaving the impression that there may be forces in Moscow which have not accepted the independence of the Baltic States as permanent. Unfortunately, Russia's allegations about the unfair treatment of Russian-speaking residents, many of whom were deliberately sent to the Baltics to ensure Moscow's permanent control of these nations, have found a receptive audience, particularly among the Moscow-based media. Weak Baltic public relations efforts have been no match for the coordinated and powerful Russian media machine. Many of the reporters and even some of the observers who recently travelled to Estonia for the elections were clearly disappointed to find calm and a lack of protest by Russian-speaking residents. Moscow had primed them to expect the worst.

On the other hand, none of the eager defenders of the rights of Russian citizens in the Baltics has shown any concern about Russia's continued active repression of the many ethnic minorities, including Finno-Ugric peoples, living within its borders. In what can only be called genocide, many non-Russian minorities have already been wiped out in

areas controlled by Russia. Likewise, abuse of the human and other rights of Estonian citizens living in those parts of Estonia still controlled by Russia in violation of the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty, has received no Western attention.

- The legal status of the Baltic States is routinely described incorrectly, leading to further false assumptions about other matters such as citizenship policies. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are neither “new” states, “break-away republics” nor “newly-emerged states. Instead they are three European nations which were, in violation of international law, forcibly annexed, occupied, colonised and russified by the Soviet Union for fifty years. They are in the process of ending the military occupation, de-Sovietizing their societies and infrastructure and reestablishing legal governments.

- The United States never recognised the occupation of the Baltic nations by the Soviet Union. Thus, the U.S. is renewing and expanding ties with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania rather than starting from the beginning with three new nations. Estonian and Latvian policies of renewing citizenship policies are in line with long-term United States policies towards the Baltic countries.

- Restoring citizenship reaffirms the legal continuity of the laws of independent Estonia and Latvia. Estonia’s citizenship law is more liberal than that of the United States and most other European nations. It requires only two years of residency, as opposed to five years in the United States. Since the two year residency requirement was backdated to March 30, 1990, most Russians and other non-citizens in Estonia could already begin to apply for citizenship on March 30, 1992. Only a handful applied. In Latvia, if the proposed draft law on citizenship passes, 80% of Russians living there will meet the sixteen year residency requirement and qualify for citizenship. (The non-indigenous peoples, including Russians constitute 48% of Latvia’s population).

- Citizenship is not a human right. It is a privilege, with ensuing responsibilities, granted by a government. In Latvia and Estonia, basic human rights are guaranteed to all, regardless of citizenship.

- International legal experts and the Council of Europe approve of Estonia’s new Constitution, including its citizenship laws.

- Accusations of human rights abuses against Russians in Latvia and Estonia are vague and anecdotal in nature. At the CSCE hearing on August 10th, entitled “Russians outside Russia”, Vladimir Averchev, Counselor at the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Washington, D.C., admitted that there were no documented reports and that he could not prove any concrete examples himself.

- The continued illegal presence of Russian troops on Baltic soil exacerbates tensions between the Russians and Balts. Their presence violates international law and provides aid and comfort to those who do not support Baltic independence. There are at least 130,000 former Soviet troops in the Baltics. Although the Russian government has promised to remove them, withdrawal is proceeding slowly, if at all. New conscripts are apparently still arriving daily. This same army was responsible for hundred of injuries and deaths when they tried to overthrow the legally elected governments of Latvia and Lithuania in January 1991.

*The Estonian American National Council, Inc.– Washington, D.C. October, 1992*

## **Russian Imperialism rears its ugly head again!**

*(The following would be recommended reading for anyone who does not believe that Russia aspires to reunite its empire and all its "wayward republics". It concisely demonstrates the Russian mentality and its need to assume proprietorship over the newly-independent states in order to "protect human rights".)*

"The Baltics have been and will remain an area of vital interest for Russia." A pro-Communist newspaper in Riga, *SM-Segodnja*, published an interview with Sergei Baburin under the above title. He is the leader of a parliamentary opposition faction, "Russia", which unites Communists, monarchists and 'patriots'. He is also a co-chairman of the Russian National Union and along with other known reactionaries like Alkanisn, Nezorov and Makasov, a member of the editorial board of the newspaper *Den*. Excerpts of the interview:

*Q: What kinds of claims does the opposition make to the government about Russia's policies regarding the near-by or adjacent foreign lands?*

I believe that the current Russian government lacks any kind of a foreign policy concept or understanding of what are Russian national and state interests. We have given up those traditions which Russia has built up over the centuries, betrayed all our friends in Europe, Africa the Arab nations and America, and we haven't gotten any new friends. Russia has put itself into political isolation.

In speaking of the nearby foreign parts, then like it or not, the USSR which existed until 1991 was an objective reality. Going from this into a new reality cannot be painless. Now we need to mitigate as much as possible the tensions of our time, protect people to the maximum, even to the point of setting up dual citizenship, and the taking up of Russia's historic responsibility to monitor human rights in all former republics of the USSR. This does not mean that the Russian Federation must immediately interfere in the internal affairs of those republics or – even less – use force of arms. But it does mean that with political and economic methods we have to achieve totally the protection of human rights in all parts of the USSR.

*Q: How can this be done practically?*

With those governments, which do not understand what are human rights, we have to immediately freeze all economic and other relations.

*Q: Turn off the fuel oil faucets? The people will freeze!*

And not only the fuel oil faucets. Let the people understand that their government is not supplying them with fuel oil, so that they will elect another [government]. To violate human rights and at the same time to warm oneself at the springs of fuel oil which are provided by those brothers whose rights are being violated - that won't go!

*Q: About the Baltics. What does not please you about the Russian foreign policy bureaucracy's activities?*

I have been disturbed by a long time that our Foreign Ministry does not want to see the results of agreements signed with the Baltics. They sign treaties willy-nilly, later they are amazed at the results. Everything which is happening in Estonia and Latvia was predictable already then, when the treaties with those nations were ratified. About the troop withdrawal – I would be happy if the troops were to be withdrawn from there quickly. If, however, tens of thousands of people are to be hauled to the steppes, Yeltsin's regime will be over in a week. Under the circumstances, I take the position that this will become the tragedy of millions of people. We should not speak about the withdrawal of troops, but about the formalizing of their status there and reduction to a reasonable number. Withdrawing the troops will destabilise the situation in both Russia and the Baltics.

*Q: In what way in the Baltics?*

Out of the many I will bring you just one example. If Russian troops are withdrawn from Latvia, the ethnic Russians, whom Russia will abandon to arbitrary fate, will lose their last psychological support. Seeing that the Baltic governments have betrayed them, these people will begin to solve their own problems. That, however, will be horrible.

*Q: Aren't you exaggerating?*

Unfortunately, during the last two years, I have been too good of a prophet.

*Q: If you had been elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, how would that have changed the course of events?*

I do not like to play "what if". I am convinced, however, that I would have gotten involved in December and perhaps would not have permitted the December preliminaries, the August and September events. These were needed only to break up the USSR.

*Q: How? Would you yourself have put into force the special state of emergency?*

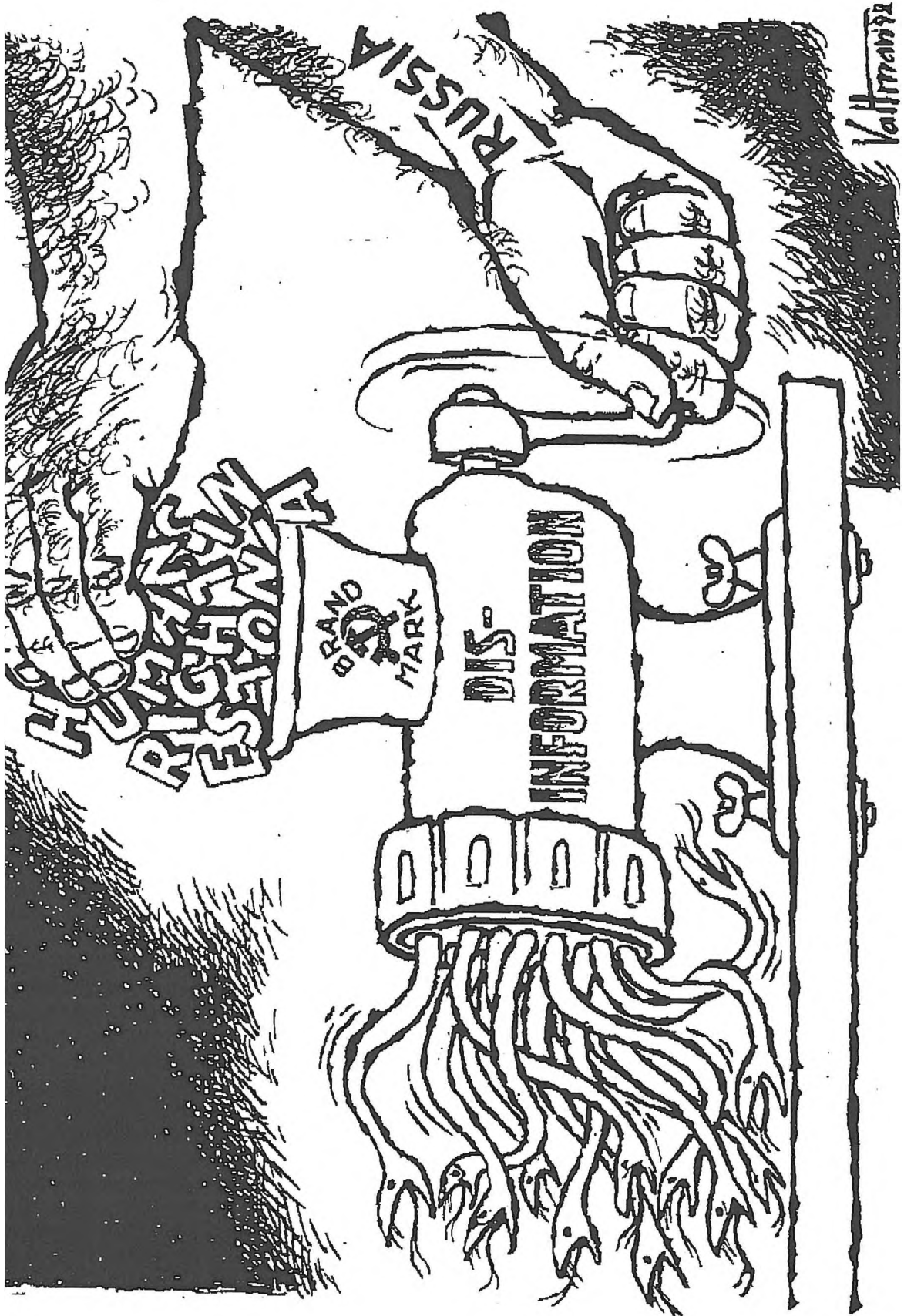
The tragedy of the political forces which I represent is that we prefer a parliamentary path of development. Sometimes, however, it is necessary to protect the people also with the national use of force, such as the situation requires.

*Q: Does Russia's current situation require such a national use of force?*

National power must be used there, where massive disorder and crime begins. But for this, a nation will have to appear finally in Russia.

*Q: What form could this take in the case of the Baltics?*

The systematic defense of Russian interests in that region. Including political mechanisms. The Baltic leaders must understand; whether Bush, Yeltsin or Gorbunov, like it or not, since the time of Ivan the Terrible and Peter I, the Baltics have been a region of Russian vital interest and will remain so. And it is just this which determines the level of relations between our nations.



Kallman

## **Baltic Appeal on Russian Troop Withdrawal**

*Vilnius, Lithuania* - November 5 – At a meeting of the Baltic Council, the heads of state of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia addressed an appeal to the heads of international organisations for Russia to withdraw all troops from the region by the summer of 1993. The appeal was issued in reaction to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's October 29 decree, which indicated a shift in Russia's position and a desire to suspend Russian troop withdrawal from the territories of the Baltic countries.

President of the Supreme Council of Lithuania Vitautas Landsbergis, President of the Supreme Council of Latvia Anatlijs Gorbunovs and President of Estonia Lennart Meri appealed to the leaders of CSCE, the European Parliament, the Commission of the European Communities, the Council of Europe, NATO and the North Atlantic Assembly expressing their concern on the declared position of the Russian Federation on the suspension of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territories of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which are still stationed there and are thus violating international law.

The appeal emphasizes that the complete withdrawal of Russian Federation troops is the unconditional international obligation of Russia, and must not be conditional on any obligations of domestic policy or social or economic conditions. In this regard the Council of Baltic States rejects Russia's intentions to link Russian troop withdrawal to human rights violations in Latvia and Estonia. The Council reported that international experts have reviewed the legislation of these countries and have indicated that this legislation corresponds to international norms. A delegation from the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations recently visited Latvia, and on September 28, Estonia invited the democratic institute and human rights mission of the CSCE to review the situation of human rights in that country.

The Baltic Council also indicated that the responsibility of Russia is to honour and renew the human rights of the many thousands of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian citizens who were repressed and deported to Russia. Furthermore, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia will not tolerate the destruction of property used by the Russian army when it departs these territories.

The Council demanded that the government of the Russian Federation completely withdraw the troops from the territories of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia no later than the summer of 1993. The Baltic leaders rejected any intentions by Russia to maintain its military presence on these territories after this period.

The Council of Baltic States expressed hope that the Russian Federation, as a member of the United Nations Security Council, will refrain from any actions which are not in line with the goals of the UN and which would lead to increased tensions and instability in the Baltic Region and in Northern Europe.

The Baltic leaders also sent a letter of appeal to Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros-Boutros Ghail, indicating the potential threat to the region's stability raised by President Yeltsin's October 29 decree. The Council welcomes the participation of third countries and international organisation in negotiations in order to accelerate the resolution of questions related to troop withdrawal from the Baltic countries.

*Embassy of Latvia, Washington, D.C. - November 6, 1992*



## Estonia Has a New Prime Minister

As expected, the President Lannart Meri named Mart Laar, the head of Isamaa (Pro Patria) coalition which won the most seats in the parliamentary elections, as Prime Minister on October 8. Laar, born in 1960, is a historian and archivist, and has been one of the most prominent younger political figures in Estonia in recent years. He was the head of the historical commission in the Estonian Heritage Society, the leader of the Christian Democratic Union (now part of the *Isamaa* voting coalition), a member of the Constitutional Assembly, the Estonian Supreme Council and the Congress of Estonia. Laar has written numerous articles and books, many of these on subjects which were taboo until the late 1980's. In March, 1989, the Estonian SSR process threatened Laar with prosecution for "falsifying history". His recent book, *The War in the Woods: Estonia's Struggle for Survival, 1944-1956* (Compass Press, Washington DC, 1992), tells the story of the Estonian 'Forest Brothers,' who mounted an armed resistance to Soviet rule.

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*ABN Correspondence Contributor Bertil Häggman with ABN President Slava Stetsko*

## **The New Bugging Scandal**

Bugging equipment was found in 1976 and 1988 in the Swedish Embassy in Moscow. Now bugging equipment has been found by the Swedish State Building Board during an inspection of the Swedish Consulate General in St. Petersburg. The apartment of the Consul General Dag S. Ahlander was prepared for refitting and change into an administrative office. Swedish workers found the bugging equipment when they started working on the villa on the Vasiliev Island.

A sharp protest was delivered to the Russian government on August 21. The Swedish government has appointed a former Minister of Justice to investigate security at Swedish embassies and consulates.

The Swedish Security Police (SÄPO) believes that bugging has been going on for the past 20 years or since the consulate was opened in 1972. What worries SÄPO is that the consulate has played an important role in the liberation struggle of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and that probably KGB knew everything that was said during the last years of the 1980s and the first years of the 1990s.

## **American Traitor hiding in Sweden**

On August 16, 1992, news broke that American traitor and defector Edward Lee Howard had lived in Sweden since autumn 1991. In 1992, his wife and small son had joined him. Using his real name, he had applied for a visa to Sweden at the Swedish Embassy in Moscow. Howard had worked for the CIA from January 1981 to June 1983. After he was fired for suspicion of working for the Soviets, he left the United States in 1985. He later applied for asylum in the Soviet Embassy in Budapest and was given asylum in the Soviet Union in August 1986. He was given a flat in Moscow and a dacha. After a few years, he left for Hungary, but was expelled from there in 1989 and returned to Moscow.

U.S. authorities want Howard for espionage and for the information he gave to the KGB which has caused at least one death and possible several of American agents in the former Soviet Union. In 1986, the Soviet electronics expert Adolf Tolkatchev was executed for spying on behalf of the United States.

At an early stage, Howard was registered by the Swedish Security Police as a suspect. It has been believed that he worked for Russian intelligence. Since late 1991, Howard has run his own business in Sweden.

The author (BH) reported the case of Howard to the Swedish Attorney General who controls the actions of state employees when it became apparent that the Swedish Embassy in Moscow had given him a Swedish resident permit. Häggman has asked the Attorney General to investigate if Swedish embassy personnel in Moscow violated Swedish laws when they gave a known Soviet espionage agent a residence visa in Sweden. Howard's visa was approved on November 14, 1991 for six months. On March 26, he applied for a renewal and extension.

The Security Police was asked for its opinion on the application. It recommended that Howard be denied an extension on the grounds that "he covered up circumstances

being of great importance when judging his first application for a residence visa and that he during his time in the former Soviet Union, he had cooperated with the KGB – cooperation which has continued with the present intelligence institutions in Russia.” The Immigration Authority took the advice of the Security Police and decided that Howard be denied a new visa. The government upheld the decision and finally Howard chose to leave Sweden voluntarily.

Howard’s business in Sweden, which could have been a cover for his Russian intelligence operations in Sweden was import and export firm of goods and services, consulting in trade and tourism. To the Swedish Register Authority, he mentioned vodka, sparkling wine, and caviar as possible goods as well as oil, wood and chemicals.

### **Scottish Expert claims Russian Espionage Continues**

Russian intelligence organisations have taken over after the KGB according to Dr. Myles Robertson, an expert on Soviet and Russian intelligence operations at St. Andrew’s University in Scotland. During a visit to Sweden in August, he claimed that:

- The Russians are very interested in cooperation in areas where there is a need. But at the same time, they are as interested as before to collect data and that interest has not diminished. Russian intelligence will continue operating aggressively until told otherwise.

- Even if Russian intelligence starts cooperation with, for instance, Swedish intelligence the intelligence operations will continue against Sweden. We must be very careful, says Dr. Robertson. The persons we cooperate with are potential enemies and it would be naive to believe that much has changed in such a short time.

In December 1991, a Russian diplomat was expelled by the Swedish government. Dr. Robertson says that Russian intelligence activities in Scandinavia will increase during the 1990s. The need for intelligence is even greater now than during the Soviet era. The new Russian state is more vulnerable than the Soviet Union. The number of threats against Russia has multiplied and the insecurity increased.

Increasing espionage can mainly be expected in the field of industrial espionage. Towards the end of the 1980s the Soviets increased attempts to get intelligence from Western companies to the internal industry. This may continue and increase.

*MISTA, Vol. X, No. 4, October 1992*

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### **End to "Problems of Communism"**

The journal *Problems of Communism* is no longer. For forty rewarding years it kept a dialogue with a distinguished worldwide community of readers and contributors. The dramatic changes brought about by the collapse of communism in eastern European countries necessitated that the editors of the journal focus on new issues. The May-June 1992 issue was the last issue.

## **Requiem for a defunct ideology**

An unofficial global plebiscite, under way for decades, has reached a historic result. Marxism socialism and Marxism-Leninism has been rejected utterly in a near-unanimous poll of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people, victimized for generations by these baneful doctrines. What makes this result even more remarkable is that in no sense was this global referendum formally organised.

Marxism or its derivative, Marxism-Leninism, has few friends anywhere, even in the Politburo of Communist China. Who in what was once the USSR boasts about the joys of living under Marxism-Leninism? How many people in the “Anti-People’s Republic of China” would disagree with Frederick A. Hayek’s description of Marxism as “the road to serfdom”?

What is too little realised about this global plebiscite is that it has been a multicultural, multiethnic, international phenomenon, visible and measurable among the peoples on every continent regardless of race, religion, colour, language or previous condition of servitude.

Where, then, does “graveyard Marxism” (or “scientific socialism”) exist, its managers oblivious to the global plebiscite? In North Korea, Cuba, mainland China and Vietnam, where dictatorships of blood and iron have sealed their borders with electrified barbed wire.

Nowhere is there a country where people have by a free vote adopted Marxist rule. Today, the last supporters of the Marxist myth outside of the remaining repositories of graveyard socialism are the fossilized academics to be found in American, British and German universities.

As Hayek once wrote, “The higher we climb up the ladder of intelligence, the more we talk with intellectuals, the more likely we are to encounter socialist convictions.” As if to confirm Hayek, Walter Laquer recently said, “There are more Marxists in [American] universities than in the whole of the Soviet Union.”

It is luminously clear, as men like Hayek and Milton Friedman have been saying for decades, that the enemy of freedom is a centralised economy with decisionmaking concentrated in the hands of an unrepresentative, self-perpetuating, unelected minority. That describes mainland China today.

The global vote against Marxism and its heirs has occurred not only because of the economic disasters, which follow from Marxist economic programming. but also because in every case where Marxism rules through a single party, human rights are non-existent.

And yet there are still intellectuals, particularly in the United States and Britain, who despite the evidence of Marxist-Leninist catastrophe and carnage before their very eyes still look to Marxism for salvation and redemption, still engage in what has been called “irrationalist prophetism.”

How do they explain away the socialist disaster? Ah, it’s all Stalin’s fault or Mao’s fault or Kim’s fault; they didn’t practice “true” or “real” socialism.

Professor Gertrude Himmelfarb, the American historian, has pointed to major

misprophecies of Marx, which alone should consign his teachings to the dustbin of history. Marx, she writes, predicted the pauperisation of the proletariat, the proletarianisation of the petty bourgeoisie, the collapse of capitalism and worldwide revolution. And yet these empty doctrines are being taught by social science faculties in democratic countries as eternal truth.

What would we say if the professors of a great university were to teach alchemy as the New Chemistry, Lysenkoism as the New Genetics and Ptolemaic astronomy as the New Astrophysics?

To remain a Marxist today or a Marxist fellow-traveler when the whole world has voted against the malice of Marxism raises the most profound questions as to the rationality of the true believer.

*Arnold Beichman is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. His book, "Anti-Americanism: Its Causes and Consequences" has just been published.*

## ROC Trains Foreign Technicians

TAIPEI - The Republic of China will help train more technical personnel from friendly countries during the current fiscal year announced the Ministry of Economic Affairs. The ministry used the money from the nation's Overseas Economic Cooperation and Development Fund to train 508 technicians and trade professionals from 56 countries during the fiscal year ending June 30. Such programs cost a total of US \$3.7 million, ministry officials said.

The ROC government set up the economic cooperation fund in 1989 as part of its efforts to help friendly countries develop their economies. In addition to providing soft loans to developing countries, the fund has financed many well-organised training programs for foreign technical personnel during the past few years. The training programs focus on agricultural and fishery technologies as well as expertise on business management.

Ministry officials said that such projects have been well received by recipient countries. The ministry is therefore determined to expand its manpower training programs. During fiscal year 1993, the ministry plans to train 619 technical and trade professionals from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, and others.

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## Ukraine Has New Premier

On October 13, the Ukrainian Parliament elected Leonid Kuchma as the new Prime Minister of Ukraine. Kuchma was elected by an overwhelming majority, with 316 of the 375 deputies present at the session casting their vote in his favour. According to the Supreme council's decree of September 30, the new prime minister had ten days in which to form the new Cabinet.

Leonid Danylovych Kuchma was born in 1938. He is the director of the Dnipropetrovsk-based Yuzhmash company, one of the largest industrial enterprises in Ukraine's military-industrial complex, and said to be the largest arms manufacturer in the world.

On March 3, 1990, Leonid Kuchma was elected a people's deputy of Ukraine. He is a member of the permanent parliamentary commission on defence and state security.

Introducing his candidate to the deputies, President Kravchuk portrayed Leonid Kuchma as a man with great organisational abilities, capable of finding a way out of difficult situations. This was demonstrated by his successful leadership of the industrial giant Yuzhmash while other businesses were experiencing difficulties. Leonid Kuchma outlined the programme of the future government. His address was marked by the succinctness, quality and concreteness of a confident head of government. He clearly described Ukraine's economic situation as catastrophic. Not even the most energetic and efficient actions on the part of the new government can improve the situation in the near future, he said. The state needs to stop exploiting the country's businesses. It should instead create viable conditions for business to function efficiently. "If we continue to resolve problems at the expense of production", Kuchma said, "we will not be able to avoid the self-destruction of the economy".

The principal goal of the future government, Kuchma stated, will be the stabilisation of the economy and consecutive reform of the post-socialist economy towards a free market. The new premier plans to markedly reduce taxes and to change the whole taxation system, replacing income tax by a gains tax. Leonid Kuchma further believes that regional initiative to create free economic zones should be supported. He regards structural reconstruction as viable only if practical and comprehensive results are achieved, and the introduction of a national currency not merely as a goal in itself, but as an urgent national need. Ukraine desperately needs foreign investment and should offer all possible assistance to potential investors.

On many issues the new premier's views are diametrically opposed to those of his predecessor. The appointment of a government leader with no connections to the nomenklatura can be seen as an attempt to push the nomenklatura "diehards", shining examples of which were both Fokin and Symonenko, away from the trough of power. This constitutes a small putsch at the top. The opposition also gave their support to the new prime minister, particularly as he did not exclude the possibility of forming a government based on popular support. In these circumstances various surprises can be expected from the new Cabinet and its policies.

## New Government Brings Hope to Ukraine

On October 27, Ukraine finally got a new government. What surprised many was that the composition of the government underwent quite radical changes. The senior Cabinet members – the deputy prime ministers – have been completely replaced. The former leader of the Narodna Rada opposition in parliament and former presidential candidate Ihor Yukhnovskiy, an academic, was elected first deputy prime minister. Of the other five vice-premiers only one – agriculturalist Volodymyr Demianov – once occupied the relatively insignificant post of a village-level first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Two others, national-democrats Victor Pynzenyk and Mykola Zhulynskiy, are prominent academics. In addition to his election as vice-premier, the 38 year-old Pynzenyk is also the new Minister of Economics. Another two senior Cabinet members, Vasyl Yevtukhov and Yuri Joffe, are highly qualified professionals with no connections to the party nomenklatura.

With regards to the other Cabinet members, almost all the ministers have retained their office. The only new face is democrat Yuriy Kostenko, the new Minister of Ecology and the Environment. In short, the senior posts in the new compromise government are occupied by new reformers, while all the ministers have retained their former positions.

Prior to his unexpected rise to one of the two highest posts in the state, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, was almost unknown in Ukraine. In more than two years as a people's deputy he does not appear to have addressed parliament at all. It is more than likely that his former obscurity acted to his advantage, facilitating his ratification by parliament as the new head of government. As it is difficult to lay any blame on an unknown figure, Kuchma emerged as a candidate acceptable to all sides.

Like the new premier, the new government is a dark horse. It has come to power without a programme. Leonid Kuchma claims that it will take two months to produce such a programme, and has publicly acknowledged as prominent supporters of decisive reform, economists Volodymyr Lanovyi and Volodymyr Cherniak for their assistance in this matter. Kuchma's statement seems a genuine attempt to lead Ukraine onto the path of reform.

The remainder of the premier's parliamentary address comprised general statements on the need to take personal responsibility for the outcome of a particular course of action, and relatively secondary explanations of various plans for concrete reform and reconstruction.

Leonid Kuchma appears a resolute individual. His direct statements on the disastrous economic situation show an ability to recognise problems and a willingness to resolve difficulties. What remains unclear, however, are his proposed means to resolve these problems. Whereas it is clear that the government is intensifying the reform process, one question, however, remains: whether this process will develop fast enough to have any effect. Equally, one cannot predict relations between the new senior Cabinet members and the old ministers in the compromise government, in which the former party nomenclature has retained considerable connections and influence. Conflict and infighting in the Cabinet can have a negative effect on the implementation of changes in society. However, businessmen can expect substantial concessions from the government, judging by the prime minister's earlier statement that budgetary problems

will not be resolved at the expense of business interests.

Parliament's endorsement of the Kuchma government is another decisive step in the slow process to remove from power the communist nomenklatura, which seized all the levers of political and economic power in Ukraine following the declaration of independence. In the present situation, with the appointment of the new Cabinet, the role of the president is for the time being unclear. In ratifying the new government, parliament focused its full attention on the prime minister, who clearly and consecutively dispelled all attempts to discredit his government. Kravchuk, for the first time during his presidency, found himself outside the limelight.

The second extraordinary development of the session had to do with procedures. In accordance with existing legislation, only the prime minister and several key government figures: ministers of defence, justice, foreign and internal affairs, finance and several other prominent posts are subject to ratification by parliament. On this occasion parliament ratified the whole government. The situation can be explained in two ways. Firstly, either Kravchuk realised that, after the humiliating downfall of his protege Vitold Fokin, it would be imprudent to insist on exercising his presidential rights in an unfavourable situation; or, secondly, having involved parliament in ratifying the government, Kravchuk thereby compelled it to divide moral responsibility for the work of the Cabinet.

Despite all the vagueness regarding the future course of action of the Kuchma government, the formation of a new government in Ukraine can be seen as a positive development. During his brief tenure as the government's new economic star, the former first deputy prime minister and head of the coordinating council on economic reform, Symonenko, succeeded in fully compromising himself. His obvious economic incompetence coupled with his immense self-confidence, contradictory statements and addresses, which verged on plain fallacy, and the flawed "Programme to broaden economic reform", which he so hastily attempted to disclaim to avoid the fate of the ex-premier, are convincing proof of the potentially catastrophic consequences for Ukraine of a Symonenko administration.

The advantages of the Kuchma government lie not only in a simple comparison with the Symonenko team. The incorporation in the Cabinet of new activists, notable academics and professionals, and supporters of democratic and market reforms guarantee an upheaval that may avoid an ultimate economic crash in Ukraine.

***Bertil Häggman - Moscow and Low-Intensity Conflict***

**Assasination, Kidnapping and Terror**

**Published by the Ukrainian Central Information Service,  
London, U.K. 1989**



## **Problems of Corruption in Ukraine**

In the present economic and political instability in Ukraine, particularly the economic crisis caused by the decline of the old Soviet structures and the difficulties in forming new structures, the problems of mafia-related corruption have become widespread in the country. In a recent interview for Radio Ukraine the head of the Union of Ukrainian Officers Hryhoriy Omelchenko, who is also the head of the corruption and organised crime department of the Ukrainian Security Service, underlined the various causes of the spread of mafia corruption in Ukraine.

In his opinion, the fundamental cause for the existence of the former Soviet, and today Ukrainian, mafia and the widespread corruption in government and the administration, is the warped economy and economic disorder. According to Omelchenko, state property constitutes 84 per cent of all property, which is the first and foremost root of the evil, the basis for the spread of organised crime and corruption.

The principal mechanism for the allocation of material welfare lies in the hands of the state, of state officials. This means that the state owns nearly all the means of production. Every manufacturer is thus dependent on government structures.

Omelchenko further stated that investigations have revealed that, in 97 cases out of a hundred, anyone who wants to open a business, or to acquire a commercial license, has to pay a bribe. In the last six months, large numbers of officials in regional administrations and law enforcement agencies: the militia, the Security Service, the prosecutor's office, and the customs service, were arrested on charges of corruption. In some cases local representatives of the president have been arrested for corruption, showing how widespread corruption and the mafia structures have become.

In the last seven months alone, more than 900,000 economic crimes have been exposed. Around 600 million karbovantsi, 42 kilograms of gold and platinum, and 131 kilograms of precious metals have been confiscated. However, criminal responsibility for economic offences is almost nonexistent. Of the 8,500 persons apprehended for theft only 74 have been imprisoned, and only 30 of the 482 officials charged with corruption have been imprisoned.

To combat the large-scale corruption, primarily among government officials, the Security Service of Ukraine has set up a special department to fight corruption and organised crime with the support of a group of people's deputies.

For three years now the Ukrainian parliament has been working on a draft law on the fight against corruption and organised crime, which has so far not come into force. This bill has been blocked on several occasions and has thus failed to come before parliament. So far there is no law stipulating the dismissal of censured officials. Neither is there a law on compulsory declaration of private income from which the sources can be verified.

A law prohibiting peoples deputies and government officials, primarily central government officials, from working in commercial and other economic structures has so far not come into force either.

Furthermore, Omelchenko would like to know why there is no law authorising the law enforcement agencies to fight the widespread corruption and mafia structures in the state government and administration. The question appears rhetorical. Many Supreme Council deputies are opposed to such a move as they are themselves, directly or indirectly, involved with these structures.

## **NEWS FROM UKRAINE**

### **Ukraine Rejects “Shock Therapy”**

KYIV, August 31 — Ukraine’s chief economic strategist said Ukraine would move toward a market economy gradually instead of attempting the “shock therapy” tried by Russia and other east European countries. First Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Symonenko also played down Kyiv’s differences with the IMF over the course of Ukraine’s economic reforms. He said Ukraine would launch a privatisation programme this autumn by opening privatisation accounts for every citizen worth 30,000 coupons (\$100). Symonenko said the government planned to open exchange counters where coupons could be changed for roubles, taking business away from black marketeers. He said a great deal of preparatory work, including the creation of a stabilisation fund, needed to be done before introducing a full-fledged new currency, the *hryvnia*, by the end of the year as planned.

### **Increase in Cancer Rate**

KYIV, September 2 — The European Centre for Environment and Health reported that thyroid cancer is occurring at 80 times the normal rate among some children exposed to radioactive fallout from the 1986 explosion at Chernobyl.

### **Ukraine Joins IMF**

KYIV, September 3 — Ukraine joined the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and immediately asked the two lending organisations for money to back up its efforts to overhaul its economy. Ukraine’s prime minister said he had asked for up to \$6.5 billion from the IMF to stabilise its proposed new currency. Deputy Finance Minister Oleh Havrylyshyn said that an IMF loan agreement was not likely until the end of this year, after Ukraine fills in the details of its plan to transform its economy from communism to capitalism.

### **Ukraine Upholds Yugoslav Embargo**

BUCHAREST, September 3 — During a two-day trip to Romania, Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko said Ukraine would uphold the United Nations trade embargo against Yugoslavia. He denied accusations that Ukrainian ships sailing in the Danube river were violating the trade embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, which are accused of playing a major role in the civil war in Bosnia.

### **CIS Defence Ministers Deadlocked Over Future Control**

KYIV, September 4 — Commonwealth of Independent States defence ministers ended a two-day meeting in Moscow deadlocked over how to jointly control their shared nuclear forces. Ukraine continues to refuse to transfer control systems and staff in charge of strategic nuclear forces on its territory to a CIS command.

## **Hard Currency for Goods Transit**

KYIV, September 8 — Ukraine's Prime Minister said that his country intended to charge Russia and other countries convertible currency for shipment of goods across its territory. There was no indication whether Fokin's statement referred to the use of Ukraine's important network of pipelines to carry Russian gas and oil to the rest of Europe.

## **Kravchuk Calls for "Shock Therapy"**

KYIV, September 8 — Ukraine's President, Leonid Kravchuk, called for swift action to implement economic reforms and defended his government's ability to do the job. His chief economic strategist set down the principles of a new government programme with heavy emphasis on privatisation. But opposition parties pledged to forge ahead with a campaign to force new elections to replace the country's conservative parliament. Kravchuk told a meeting of cabinet ministers and other officials that Ukrainians were being subjected to increasing economic hardship and politicians were too embroiled in polemics to move forward with change. The government of Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, he said, had a right to work unhindered from constant pressure from parliament.

## **Parliament Opens**

KYIV, September 15 — Ukraine's parliament opened and everyone expected the key issue to be the new economic strategy which would bring Ukraine closer to a free market economy or at least farther away from the old communist system, but debate on a plan to reorient the economy was postponed until later in the month.

Oleksander Yemets, a top presidential legal adviser, told reporters the economist overseeing President Leonid Kravchuk's reforms had withdrawn the plan for further elaboration on the eve of the parliamentary session. The plan emerged last week as the sole unified proposal to reform the economy after months of infighting between liberals and conservatives in different state institutions. Sources close to the government said top advisers to Kravchuk had objected to several provisions, including a proposal to set up a committee to oversee the introduction of Ukraine's future currency, the hryvnia. The plan calls for rapid mass privatisation of the bloated state sector and an end to state subsidies for industry.

Deputies are also due to debate proposals for a new constitution, which Kravchuk hopes will give him additional powers to circumvent parliament, which he has accused of obstructing his government's proposals. The liberal opposition has been leading a high-profile campaign to force a referendum on staging new elections, weed out conservative deputies and curb presidential powers.

## **Kravchuk Delays EC**

BRUSSELS, September 14 — A delegation led by President Leonid Kravchuk came to Brussels this week intending to initial the trade and cooperation accord. However Kravchuk delayed signing the accord with the European Community confining Ukraine to a declaration that it intended to do so. Kravchuk and Commission President Jacques Delors had also been expected to take formal steps to establish diplomatic relations

between Ukraine and the EC. Neither was achieved, as the Ukrainian delegation said it had not finished studying the text of the accord. However, they did say there were no political questions outstanding, and that its problems were confined to minor textual matters.

### **\$1.5 Billion Needed From IMF**

KYIV, September 16 — Ukraine's Finance Minister confirmed that the former Soviet republic was seeking \$1.5 billion from the International Monetary Fund to stabilise its proposed separate currency. Ukraine's parliament, meanwhile, postponed approval of an initial list of enterprises to be privatised, saying it required further elaboration. He said the figure of \$6.5 billion cited by Prime Minister Vitold Fokin earlier this month referred to the entire assistance package sought by Ukraine.

### **Russian Oil Prices Pose Danger**

KYIV, September 17 — First Deputy Economy Minister Leonid Minin stated that any steep rise in the price of oil in Russia will have dire consequences for Ukraine and shut down entire sectors of industry. Russia's decision to double prices and bring them closer to world levels would generate huge cost increases for Ukraine. Ukraine's Prime Minister Vitold Fokin has suggested in recent weeks that Kyiv could retaliate by charging Russia hard currency for shipment of all goods across the territory of the former Soviet republic.

### **Chornobyl Sarcophagus Cracked**

KYIV, September 17 — A scientist told a nuclear technology conference that cracks have developed in the cement casing surrounding the damaged Chornobyl reactor, which was supposed to be hermetically sealed following the 1986 accident. Spartak Belyayev of the Kurchatov Institute, Russia's foremost atomic research institute, told the Nuclear Technology Tomorrow conference in St. Petersburg that the Chornobyl sarcophagus was cracking in a number of places. Belyayev also warned that the original plant structures, damaged in the accident, may be unsafe. Collapse of the original construction could cause radioactive dust to leak out.

### **EP Delegation Visits Ukraine**

KYIV, September 21-24 — An official visit of the European Parliament took place in the country's capital. The delegation for relations with the republics of the CIS, chaired by Mrs. Magdalene Hoff (SOC, Germany) indicated the importance attached to a deepening of inter-parliamentary relations with Ukraine. The European Community actively wants to support the ongoing process of privatisation and marketisation in Ukraine and the efforts undertaken by this country to bring about economic reform and recovery. Therefore, the Commission of the European Communities is now launching, in cooperation with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), a major technical assistance project within the privatisation sector in Ukraine. Ukraine is presently embarking upon an important privatisation programme involving most sectors of the economy. The projects, to which the Commission contributes Ecu 1.8 million,

forms part of the overall EC Programme on Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States and Georgia (TACIS). The privatisation project now under way will provide assistance to the Ukrainian authorities on key aspects for the setting up of the new privatisation programme.

### **Cuba Signs Political Cooperation Accord**

KYIV, September 22 — Cuba and Ukraine signed an agreement to exchange information and consult each other on foreign policy. The political cooperation protocol was signed at the United Nations in New York by Cuban Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon and his Ukrainian counterpart, Anatoliy Zlenko. Under the two-year agreement, the two countries would exchange information about international and internal affairs. They would also consult over policies and positions adopted at international organisations, particularly at the United Nations.

### **Currency Exchange Opens — No Deals**

KYIV, September 22 — Ukraine's first currency exchange opened but not a single dollar, rouble or Ukrainian coupon changed hands. About 10 brokers at the inaugural session sat quietly around a table in the central bank headquarters. Trading in Kyiv is to be held once a week, with the rate established to be declared official for all banks throughout Ukraine. Andronov said he expected that traders would eventually deal with up to \$5 million at each session. "The central bank will intervene carefully on the exchange", he said. He said trading would also be introduced in German marks and roubles. Other banks are to be invited and foreigners can take part provided they invest the money within Ukraine.

### **Gas for Ukraine — Power for Turkmenistan**

KYIV, September 27 — The Central Asian state of Turkmenistan will renew gas supplies to Ukraine after the two countries resolved a six-month dispute over pricing. Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov, fulfilling a campaign promise, also announced that residents of his energy-rich republic would receive water, electricity and gas free of charge starting in January. Niyazov and Ukrainian First Deputy Prime Minister Konstantyn Masyk agreed that Turkmenistan would supply eight billion cubic metres of gas in the last quarter of 1992 and 28.4 billion next year. In return, Ukraine would unblock supplies of food and other products which were suspended in February. Turkmenistan, which supplied 60 per cent of Ukraine's imported gas, cut off supplies in March after Kyiv refused demands for a sharp price rise. The interruption dealt a severe blow to Ukrainian industry.

### **HP Executive in Ukraine**

FORT COLLINS, CO, September 29 — A high-ranking Hewlett-Packard manager is taking a two-year personal leave of absence to work in Ukraine as a Peace Corps volunteer. Meg Small, 37, will be leaving her position as financial controller for HP's Measurement & Control Systems Division (MCSY) in Fort Collins. Small, who has held a variety of financial positions at HP over the past 10 years, will be advising the

Ukrainian government on economic and business development issues. Small's first stop will be the Peace Corps' offices in Washington, D.C., before leaving for Kyiv for a three-month cultural and language training programme. She will be given her job assignment, along with an assigned city within Ukraine, two months after arriving in Kyiv.

### **Bulgaria Imports Power**

SOFIA, September 30 — Bulgaria, desperate for electricity after repeated failures at its troubled nuclear plant, has contracted to import emergency power supplies from Ukraine and Moldova. The supplementary power imports would compensate for lower output from Bulgaria's ailing nuclear plant at Kozloduy and help avoid lengthy power cuts such as those imposed last winter.

### **Ukrainian Currency Talks Delayed**

KYIV, October 1 – Russia's acting Prime Minister, Yegor Gaidar, postponed talks in Kyiv on Ukraine's plans to stop using the rouble one day after Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin announced his resignation.

### **Bulgaria Signs Treaties**

SOFIA, October 5 – Bulgaria and Ukraine signed treaties to increase cooperation in trade, defence and culture. They were signed by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk, who was in Sofia for a one-day visit. Ukraine will export two billion kilowatt-hours electric power and 2.5 billion tonnes of coal to Bulgaria in 1993 as well as spare parts for military equipment. Kravchuk pledged full rights for the 240,000-strong Bulgarian ethnic minority in Ukraine.

### **Majority Accept New Prime Minister**

KYIV, October 13 – Parliament overwhelmingly approved Leonid Kuchma, the long-time head of the world's biggest missile plant, as Ukraine's new prime minister. The 54 year-old rocket designer received 316 votes in the 377-member Parliament. Outside Parliament, about 1,000 protesters tried to build a tent city, saying they would stay until new elections were called and Ukraine withdraws from the Commonwealth of Independent States. Police broke up the effort to put up the tents, and about 20 students were injured as the crowd was dispersed. The protest briefly delayed the start of the Parliament session.

### **Ukraine Accuses Russia of Breaking Yalta Accords**

KYIV, October 13 – The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry sent a note of protest to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs after nine military ships led by Admiral Igor Kasatonov left Sevastopol and headed for Abkhazia. "On October 10 and 11, 1992, in violation of the Yalta agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation on principles of the creation of the Ukrainian and Russian Navy on the basis of the Black Sea Fleet of the former Soviet Union, dated August 3, 1992. Nine military ships of the

Black Sea Fleet, under direct command of Admiral Igor Kasatonov, left the home port in Sevastopol and headed for the city of Sukhumi, which, as is known, lies in the zone of the conflict,” the note said. “The fact that the Russian Federation has undertaken the above actions unilaterally, without the Ukrainian side’s consent, is especially disturbing,” the document reads. The Ukrainian Foreign Ministry stressed “the inadmissibility of any attempts by the Russian Federation to assume rights and obligations under the Yalta accords unilaterally,” adding that “all responsibility for possible negative consequences will rest with the Russian Federation.”

### **Chornobyl Lives**

KYIV, October 16 – The crippled Chornobyl nuclear power station began producing electricity again when its No. 3 reactor was switched on to help provide Ukraine with energy for the winter. Reactor No. 4 was the site of the world’s worst nuclear disaster in 1986 and reactor No. 2 was shut down after a fire in October 1991 destroyed part of its roof, and the entire plant had been idle for several months while the two operational reactors underwent routine maintenance. The Ukrainian government plans to close the Chornobyl plant permanently next year, and it had been widely thought that the two working reactors would not be started up again. But earlier this month, plant director Nikolai Sorokin said both reactors would operate through the winter.

### **Moldova Signs Economic Treaty**

KYIV, October 23 – Presidents Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine and Mircea Snegur of Moldova signed a bilateral treaty on economic and political cooperation. Speaking to reporters in the Moldovan capital Kishinev, Kravchuk underlined that Moldova’s independence and territorial integrity was also very important to Ukraine. Kyiv regarded the separatist Dniester republic as part of Moldova. He stressed that the pact ensured the protection of the rights of ethnic Ukrainians in Moldova and of Moldovans in Ukraine. Kravchuk said neither the Moldovan nor the Ukrainian leadership wanted to enter talks on territorial questions that had surfaced in the wake of the armed dispute in the break-away Dniester republic. Both Moldova and Ukraine were hit by an economic crisis that made it necessary to set a discussion on this issue aside for the time being. He was alluding to the predominantly Moldovan-populated region of Bessarabia which Moscow passed to Ukraine. In exchange, Moldova received the Dniester region.

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### **Ukraine and the Subjugated Nations: Their Struggle for National Liberation**

Selected Writings and Speeches by Former Prime Minister of Ukraine —  
Yaroslav Stetsko;

Edited by John Kolasky, M.A., B.Ped.

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## Beijing Hits Dissident Group

Hong Kong Mainland Chinese security forces have cracked down on an underground socialist party formed after the 1989 Beijing massacre, arresting more than 20 members, dissident sources said in Hong Kong.

Documents smuggled out of the mainland said the dissidents, all members of the Socialist Democratic Party of China, had been rounded up shortly before the third anniversary of the massacre on June 4 this year. The party, which opposes Communist one-party rule, is based in the city of Lanzhou, capital of the northwestern province of Gansu, although it says it has liaison groups in a number of cities including Beijing and in the coastal region.

Beijing's elderly leaders are extremely nervous at any sign of organised opposition to their rule, and political security within the country remains very tight. Dissidents, who constantly risk arrest, operate secretly and it is frequently impossible to verify their statements independently.

Communist authorities had panicked over the group's rapid growth and therefore, ordered the arrests. The party's membership numbered more than 100. Activities organised by the party included commemorating the June 4, 1989, massacre, when mainland Chinese troops suppressed the student-led democracy movement in and around Tiananmen Square.

Relatives of the dissidents had not been told the exact reasons for their arrests, nor where they were being held, although the documents said they were believed to be somewhere near Lanzhou. Ten names of the arrested activists were listed but the others were not known. The ten, aged between 22 and 28, are mostly present or past students at Lanzhou University. But they also included 28 year old Gao Changyun, a teacher at the university and a librarian and public relations officer in the city.

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## War-torn Bosnia to split?

Bosnia-Herzegovina would become a decentralised state within its present borders, according to an 11-page draft constitution unveiled by Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on former Yugoslavia.

Bosnia would be divided into between seven and ten autonomous provinces. None would have a name that identified it with one of the major ethnic groups and there would be freedom of movement throughout the country. The central government would have exclusive responsibility for foreign affairs and defence. The provinces would be responsible for aspects such as education and the police.

On the proposal that there should be between seven and ten provinces, the co-chairmen said that more than ten could mean that some provinces would have populations of less than 250,000.



## Extermination Fear

Grave and massive violations of human rights continue in former Yugoslavia, and the Muslim population is virtually threatened with extermination, Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the United Nations Human Rights investigator for the territory, said in a 14-page report issued after his October 12 to 22 visit.

Mr. Mazowiecki, formerly Poland's first post-Communist Prime Minister, said that since his first visit in August, widespread and serious human rights violations had continued in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and had, in certain respects, intensified.

The Muslim population was victimised. "Ethnic cleansing" did not appear to be the consequence of the war, but rather its goal, to a larger extent already achieved, Mr. Mazowiecki said. He had been particularly shocked by conditions at the Trnopolje camp, where people hoping to flee "ethnic cleansing" by the Serbs had gathered. More than 3,000 of them were living in "unspeakable squalor."

A mass grave found near Vukovar may contain the remains of up to 175 Croatian patients taken from the Croatian city's hospital after it fell to Serbian forces last November, a UN forensic science expert said in a report released October 31.



## Romanian Bishop Protests

Bishop Laszlo Tokes, who helped trigger the 1989 revolt against Romanian dictator Ceausescu, has attracted much publicity by a hunger strike aimed to force the government to name those responsible for the deaths of over 1,000 people in Romania's revolution. Bishop Tokes has also been pressing for the truth about Romanian-Hungarian ethnic clashes in 1990, as well as several violent episodes involving coalminers which he has accused the Iliescu regime of fermenting.

With big crowds flocking to hear him preach, the main opposition parties, while sympathising with his goals, appealed to him to end his protest for the sake of peace in the run-up to September's general election.

It was the persecution of the 40-year old bishop by secret police in the city of Timisoara that helped ignite the revolt which toppled dictator Ceausescu but left his erstwhile colleague Iliescu in power.

## BOOK REVIEW

*Pavol Janík*

### Verdict for Espionage

I should like to avoid repeating the generally known facts about the hardships and sufferings of political prisoners in Stalinist camps, and will rather try to underline the specific traits and insights that deepen our knowledge of ourselves, our own history, man's psychology in extreme situations and which, in the final analysis of things, throw light also on the ongoing events in our society. As a matter of fact, Slobodník, willy-nilly, does unveil the political recipes which also the new political powers that be would like to keep as the "chef's" own mystery.

Slobodník gives proof of an unusual narrative talent, a sense of detail, veracity and unfolding of relationships. His faith in man is downright fascinating and his will to remain human under all circumstances is just unbreakable – during his captivity, and after it. Slobodník's intellect does not miss the threads concealed in the background of the vicious circle of Stalinist repressions, threads that impart to this senseless, suicidal system some sort of an inherent, although perverted logic.

Today we know that President Benes had personally placed an order with Stalin for tormenting and murdering Slovak citizens as an original, depraved way of solving the Slovak question.

At 18 years of age, the author was condemned to 15 years of hard labour for "espionage". The judge then told him: "I know you've done nothing; had you done anything we would have condemned you to death". Justice with a vengeance. Dr. Benes in his earlier years called this the "right of the stronger".

The nationality problem was, of course, a part of the vicious circle of this monstrous lawlessness. In this sense, the Russians had reserved the death penalty for Ukrainians in Czecho-Slovakia and in the vicinity of the polar circle, 25 years of galley-work in chains. Nobody could survive such punishment. The camps further teemed with Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, hence, members of small indomitable nations that resisted the Russian ocean.

Stalinist procedures are still finding many adherents at present. Inherent and fundamental to the Stalin era was the artificially provoked famine in Ukraine in 1933-34. It was termed "de-kulaking" or abolition of the kulaks or Ukrainian farmers. Present day disruption of the agricultural cooperatives remains a small reminder of the Russian historical model.

Dusan Slobodník survived this difficult episode of imprisonment under Stalin's reign. In spite of the many obstacles, Dusan Slobodník went on to become a well-known literary scholar, translator and publicist.

*Marat Alchurin*

## **Thunder From Russia's Resurgent Right**

Can you imagine opening the paper and reading that a Russian ultra-chauvinist has become Boris Yeltsin's successor? Kremlin-watchers here are reluctant to take seriously the change of mood that has taken place in Russia since the abortive coup in August 1991.

Yet not long ago, nobody in the West really thought that communism would self-destruct; and very recently, the West was obsessed with Mikhail Gorbachev as "the only man to do business with". Not surprisingly, the West wants to ignore another potential risk – the possible resurgence of fascism. It wouldn't be the last episode in a long story of Western wishful thinking.

The reason is simple: Scholars and journalists dealing with Russia believe that most of their Russian contacts represent the majority of the population. Yet their sources are made up largely of Western oriented intellectuals and seasoned ex-party officials, i.e. the great minority. These Russians like the idea that America and Russia have much in common, yet in spite of some similarities – vast territory, rich natural resources, a diverse populace – no two nations could be more different.

For Americans it is a commonplace that Russian reforms are stalemated because the wily ex-Communists resist the democratic forces that unfortunately lack political skills. Yet Russian grassroots perception of the same events still differs tremendously from the U.S. point of view. For this category of Russians, frustrated by the surreal nightmare of daily life, the main accomplishment of Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's reforms has been rearrangements within the ruling class.

Of course it is much more convenient to deal with smart, articulate Muscovites, ignoring the fact that the overwhelming majority of Russians care very little about traditional values of Western democracy.

In the meantime, as Russia's new rich grow richer, the pauperisation of the citizenry has become epidemic. With the economy collapsing, reform failures spreading, the routine of life destroyed and the system of old values demolished, millions of Russians especially senior citizens, have this feeling: "How cruelly we were cheated! We thought these changes were for the better, but now it turns out that the system treated us like dirt".

One consequence of this mood has been the rise of chauvinistic nationalism, including right-wing paranoia. And in the minds of many Western specialists, the most popular opposition politician in today's Russia is Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. In fact, about 6 million Russians voted for Zhirinovskiy during the first presidential elections in 1991, yielding only to Yeltsin and the former Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, who was at that time widely supported by the Communist Party and military-industrial complex.

Today, neither Russian democrats nor Russian chauvinists treat him seriously,

pretending he is simply sort of a political clown. Yet Zhirinovsky is sure that he is the only real candidate for the Russian presidency; and for those who remember the 1930s, his recipes look all too familiar: “consolidation of Russia against the external enemy” and “immediate abrogation of all treaties signed by Gorbachev and Yeltsin with the United States and other Western countries, including nuclear disarmament.”

“I’ll feed Russia within 72 hours,” he declared during his campaign 18 months ago. “It’s easy: I’ll invade the former East Germany with a 1.5 million member army – a little sabre-rattling, including nuclear weapons – and we’ll get anything we want”.

Yet one shouldn’t confuse the extremism of Zhirinovsky with the attitudes of a much more serious political force emerging from the ruins of the Soviet empire: the right-wing Russian patriotic movement that claims it is the only power capable of restoring the vigor and pride of the pre-Bolshevik Russia. Their basic doctrine is that Russia became a victim of a long-term Jewish-Masonic conspiracy, directed from the satanic United States.

Last summer, the Russian National Sobor (council), the umbrella organisation for many Russian nationalistic groups and parties, was held in the historic Hall of Columns in Moscow. Democracy, Russian-style, mutated into the next incarnation of the old system. Political fashions have changed once again.

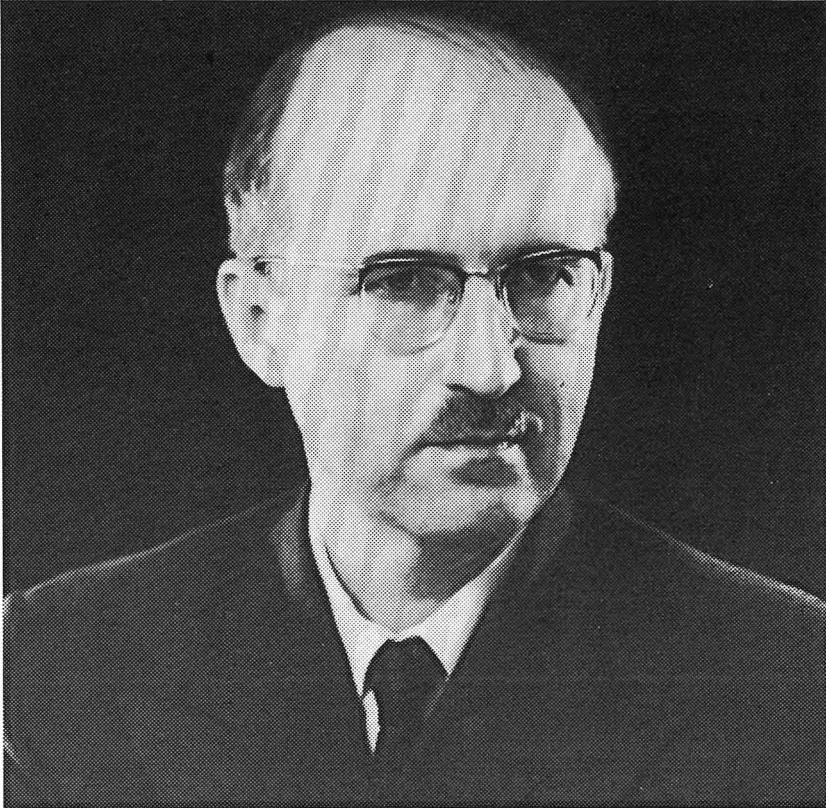
“Our Motherland is on the verge of political and economic disintegration. We are threatened with hunger, unemployment and civil war,” said the political declaration of the left and right opposition, as reported in late September by *Sovetskaya Rossia*. The previously hard-line Communist publication is now populist and ultra-right, calling itself the “People’s Independent Newspaper”.

For most of the people of the former “evil empire” antagonism between the ex-U.S.S.R., and the United States was something natural, like dawn and sunset. “Enemy no. 1” as the United States was dubbed in Soviet military documents, is the vision several generation of Russians had hammered into their minds. Today the word “American” itself, in the chauvinistic political vocabulary, is being used as an unsavory antonym to the word “Russian”.

The perception of America as a hostile and weird place liable for all humankind’s troubles is deeply rooted in the past decades when Russians were exposed to indoctrination by their communist rulers. But unlike their hypocritical comrades, Russian chauvinists seem to believe their own defamations.

The influential businessman German Steligov recently accused U.S. embassy officials in Moscow of attempting to recruit him for intelligence work. In a front-page interview to Pravda in September headlined, “I didn’t sell myself, but they sold Russia for peanuts,” he says this: “When, at last, they [patriots] will overthrow this government, I will take the most active part in this process! I state this for record.... There is no Russia anymore.... One can carry out reforms in the existing country. But this country doesn’t exist.... Nobody ever destroyed Russia as our current government has.... I am afraid we’ll see a lot of blood – not in the former republics or in the border provinces of Russia. No, this will happen here. God forbid... Almost all Russian businessmen think so... Everybody knows what the reality is.” Any Russian you deal with – politician, scientist, businessman – has this painful response to criticism and love of compliments. It is so painful for them to admit the truth: that nobody can go to bed being a totalitarian state and wake up like Rip Van Winkle in a democratic society.

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and a Happy and Prosperous New Year*